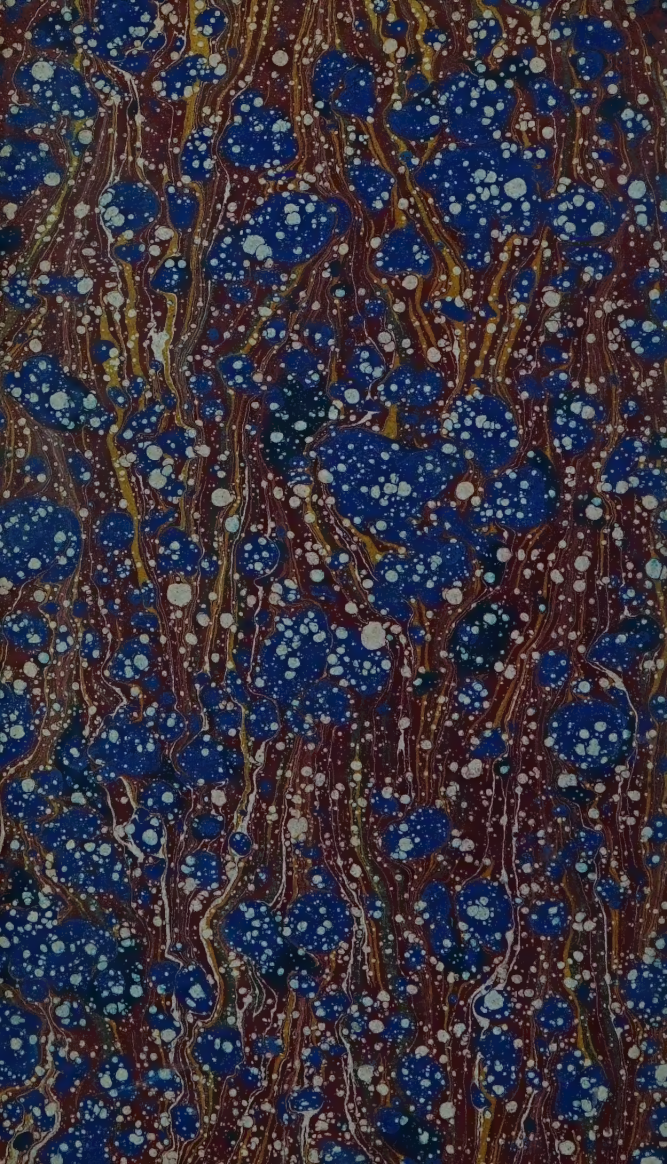

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

WITH VARIORUM NOTES,

INCLUDING THOSE OF

GUIZOT, WENCK, SCHREITER, & HUGO.

EDITED,

WITH FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE MOST RECENT SOURCES,

BY

AN ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

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PREFACE

TO THE FOURTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTO EDITION.

I now discharge my promise, and complete my design, of writing the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, both in the West and the East. The whole period extends from the age of Trajan and the Antonines, to the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second; and includes a review of the crusades and the state of Rome during the middle ages. Since the publication of the first volume, twelve years have elapsed: twelve years, according to my wish, "of health, of leisure, and of perseverance." I may now congratulate my deliverance from a long and laborious service, and my satisfaction will be pure and perfect, if the public favour should be extended to the conclusion of my work.

It was my first intention to have collected, under one view, the numerous authors, of every age and language, from whom I have derived the materials of this history; and I am still convinced that the apparent ostentation would be more than compensated by real use. If I have renounced this idea; if I have declined an undertaking which had obtained the approbation of a master-artist,* my excuse may be found in the extreme difficulty of assigning a proper measure to such a catalogue. A naked list of names and editions would not be satisfactory either to myself or my readers; the characters of the principal authors of the Roman and Byzantine History have been occasionally connected with the events which they describe; a more copious and critical inquiry might indeed deserve, but it would demand, an elaborate volume, which might swell by degrees into a general library of historical writers. For the present I shall content myself with renewing my serious protestation, that I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head; that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals, and that, if

* See Dr. Robertson's Preface to his History of America.

they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend.

I shall soon revisit the banks of the lake of Lausanne, a country which I have known and loved from my early youth. Under a mild government, amidst a beauteous landscape, in a life of leisure and independence, and among a people of easy and elegant manners, I have enjoyed, and may again hope to enjoy, the varied pleasures of retirement and society. But I shall ever glory in the name and character of an Englishman: I am proud of my birth in a free and enlightened country, and the approbation of that country is the best and most honourable reward of my labours. Were I ambitious of any other patron than the Public, I would inscribe this work to a Statesman, who, in a long, a stormy, and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy; who has retained, in his fall from power, many faithful and disinterested friends; and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth: but even truth and friendship should be silent, if he still dispensed the favours of the crown.

In a remote solitude, vanity may still whisper in my ear, that my readers, perhaps, may inquire, whether, in the conclusion of the present work, I am now taking an everlasting farewell. They shall hear all that I know myself, all that I could reveal to the most intimate friend. The motives of action or silence are now equally balanced, nor can I pronounce in my most secret thoughts on which side the scale will preponderate. I cannot dissemble that six ample quartos must have tried, and may have exhausted, the indulgence of the Public; that in the repetition of similar attempts, a successful author has much more to lose than he can hope to gain; that I am now descending into the vale of years; and that the most respectable of my countrymen, the men whom I aspire to imitate, have resigned the pen of history about the same period of their lives. Yet I consider that the annals of ancient and modern times may afford many rich and interesting subjects; that I am still possessed of health and leisure; that by the practice of writing, some skill and facility must be acquired; and that, in the ardent pursuit of truth and knowledge, I am not conscious of decay. To an active mind, indolence is more painful than labour; and the first months of my liberty will be occupied and amused in the excursions of curiosity and taste. By such temptations I have been sometimes seduced from the rigid duty even of a pleasing and voluntary task: but my time will now be my own; and in the use or abuse

of independence, I shall no longer fear my own reproaches or those of my friends. I am fairly entitled to a year of jubilee: next summer and the following winter will rapidly pass away; and experience only can determine whether I shall still prefer the freedom and variety of study to the design and composition of a regular work, which animates, while it confines, the daily application of the author. Caprice and accident may influence my choice; but the dexterity of self-love will contrive to applaud either active industry or philosophic repose.

DOWNING STREET, MAY 1, 1788.

P.S. I shall embrace this opportunity of introducing two *verbal* remarks, which have not conveniently offered themselves to my notice. 1. As often as I use the definitions of *beyond* the Alps, the Rhine, the Danube, &c., I generally suppose myself at Rome, and afterwards at Constantinople; without observing whether this relative geography may agree with the local, but variable, situation of the reader, or the historian. 2. In proper names of foreign, and especially of Oriental origin, it should be always our aim to express in our English version, a faithful copy of the original. But this rule, which is founded on a just regard to uniformity and truth, must often be relaxed; and the exceptions will be limited or enlarged by the custom of the language, and the taste of the interpreter. Our alphabets may be often defective: a harsh sound, an uncouth spelling, might offend the ear or the eye of our countrymen; and some words, notoriously corrupt, are fixed, and as it were naturalized, in the vulgar tongue. The prophet *Mohammed* can no longer be stripped of the famous, though improper, appellation of Mahomet: the well-known cities of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, would almost be lost in the strange descriptions of *Haleb*, *Damashk*, and *Al Cahira:* the titles and offices of the Ottoman empire are fashioned by the practice of three hundred years; and we are pleased to blend the three Chinese monosyllables, *Con-fù-tzee*, in the respectable name of Confucius, or even to adopt the Portuguese corruption of Mandarin. But I would vary the use of Zoroaster and *Zerdusht*, as I drew my information from Greece or Persia: since our connexion with India, the genuine *Timour* is restored to the throne of Tamerlane: our most correct writers have retrenched the *Al*, the superfluous article, from the Koran: and we escape an ambiguous termination, by adopting *Moslem* instead of Mussulmen, in the plural number. In these, and in a thousand examples, the shades of distinction are often minute; and I can feel, where I cannot explain, the motives of my choice.

*** At the end of the History, the reader will find a general Index to the whole Work, which has been drawn up by a person frequently employed in works of this nature.

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THE

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CHAPTER XXXV.

INVASION OF GAUL BY ATTILA. — HE IS REPULSED BY ÆTIUS AND THE VISIGOTHS. — ATTILA INVADES AND EVACUATES ITALY. — THE DEATHS OF ATTILA, ÆTIUS, AND VALENTINIAN THE THIRD.

It was the opinion of Marcian, that war should be avoided, as long as it is possible to preserve a secure and honourable peace; but it was likewise his opinion, that peace cannot be honourable or secure, if the sovereign betrays a pusillanimous aversion to war. This temperate courage dictated his reply to the demands of Attila, who insolently pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor signified to the barbarians, that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendship of his allies; but that, if they presumed to violate the public peace, they should feel that he possessed troops, and arms, and resolution, to repel their attacks. The same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents, till he had been admitted to a personal interview, displayed a sense of dignity and a contempt of danger which Attila

was not prepared to expect from the degenerate Romans.* He threatened to chastise the rash successor of Theodosius; but he hesitated whether he should first direct his invincible arms against the Eastern or the Western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful suspense, he sent an equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople; and his ministers saluted the two emperors with the same haughty declaration. "Attila, my lord, and thy lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his immediate reception."† But as the barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the east, whom he had so often vanquished, he soon declared his resolution of suspending the easy conquest, till he had achieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attila can only be explained by the state of the western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Ætius. ‡

After the death of his rival Boniface, Ætius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alliance for his safety and his restoration. Instead of the suppliant language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of sixty thousand barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, by a feeble resistance, that the condescension, which might have been ascribed to clemency, was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinian, and the Western empire, into the hands of an insolent subject; nor could Placidia protect the son-in-law of Boniface, the virtuous and faithful Sebastian,§

* See Priscus, p. 39. 72.

† The Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty message during the lifetime of Theodosius, may have anticipated the date; but the dull annalist was incapable of inventing the original and genuine style of Attila.

‡ The second book of the Histoire Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i, p. 189—424, throws great light on the state of Gaul, when it was invaded by Attila: but the ingenious author, the Abbé Dubos, too often bewilders himself in system and conjecture.

§ Victor Vitensis (de Persecut. Vandal. l. 1, c. 6, p. 8, edit. Ruinart) calls him, acer consilio et strenuus in bello; but his courage, when he became unfortunate, was censured as desperate rashness; and Sebastian deserved, or obtained, the epithet of *præceps*. (Sidon. Apollinar. Carmen 9. 181.) His adventures at Constantinople, in Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, are faintly marked in the Chronicles of Marcellinus

from the implacable persecution, which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the service of the Vandals. The fortunate Ætius, who was immediately promoted to the rank of patrician and thrice invested with the honours of the consulship, assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the state; and he is sometimes styled, by contemporary writers, the duke, or general, of the Romans of the West. His prudence, rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandson of Theodosius in the possession of the purple; and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who supported near twenty years the ruins of the western empire. The Gothic historian ingenuously confesses, that Ætius was born for the salvation of the Roman republic:* and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest colours, must be allowed to contain a much larger proportion of truth than of flattery. "His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and his father Gaudentius, who held a distinguished rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose, from the station of a military domestic, to the dignity of master of the cavalry. Their son, who was enrolled almost in his infancy, in the guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alaric, and afterwards to the Huns; and he successively obtained the civil and military honours of the palace, for which he was equally qualified by superior merit. The graceful figure of Ætius was not above the middle stature: but his manly limbs were admirably formed for strength, beauty, and agility; and he excelled in the martial exercises of managing a horse, drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He could patiently endure the want of food or of sleep; and his mind and body were alike capable of the most laborious efforts. He possessed the genuine courage that can despise not only dangers but injuries; and it was impossible either to corrupt, or deceive, or intimidate, the firm integrity of his soul."† The barbarians, who had seated themselves in the

and Idatius. In his distress, he was always followed by a numerous train; since he could ravage the Hellespont and Propontis, and seize the city of Barcelona.

* Reipublicæ Romanæ singulariter natus, qui superbiam Suevorum Francorumque barbariem immensis cædibus servire imperio Romano coegisset. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34, p. 660.

† This portrait is drawn by Renatus

western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Ætius. He soothed their passions, consulted their prejudices, balanced their interests, and checked their ambition. A seasonable treaty, which he concluded with Genseric, protected Italy from the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his salutary aid: the imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confederates of the republic.

From a principle of interest as well as gratitude, Ætius assiduously cultivated the alliance of the Huns. While he resided in their tents as a hostage, or an exile, he had familiarly conversed with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpilio, the son of Ætius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the spoils of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudulently embezzled, the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately dispatched to satisfy his complaints:* and it is evident, from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus, in the royal village, that the valour and prudence of Ætius had not saved the western Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy

Profuturus Frigeridus, a contemporary historian, known only by some extracts, which are preserved by Gregory of Tours. (l. 2, c. 8, in tom. ii, p. 163.) It was probably the duty, or at least the interest, of Renatus, to magnify the virtues of Ætius; but he would have shewn more dexterity, if he had not insisted on his patient, *forgiving* disposition.

* The embassy consisted of Count Romulus; of Promotus, president of Noricum; and of Romanus, the military duke. They were accompanied by Tatullus, an illustrious citizen of Petovio, in the same province, and father of Orestes, who had married the daughter of Count Romulus. See Priscus, p. 57. 65. Cassiodorus (Variar. l. 4,) mentions another embassy, which was executed by his father and Carpilio, the son of Ætius; and, as Attila was no more, he could safely boast of their manly intrepid behaviour in his presence.

prolonged the advantages of a salutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Gaul. Two colonies of these barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valence and Orleans:* and their active cavalry secured the important passages of the Rhone and of the Loire. These savage allies were not indeed less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original settlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquest; and the province through which they marched, was exposed to all the calamities of a hostile invasion.† Strangers to the emperor or the republic, the Alani of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Ætius; and though he might suspect, that, in a contest with Attila himself, they would revolt to the standard of their national king, the patrician laboured to restrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and resentment against the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The kingdom established by the Visigoths, in the southern provinces of Gaul, had gradually acquired strength and maturity; and the conduct of those ambitious barbarians, either in peace or war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Ætius. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic sceptre devolved to Theodoric, the son of the great Alaric,‡ and his prosperous reign, of more than thirty years, over a turbulent people, may be allowed to prove, that his prudence was

* Deserta Valentinæ urbis rura Alanis partienda traduntur. Prosper. Tyronis Chron. in Historiens de France, tom. i, p. 639. A few lines afterwards Prosper observes, that lands in the *ulterior* Gaul were assigned to the Alani. Without admitting the correction of Dubos, (tom. i, p. 300,) the reasonable supposition of *two* colonies or garrisons of Alani, will confirm his arguments, and remove his objections.

† See Prosper. Tyro, p. 639. Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 246) complains, in the name of Auvergne, his native country:—

> Litorius Scythicos equites tunc forte subacto
> Celsus Aremorico, Geticum rapiebat in agmen
> Per terras, Arverne, tuas, qui proxima quæque
> Discursu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis,
> Delebant; pacis fallentes nomen inane.

Another poet, Paulinus of Perigord, confirms the complaint:—

> Nam socium vix ferre queas, qui durior hoste.
>
> See Dubos, tom. i, p. 330.

‡ Theodoric II. the son of Theodoric I. declares to Avitus his resolution of repairing, or expiating, the faults which his *grandfather* had committed.

supported by uncommon vigour, both of mind and body. Impatient of his narrow limits, Theodoric aspired to the possession of Arles, the wealthy seat of government and commerce; but the city was saved by the timely approach of Ætius; and the Gothic king, who had raised the siege with some loss and disgrace, was persuaded, for an adequate subsidy, to divert the martial valour of his subjects in a Spanish war. Yet Theodoric still watched, and eagerly seized the favourable moment of renewing his hostile attempts. The Goths besieged Narbonne, while the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians; and the public safety was threatened on every side by the apparent union of the enemies of Rome. On every side, the activity of Ætius and his Scythian cavalry, opposed a firm and successful resistance. Twenty thousand Burgundians were slain in battle, and the remains of the nation humbly accepted a dependent seat in the mountains of Savoy.* The walls of Narbonne had been shaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last extremities of famine, when count Litorius, approaching in silence, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two sacks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the besiegers. The siege was immediately raised, and the more decisive victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of Ætius himself, was marked with the blood of eight thousand Goths. But in the absence of the patrician, who was hastily summoned to Italy by some public or private interest, count Litorius

> Quæ *noster* peccavit *avus*, quem fuscat id unum,
> Quod te, Roma, capit.———
>
> Sidon. Panegyric. Avit. 505.

This character, applicable only to the great Alaric, establishes the genealogy of the Gothic kings, which has hitherto been unnoticed. [There is no evidence of Alaric having left a son, and the expression used by Sidonius is too indefinite to warrant the inference. Theodosius I. was an old man in 451, when he fell at the battle of Chalons (matura senectute, Jorn. c. 40). If he had been the rightful heir to the throne, he would not have been supplanted by his uncle Adolphus, in 410, nor by Wallia in 415.—Ed.]

* The name of *Sapaudia*, the origin of *Savoy*, is first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus; and two military posts are ascertained, by the Notitia, within the limits of that province; a cohort was stationed at Grenoble in Dauphiné; and Ebredunum, or Iverdun, sheltered a fleet of small vessels, which commanded the lake of Neufchâtel. See Valesius, Notit. Galliarum, p. 503. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 284. 579. [The Burgundians ever and anon come before us, slaughtered, exterminated, or expelled; yet re-appear in full strength

succeeded to the command; and his presumption soon discovered, that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates of Thoulouse, full of careless contempt for an enemy, whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent, and his situation made desperate. The predictions of the augurs had inspired Litorius with the profane confidence that he should enter the Gothic capital in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his Pagan allies, encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, which were repeatedly proposed by the bishops in the name of Theodoric. The king of the Goths exhibited in his distress the edifying contrast of Christian piety and moderation; nor did he lay aside his sackcloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His soldiers, animated with martial and religious enthusiasm, assaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was obstinate, the slaughter was mutual. The Roman general, after a total defeat, which could be imputed only to his unskilful rashness, was actually led through the streets of Thoulouse, not in his own, but in a hostile triumph; and the misery which he experienced, in a long and ignominious captivity, excited the compassion of the barbarians themselves.* Such a loss, in a country whose spirit and finances were long since exhausted, could not easily be repaired; and the Goths, assuming, in their turn, the sentiments of ambition and revenge, would have planted their victorious standards on the banks of the Rhone, if the presence of Ætius had not restored strength and discipline to the Romans.† The two armies expected the signal of a

and maturity as often; and the provinces where they settled, thirty years before this period (see vol. ii, p. 473) retained, through a long series of ages, the name then given to them.—Ed.]

* Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Deity; a task which may be readily performed by supposing, that the calamities of the wicked are *judgments*, and those of the righteous, *trials*.

† ——— Capto terrarum damna patebant
Litorio, in Rhodanum proprios producere fines,
Theudoridæ fixum; nec erat pugnare necesse,
Sed migrare Getis; rabidam trux asperat iram
Victor; quod sensit Scythicum sub mœnibus hostem
Imputat, et nihil est gravius, si forsitan unquam
Vincere contingat, trepido.———

Panegyr. Avit. 300, &c.

decisive action; but the generals, who were conscious of each other's force, and doubtful of their own superiority, prudently sheathed their swords in the field of battle; and their reconciliation was permanent and sincere. Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, appears to have deserved the love of his subjects, the confidence of his allies, and the esteem of mankind. His throne was surrounded by six valiant sons, who where educated with equal care in the exercises of the barbarian camp, and in those of the Gallic schools: from the study of the Roman jurisprudence, they acquired the theory, at least, of law and justice; and the harmonious sense of Virgil contributed to soften the asperity of their native manners.* The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spain and Africa; but these ilustrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of a husband, inhumanly massacred by her brother. The princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant, whom she called her father. The cruel Genseric suspected that his son's wife had conspired to poison him; the supposed crime was punished by the amputation of her nose and ears; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominiously returned to the court of Thoulouse in that deformed and mutilated condition. This horrid act, which must seem incredible to a civilized age, drew tears from every spectator; but Theodoric was urged, by the feelings of a parent and a king, to revenge such irreparable injuries. The imperial ministers, who always cherished the discord of the barbarians, would have supplied the Goths with arms, and ships, and treasures, for the African war; and the cruelty of Genseric might have been fatal to himself, if the artful Vandal had not armed, in his cause, the formidable power of the Huns. His rich gifts and pressing solicitations

Sidonius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyrist, to transfer the whole merit from Ætius, to his minister Avitus.

* Theodoric II. revered, in the person of Avitus, the character of his preceptor.

——— Mihi Romula dudum
Per te jura placent: parvumque ediscere jussit
Ad tua verba pater, docili quo prisca *Maronis*
Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.
Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 495, &c.

[The willingness of the Goths to be educated, is here again manifest.—ED.]

inflamed the ambition of Attila; and the designs of Ætius and Theodoric were prevented by the invasion of Gaul.*

The Franks, whose monarchy was still confined to the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine, had wisely established the right of hereditary succession in the noble family of the Merovingians.† These princes were elevated on a buckler, the symbol of military command,‡ and the royal fashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they combed and dressed with singular care, hung down in flowing ringlets on their back and shoulders; while the rest of the nation were obliged, either by law or custom, to shave the hinder part of their head, to comb their hair over the forehead, and to content themselves with the ornament of two small whiskers.§ The

* Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric I. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. 36, and the Chronicles of Idatius, and the two Prospers, inserted in the Historians of France, tom. i, p. 612—640. To these we may add Salvian de Gubernatione Dei, l. 7, p. 243—245, and the Panegyric of Avitus, by Sidonius.

† Reges *Crinitos* se creavisse de primâ, et ut ita dicam nobiliore suorum familia. (Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 9, p. 166 of the second volume of the Historians of France.) Gregory himself does not mention the *Merovingian* name, which may be traced, however, to the beginning of the seventh century, as the distinctive appellation of the royal family, and even of the French monarchy. An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great Maroboduus; and he has clearly proved, that the prince, who gave his name to the first race, was more ancient than the father of Childeric. See the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx, p. 52—90; tom. xxx, p. 557—587. [This "ingenious critic" was the Duc de Nivernois. The hereditary right of a family to sovereignty has been already seen (ch. 31) as a very ancient Gothic custom or law. It is, therefore, probable that it existed among the Franks as early as the time of Maroboduus. But it was so modified among them, that the territories of a deceased monarch were equally divided among all his sons. Gibbon's observations on this subject in another note (see p. 12), may be compared with those of Mr. Hallam (vol. i, p. 5), which are to the same effect. The quarrel between Meroveus and his brother was probably about the extent of their respective shares.—Ed.]

‡ This German custom, which may be traced from Tacitus to Gregory of Tours, was at length adopted by the emperors of Constantinople. From a MS. of the tenth century, Montfaucon has delineated the representation of a similar ceremony, which the ignorance of the age had applied to king David. See Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i, Discours Préliminaire.

§ Cæsaries prolixa . . . crinium flagellis per terga dimissis, &c. See the preface to the third volume of the Historians of France, and the Abbé le Bœuf. (Dissertat. tom. iii, p. 47—79.) This peculiar fashion of the Merovingians has been remarked by

lofty stature of the Franks, and their blue eyes, denoted a Germanic origin; their close apparel accurately expressed the figure of their limbs; a weighty sword was suspended from a broad belt; their bodies were protected by a large shield: and these warlike barbarians were trained, from their earliest youth, to run, to leap, to swim; to dart the javelin or battle-axe with unerring aim; to advance without hesitation against a superior enemy; and to maintain, either in life or death, the invincible reputation of their ancestors.* Clodion, the first of their long-haired kings, whose name and actions are mentioned in authentic history, held his residence at Dispargum,† a village or fortress, whose place may be assigned between Louvain and Brussels. From the report of his spies, the king of the Franks was informed that the defenceless state of the second Belgic must yield, on the slightest attack, to the valour of his subjects. He boldly penetrated through the thickets and morasses of the Carbonarian forest,‡ occupied Tournay and Cambray, the only cities which existed in the fifth century, and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme, over a desolate country, whose cultivation and populousness are the effects of more recent industry.§ While Clodion lay encamped in the plains of Artois,¶ and celebrated, with vain and ostentatious security, the marriage, perhaps of his son,

natives and strangers; by Priscus (tom. i, p. 608), by Agathias (tom. ii, p. 49), and by Gregory of Tours (l. 3. 18. 6. 24. 8. 10, tom. ii, p. 196. 278. 316).

* See an original picture of the figure, dress, arms, and temper of the ancient Franks in Sidonius Apollinaris (Panegyr. Majorian. 238—254); and such pictures, though coarsely drawn, have a real and intrinsic value. Father Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Françoise, tom. i, p. 2—7) has illustrated the description.

† Dubos, Hist. Critique, &c. tom. i, p. 271, 272. Some geographers have placed Dispargum on the German side of the Rhine. See a note of the Benedictine editors to the Historians of France, tom. ii, p. 166.

‡ The Carbonarian wood was that part of the great forest of the Ardennes, which lay between the Escaut, or Scheldt, and the Meuse. Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 126.

§ Gregor Turon. l. 2, c. 9, in tom. ii, p. 166, 167. Fredegar. Epitom. c. 9, p. 395. Gesta Reg. Francor. c. 5, in tom. ii, p. 544. Vit. St. Remig. ab Hincmar, in tom. iii, p. 373.

¶ ——— Francus quâ Cloio patentes
Atrebatum terras pervaserat ———
Panegyr. Majorian. 212.

The precise spot was a town, or village, called Vicus *Helena*, and both the name and the place are discovered by modern geographers at Lens. See Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 246. Longuerue, Déscription de la France, tom. ii, p. 88.

the nuptial feast was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome presence of Ætius, who had passed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables, which had been spread under the shelter of a hill, along the banks of a pleasant stream, were rudely overturned; the Franks were oppressed before they could recover their arms, or their ranks; and their unavailing valour was fatal only to themselves. The loaded wagons which had followed their march, afforded a rich booty; and the virgin bride, with her female attendants, submitted to the new lovers who were imposed on them by the chance of war. This advantage, which had been obtained by the skill and activity of Ætius, might reflect some disgrace on the military prudence of Clodion; but the king of the Franks soon regained his strength and reputation, and still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme.* Under his reign, and most probably from the enterprising spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of hostile cruelty and avarice. The distress of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual dominion of the same barbarians, who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which in the space of forty years had been four times besieged and pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her afflictions in the vain amusements of the Circus.† The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, exposed his kingdom

* See a vague account of the action in Sidonius, Panegyr. Majorian. 212—230. The French critics, impatient to establish their monarchy in Gaul, have drawn a strong argument from the silence of Sidonius, who dares not insinuate, that the vanquished Franks were compelled to repass the Rhine. Dubos, tom. i, p. 322. † Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. 6), has expressed, in vague and declamatory language, the misfortunes of these three cities, which are distinctly ascertained by the learned Mascou, Hist. of the Ancient Germans, 9. 21. [Treves had been the residence of emperors, and had probably more to lose in such disastrous visitations, than other towns. If it experienced four such, in the space of forty years, it must have recovered rapidly from each, or it would have afforded no cause for repeated attacks. That it still possessed a Circus and the means of paying for the amusements exhibited there, is not very convincing evidence of its ruin, which becomes more questionable, when we find that it was one of the places, which by ineffectual resistance, attempted to arrest the course of Attila. (Schmidt, l. 175.) For an account of the ancient splendour of Treves, see Wyttenbach's Roman antiquities of the city of Treves, by Dawson Turner, 8vo. Lond. 1839.—Ed.]

to the discord and ambition of his two sons. Meroveus, the younger,* was persuaded to implore the protection of Rome; he was received at the imperial court as the ally of Valentinian, and the adopted son of the patrician Ætius; and dismissed to his native country, with splendid gifts, and the strongest assurances of friendship and support. During his absence, his elder brother had solicited with equal ardour, the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance, which facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified by a specious and honourable pretence, the invasion of Gaul.†

When Attila declared his resolution of supporting the cause of his allies, the Vandals and the Franks, at the same time, and almost in the spirit of romantic chivalry, the savage monarch professed himself the lover and the champion of the princess Honoria. The sister of Valentinian was educated in the palace of Ravenna; and as her marriage might be productive of some danger to the state, she was raised by the title of *Augusta*,‡ above the hopes of the most presumptuous subject. But the fair Honoria had no sooner attained the sixteenth year of her age, than she detested the importunate greatness which must for ever exclude her from the comforts of honourable love: in the midst of vain and unsatisfactory pomp, Honoria sighed, yielded to the impulse of nature, and threw herself into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and shame

* Priscus, in relating the contest, does not name the two brothers; the second of whom he had seen at Rome, a beardless youth, with long flowing hair. (Historians of France, tom. i, p. 607, 608.) The Benedictine editors are inclined to believe that they were the sons of some unknown king of the Franks, who reigned on the banks of the Neckar: but the arguments of M. de Foncemagne (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. viii, p. 464,) seem to prove, that the succession of Clodion was disputed by his two sons, and that the younger was Meroveus, the father of Childeric.

† Under the Merovingian race, the throne was hereditary; but all the sons of the deceased monarch were equally entitled to their share of his treasures and territories. See the dissertations of M. de Foncemagne, in the sixth and eighth volumes of the Mém. de l'Académie.

‡ A medal is still extant which exhibits the pleasing countenance of Honoria, with the title of Augusta; and on the reverse, the improper legend of *Salus Reipublicæ* round the monogram of Christ. See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 67. 73. [Eckhel, (8. p. 189,) condemns most vehemently the flattering inscriptions on her coins. They were probably struck when she was only three years old.—Ed.]

(such is the absurd language of imperious man) were soon betrayed by the appearances of pregnancy: but the disgrace of the royal family was published to the world by the imprudence of the empress Placidia; who dismissed her daughter, after a strict and shameful confinement, to a remote exile at Constantinople. The unhappy princess passed twelve or fourteen years in the irksome society of the sisters of Theodosius, and their chosen virgins; to whose *crown* Honoria could no longer aspire, and whose monastic assiduity of prayer, fasting, and vigils, she reluctantly imitated. Her impatience of long and hopeless celibacy, urged her to embrace a strange and desperate resolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Constantinople; and his frequent embassies entertained a perpetual intercourse between his camp and the imperial palace. In the pursuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia sacrificed every duty and every prejudice; and offered to deliver her person into the arms of a barbarian, of whose language she was ignorant, whose figure was scarcely human, and whose religion and manners she abhorred. By the ministry of a faithful eunuch, she transmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection; and earnestly conjured him to claim her as a lawful spouse, to whom he had been secretly betrothed. These indecent advances were received however, with coldness and disdain; and the king of the Huns continued to multiply the number of his wives, till his love was awakened by the more forcible passions of ambition and avarice. The invasion of Gaul was preceded and justified, by a formal demand of the princess Honoria, with a just and equal share of the imperial patrimony. His predecessors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addressed, in the same hostile and peremptory manner, the daughters of China; and the pretensions of Attila were not less offensive to the majesty of Rome. A firm but temperate refusal was communicated to his ambassadors. The right of female succession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was strenuously denied; and the indissoluble engagements of Honoria were opposed to the claims of her Scythian lover.* On the discovery of

* See Priscus, p. 39, 40. It might be fairly alleged, that if females could succeed to the throne, Valentinian himself, who had married the

her connection with the king of the Huns, the guilty princess had been sent away as an object of horror, from Constantinople to Italy: her life was spared; but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal husband, before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to bewail those crimes and misfortunes, which Honoria might have escaped, had she not been born the daughter of an emperor.*

A native of Gaul, and a contemporary, the learned and eloquent Sidonius, who was afterwards bishop of Clermont, had made a promise to one of his friends, that he would compose a regular history of the war of Attila. If the modesty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work,† the historian would have related, with the simplicity of truth, those memorable events, to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has concisely alluded.‡ The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike summons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the west; and, after a march of seven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Neckar; where he was joined by the Franks, who adhered to his ally, the elder of the sons of Clodion. A troop of light barbarians, who

daughter and heiress of the younger Theodosius, would have asserted her right to the eastern empire.

* The adventures of Honoria are imperfectly related by Jornandes, de Successione Regn. c. 97, and de Reb. Get. c. 42, p. 674, and in the Chronicles of Prosper and Marcellinus; but they cannot be made consistent or probable, unless we separate, by an interval of time and place, her intrigue with Eugenius, and her invitation of Attila.

† Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attilæ bellum stylo me posteris intimaturum . . . cœperam scribere, sed operis arrepti fasce perspecto, tæduit inchoasse. Sidon. Apoll. l. 8, epist. 15, p. 246.

‡ ———Subito cum rupta tumultu
Barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos,
Gallia. Pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono
Gepida trux sequitur; Scyrum Burgundio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna, *Toringus*,
Bructerus, ulvosâ vel quem Nicer abluit unda
Prorumpit Francus. Cecidit cito secta bipenni
Hercynia in lintres, et Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis
In campos se, Belga, tuos.———

Panegyr. Avit. 319, &c.

roamed in quest of plunder, might choose the winter for the convenience of passing the river on the ice; but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required such plenty of forage and provisions, as could be procured only in a milder season; the Hercynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats; and the hostile myriads were poured, with resistless violence, into the Belgic provinces.* The consternation of Gaul was universal; and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles.† Troyes was saved by the merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from the world, that he might not behold the ruin of Tongres; and the prayers of St. Genevieve diverted the march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But as the greatest part of the Gallic cities were alike destitute of saints and soldiers, they were besieged and stormed by the Huns; who practised, in the example of Metz,‡ their customary maxims of war. They involved, in a promiscuous massacre, the priests who served at the altar,

* The most authentic and circumstantial account of this war is contained in Jornandes, (de Reb. Geticis, c. 36—41, p. 662—672,) who has sometimes abridged, and sometimes transcribed, the larger history of Cassiodorus. Jornandes, a quotation which it would be superfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illustrated by Gregory of Tours, l. 2, c. 5—7, and the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, and the two Prospers. All the ancient testimonies are collected and inserted in the Historians of France; but the reader should be cautioned against a supposed extract from the Chronicle of Idatius, (among the fragments of Fredegarius, tom. ii, p. 462,) which often contradicts the genuine text of the Gallician bishop. [The numerous bands, led by Attila, must have forced a passage over the Rhine at many different points. Tongres, Worms, Mentz, Treves, Spires and Strasburg were almost simultaneously stormed. (Schmidt, l. 175.) Near Rhenen, in Dutch Guelderland, the summit of a lofty hill is surrounded by an ancient rampart, which still bears the name of De Hunnen-Schants, or the Huns' Fort. This was probably erected and garrisoned by them to overawe the Batavi, whose island it commanded.—ED.]

† The *ancient* legendaries deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times. See the lives of St. Lupus, St. Anianus, the bishops of Metz, Ste. Genevieve, &c. in the Historians of France, tom. i, p. 644, 645, 649, tom. iii, p. 369.

‡ The scepticism of the Count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, tom. vii, p. 539, 540,) cannot be reconciled with any principles of reason or criticism. Is not Gregory of Tours precise and positive in his account of the destruction of Metz? At the distance of no more than a hundred years, could he be ignorant, could the people be ignorant, of the fate of a city, the actual residence of his sovereigns, the kings of Aus-

and the infants, who, in the hour of danger, had been providently baptized by the bishop; the flourishing city was delivered to the flames, and a solitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place were it formerly stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul: crossed the Seine at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He was desirous of securing his conquests by the possession of an advantageous post, which commanded the passage of the Loire; and he depended on the secret invitation of Sangiban, king of the Alani, who had promised to betray the city, and to revolt from the service of the empire. But this treacherous conspiracy was detected and disappointed: Orleans had been strengthened with recent fortifications; and the assaults of the Huns were vigorously repelled by the faithful valour of the soldiers or citizens, who defended the place. The pastoral diligence of Anianus, a bishop of primitive sanctity and consummate prudence, exhausted every art of religious policy to support their courage, till the arrival of the expected succours. After an obstinate siege, the walls were shaken by the battering rams; the Huns had already occupied the suburbs; and the people, who were incapable of bearing arms, lay prostrate in prayer. Anianus, who anxiously counted the days and hours, dispatched a trusty messenger to observe, from the rampart, the face of the distant country. He returned twice, without any intelligence that could inspire hope or comfort; but, in his third report, he mentioned a small cloud, which he had faintly descried at the extremity of the horizon. "It is the aid of God!" exclaimed the bishop, in a tone of pious confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him, "It is the aid of God!" The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger and more distinct; the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favourable wind blowing aside the dust, discovered, in deep array, the impatient squadrons of Ætius and Theodoric, who pressed forward to the relief of Orleans.

trasia? The learned count, who seems to have undertaken the apology of Attila and the barbarians, appeals to the false Idatius, *parcens* civitatibus Germaniæ et Galliæ; and forgets that the true Idatius had explicitly affirmed, plurimæ civitates *effractæ*, among which he enumerates Metz.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated into the heart of Gaul, may be ascribed to his insidious policy, as well as to the terror of his arms. His public declarations were skilfully mitigated by his private assurances; he alternately soothed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Thoulouse, mutually suspicious of each other's intentions, beheld, with supine indifference, the approach of their common enemy. Ætius was the sole guardian of the public safety; but his wisest measures were embarrassed by a faction, which, since the death of Placidia, infested the imperial palace: the youth of Italy trembled at the sound of the trumpet; and the barbarians, who, from fear or affection, were inclined to the cause of Attila, awaited, with doubtful and venal faith, the event of the war. The patrician passed the Alps at the head of some troops, whose strength and numbers scarcely deserved the name of an army.* But on his arrival at Arles, or Lyons, he was confounded by the intelligence, that the Visigoths, refusing to embrace the defence of Gaul, had determined to expect, within their own territories, the formidable invader, whom they professed to despise. The senator Avitus, who, after the honourable exercise of the prætorian prefecture, had retired to his estate in Auvergne, was persuaded to accept the important embassy, which he executed with ability and success. He represented to Theodoric, that an ambitious conqueror, who aspired to the dominion of the earth, could be resisted only by the firm and unanimous alliance of the powers whom he laboured to oppress. The lively eloquence of Avitus inflamed the Gothic warriors, by the description of the injuries which their ancestors had suffered from the Huns; whose implacable fury still pursued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. He strenuously urged, that it was the duty of every Christian to save, from sacrilegious violation, the churches of God and the relics of the saints; that it was the interest of every barbarian, who had acquired a settlement in Gaul, to defend the fields and vineyards which were cultivated for his use,

* ——Vix liquerat Alpes
Ætius,—tenue, et rarum sine milite ducens
Robur, in auxiliis Geticum male credulus agmen
Incassum propriis præsumens adfore castris.
Panegyr. Avit. 328, &c.

against the desolation of the Scythian shepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of truth; adopted the measure at once the most prudent and the most honourable; and declared, that, as the faithful ally of Ætius and the Romans, he was ready to expose his life and kingdom for the common safety of Gaul.* The Visigoths, who, at that time, were in the mature vigour of their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the signal of war; prepared their arms and horses, and assembled under the standard of their aged king, who was resolved, with his two eldest sons, Torismond and Theodoric, to command in person his numerous and valiant people. The example of the Goths determined several tribes or nations, that seemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable diligence of the patrician gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themselves the subjects, or soldiers, of the republic, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary service, and the rank of independent allies; the Læti, the Armoricans, the Breones, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Sarmatians or Alani, the Ripuarians, and the Franks who followed Meroveus as their lawful prince. Such was the various army, which, under the conduct of Ætius and Theodoric, advanced, by rapid marches, to relieve Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable host of Attila.†

* The policy of Attila, of Ætius, and of the Visigoths, is imperfectly described in the Panegyric of Avitus, and the thirty-sixth chapter of Jornandes. The poet and the historian were both biassed by personal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of Avitus; orbis, Avite, salus! &c. The latter is anxious to shew the Goths in the most favourable light. Yet their agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their veracity.

† The review of the army of Ætius is made by Jornandes, c. 36, p. 664, edit. Grot., tom. ii, p. 23, of the Historians of France, with the notes of the Benedictine editor. The *Læti* were a promiscuous race of barbarians, born or naturalized in Gaul; and the Riparii, or *Ripuarii*, derived their name from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle; the *Armoricans* possessed the independent cities between the Seine and the Loire. A colony of *Saxons* had been planted in the diocese of Bayeux; the *Burgundians* were settled in Savoy; and the *Breones* were a warlike tribe of Rhætians, to the east of the lake of Constance. [The Burgundians are ranked by Jornandes in the army of Ætius, while, in a recent note (p. 14), the quotation from Sidonius places them under the command of Attila. Internal discord had divided the Franks, and there was reason for posting some of them on each side. But no such civil strife disunited the Burgun-

On their approach, the king of the Huns immediately raised the siege, and sounded a retreat to recal the foremost of his troops from the pillage of a city which they had already entered.* The valour of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and as he foresaw the fatal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repassed the Seine, and expected the enemy in the plains of Châlons, whose smooth and level surface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat, the vanguard of the Romans and their allies continually pressed, and sometimes engaged, the troops whom Attila had posted in the rear; the hostile columns, in the darkness of the night and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without design; and the bloody conflict of the Franks and Gepidæ, in which fifteen thousand† barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decisive action. The Catalaunian fields ‡ spread themselves round Châlons, and extend, according to the vague measurement of Jornandes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred miles, over the whole province, which is entitled to the appellation of a *champaign* country.§ This spacious plain was distinguished, however, by some inequalities of ground; and

dians. The historian is a far better authority than the poet. Cassiodorus was in a position to obtain positive information from some who were present at the battle. Sidonius, probably, had not in his list of names, another to supply the foot he wanted, so he used *Burgundio*, which may be taken to signify any other tribe quite as well.—Ed.]

* Aurelianensis urbis obsidio, oppugnatio, irruptio, nec direptio, l. 5. Sidon. Apollin. l. 8, epist. 15, p. 246. The preservation of Orleans might be easily turned into a miracle, obtained, and foretold, by the holy bishop.

† The common editions read XCM.; but there is some authority of manuscripts (and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of XVM.

‡ Châlons, or Duro-Catalaunum, afterwards *Catalauni*, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven miles. See Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 136. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 212. 279. [Niebuhr (Lectures 3. 340) says, "This great battle is commonly called that of Châlons, which I do not consider to be at all certain. The whole of Champagne had the name of *Campi Catalaunici*, and is of such extent, that the battle may have been fought at some distance from Châlons."—Ed.]

§ The name of Campania, or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours; and that great province, of which Rheims was the capital, obeyed the command of a duke. Vales. Notit. p. 120—123.

the importance of a height, which commanded the camp of Attila, was understood and disputed by the two generals. The young and valiant Torismond first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns, who laboured to ascend from the opposite side; and the possession of this advantageous post inspired both the troops and their leaders with a fair assurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to consult his priests and haruspices. It was reported, that after scrutinizing the entrails of victims and scraping their bones, they revealed, in mysterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the barbarian, by accepting the equivalent, expressed his involuntary esteem for the superior merit of Ætius. But the unusual despondency which seemed to prevail among the Huns engaged Attila to use the expedient, so familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king who had often fought and conquered at their head.* He pressed them to consider their past glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The same fortune which opened the deserts and morasses of Scythia to their unarmed valour, which had laid so many warlike nations prostrate at their feet, had reserved the *joys* of this memorable field for the consummation of their victories. The cautious steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts, he artfully represented as the effects not of prudence, but of fear. The Visigoths alone were the strength and nerves of the opposite army; and the Huns might securely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally incapable of supporting the dangers or the fatigues of a day of battle. The doctrine of predestination, so favourable to martial virtue, was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns; who assured his subjects that the warriors, protected by Heaven, were safe and invulnerable

* I am sensible that these military orations are usually composed by the historian; yet the old Ostrogoths, who had served under Attila, might repeat his discourse to Cassiodorus: the ideas, and even the expressions, have an original Scythian cast; and I doubt whether an Italian of the sixth century would have thought of the hujus certaminis *gaudia*.

amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring fates would strike their victims in the bosom of inglorious peace. "I myself," continued Attila, "will throw the first javelin, and the wretch who refuses to imitate the example of his sovereign is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example, of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns, he occupied in person the centre of the line. The nations subject to his empire, the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample space of the Catalaunian fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ; and the three valiant brothers, who reigned over the Ostrogoths, were posted on the left, to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Singiban, the faithless king of the Alani, was placed in the centre; where his motions might be strictly watched, and his treachery might be instantly punished. Ætius assumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right wing; while Torismond still continued to occupy the heights, which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were assembled on the plain of Châlons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction, or conquest, or emigration; and the appearance of similar arms and ensigns, which threatened each other, presented the image of a civil war.

The discipline and tactics of the Greeks and Romans form an interesting part of their national manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon, or Cæsar, or Frederic, when they are described by the same genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if such improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curiosity by the magnitude of the object; since it was decided by the blind impetuosity of barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Cassiodorus, however, had

familiarly conversed with many Gothic warriors, who served in that memorable engagement; "a conflict," as they informed him, "fierce, various, obstinate, and bloody; such as could not be paralleled, either in the present, or in past ages." The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and sixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons;* and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real and effective loss, sufficient to justify the historian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away by the madness of kings in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might signalize their superior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, separated their wings from each other, and wheeling, with a rapid effort, to the left, directed their whole force against the Visigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks, to animate his troops, he received a mortal stroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Ostrogoth, and immediately fell from his horse. The wounded king was oppressed in the general disorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death served to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the haruspices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Torismond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of the prediction. The Visigoths, who had been thrown into confusion by the flight or defection of the Alani, gradually restored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquished, since Attila was com-

* The expressions of Jornandes, or rather of Cassiodorus, are extremely strong. Bellum atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax, cui simile nulla usquam narrat antiquitas: ubi talia gesta referuntur, ut nihil esset quod in vitâ suâ conspicere potuisset egregius, qui hujus miraculi privaretur aspectû. Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 392, 393) attempts to reconcile the one hundred and sixty-two thousand of Jornandes with the three hundred thousand of Idatius and Isidore, by supposing, that the larger number included the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the slaughter of the unarmed people, &c. [In such a battle, there must of course have been great slaughter; but it is evident that its extent has been largely overrated. Niebuhr remarks very justly, that "the numbers which have been given, of those who were killed or taken prisoners, are beyond all belief." (Lect. 3, 341).—ED.]

pelled to retreat. He had exposed his person with the rashness of a private soldier; but the intrepid troops of the centre had pushed forwards beyond the rest of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were saved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired within the circle of wagons that fortified their camp; and the dismounted squadrons prepared themselves for a defence, to which neither their arms nor their temper were adapted. The event was doubtful: but Attila had secured a last and honourable resource. The saddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected, by his order, into a funeral pile; and the magnanimous barbarian had resolved, if his intrenchments should be forced, to rush headlong into the flames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired by the death or captivity of Attila.*

But his enemies had passed the night in equal disorder and anxiety. The inconsiderate courage of Torismond was tempted to urge the pursuit, till he unexpectedly found himself, with a few followers, in the midst of the Scythian wagons. In the confusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse; and the Gothic prince must have perished like his father, if his youthful strength and the intrepid zeal of his companions, had not rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same manner, but on the left of the line, Ætius himself, separated from his allies, ignorant of their victory and anxious for their fate, encountered and escaped the hostile troops that were scattered over the plains of Châlons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a slight rampart of shields till the dawn of day. The imperial general was soon satisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody scene, he observed, with secret satisfaction, that the loss had principally fallen on the barbarians. The body of Theodoric, pierced with honourable

* The count de Buat, (Hist. des Peuples, &c., tom. vii, p. 554—573,) still depending on the *false*, and again rejecting the *true*, Idatius, has divided the defeat of Attila into two great battles; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne; in the one Theodoric was slain; in the other he was revenged.

wounds, was discovered under a heap of the slain: his subjects bewailed the death of their king and father; but their tears were mingled with songs and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquished enemy. The Goths, clashing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldest son Torismond, to whom they justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge, as a sacred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were astonished by the fierce and undaunted aspect of their formidable antagonist; and their historian has compared Attila to a lion encompassed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deserted his standard in the hour of distress, were made sensible, that the displeasure of their monarch was the most imminent and inevitable danger. All his instruments of martial music incessantly sounded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops, who advanced to the assault, were checked or destroyed by showers of arrows from every side of the intrenchments. It was determined, in a general council of war, to besiege the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a disgraceful treaty, or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the barbarians soon disdained these cautious and dilatory measures; and the mature policy of Ætius was apprehensive, that, after the extirpation of the Huns, the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendant of authority and reason to calm the passions, which the son of Theodoric considered as a duty; represented, with seeming affection and real truth, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Torismond to disappoint, by his speedy return, the ambitious designs of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasures of Thoulouse.* After the departure of the Goths, and the separation of the allied

* Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 41, p. 671. The policy of Ætius, and the behaviour of Torismond, are extremely natural; and the patrician, according to Gregory of Tours, (l. 2, c. 7, p. 163,) dismissed the prince of the Franks, by suggesting to him a similar apprehension. The false Idatius ridiculously pretends, that Ætius paid a clandestine nocturnal visit to the kings of the Huns and of the Visigoths; from each of whom he obtained a bribe of ten thousand pieces of gold, as

army, Attila was surprised at the vast silence that reigned over the plains of Châlons: the suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him several days within the circle of his wagons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory which was achieved in the name of the Western empire. Meroveus and his Franks, observing a prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians served in the army of Attila: they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exercised the cruelties which, about fourscore years afterwards, were revenged by the son of Clovis. They massacred their hostages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquisite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn asunder by wild horses, or their bones were crushed under the weight of rolling wagons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads as a prey to dogs and vultures. Such were those savage ancestors, whose imaginary virtues have sometimes excited the praise and envy of civilized ages.*

the price of an undisturbed retreat. * These cruelties, which are passionately deplored by Theodoric, the son of Clovis, (Gregory of Tours, l. 3, c. 10, p. 190,) suit the time and circumstances of the invasion of Attila. His residence in Thuringia was long attested by popular tradition; and he is supposed to have assembled a *couroultai*, or diet, in the territory of Eisenach. See Mascou, 9. 30, who settles with nice accuracy the extent of ancient Thuringia, and derives its name from the Gothic tribe of the Thervingi. [We are justified in disbelieving the barbarities here related, till we are convinced by unquestionable evidence. The only authority, on which this grave imputation rests, is that of Gregory of Tours, who did not write till more than a hundred years after Attila's invasion of Gaul, and had no records before him, but merely repeated a tradition, said to have been recited by the son of Clovis, before Gregory himself was born. For the little reliance there is to be placed on his records of atrocities, see what is said of him by Mr. Hallam (vol. iii, p. 356); and for his credulity, see his own account of the miracles of Martin, Andrew, and others. The writer of his life in the Biographie Universelle, though proud that his country possessed such a history of its first kings, admits that it is characterized by "ignorance without simplicity, and credulity without imagination." Having no better testimony, we are called upon to reject a tale of horrors, repugnant alike to nature, to

Neither the spirit, nor the forces, nor the reputation of Attila were impaired by the failure of the Gallic expedition. In the ensuing spring, he repeated his demand of the princess Honoria and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded: and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and besieged Aquileia with an innumerable host of barbarians. Those barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular siege, which, even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labour of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were sacrificed without pity, might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were assaulted by a formidable train of battering-rams, moveable turrets, and engines, that threw stones, darts, and fire:* and the monarch of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest to subvert the only barrier which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richest, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Hadriatic coast. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appeared to have served under their native princes Alaric and Antala, communicated their intrepid spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glorious and successful resistance which their ancestors had opposed to a fierce, inexorable barbarian who disgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were consumed without effect in the siege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions, and the clamours of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise, and reluctantly to issue his orders, that the troops should strike their tents the next morning, and begin their retreat. But, as he rode round the walls, pensive, angry, and disappointed,

reason, and to humanity.—ED.]

* Machinis constructis, omnibusque tormentorum generibus adhibitis. Jornandes, c. 42, p. 673. In the thirteenth century, the Moguls battered the cities of China with large engines constructed by the Mahometans or Christians in their service, which threw stones from one hundred and fifty to three hundred pounds weight. In the defence of their country, the Chinese used gunpowder, and even bombs, above a hundred years before they were known in Europe; yet even those celestial or infernal arms were insufficient to protect a pusillanimous nation. See Gaubil, Hist. des

he observed a stork, preparing to leave her nest in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident which chance had offered to superstition, and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that such a domestic bird, so constantly attached to human society, would never have abandoned her ancient seats unless these towers had been devoted to impending ruin and solitude.* The favourable omen inspired an assurance of victory; the siege was renewed and prosecuted with fresh vigour; a large breach was made in the part of the wall from whence the stork had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the assault with irresistible fury; and the succeeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia.† After this dreadful chastisement, Attila pursued his march; and, as he passed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua were reduced into heaps of stones and ashes. The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo were exposed to the rapacious cruelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted without resistance to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unusual clemency, which preserved from the flames the public as well as private buildings, and spared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum, Turin, or Modena may justly be suspected; yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove, that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy, which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Apennine.‡ When he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was surprised and

Mongous, p. 70, 71. 155. 157, &c. * The same story is told by Jornandes, and by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 4, p. 187, 188), nor is it easy to decide which is the original. But the Greek historian is guilty of an inexcusable mistake, in placing the siege of Aquileia *after* the death of Ætius. † Jornandes, about a hundred years afterwards, affirms, that Aquileia was so completely ruined, ita ut vix ejus vestigia, ut appareant, reliquerint. See Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 42, p. 673. Paul. Diacon. l. 2, c. 14, p. 785. Liutprand. Hist. l. 3, c. 2. The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Forum Julii (Cividad del Friuli), the more recent capital of the Venetian province. ‡ In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous, but so imperfectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians, who considered the subject with some peculiar advantages; Sigonius, de Imperio Occidentali, l. 13, in his works, tom. i, p. 495—502, and Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv, p. 229—236, 8vo.

offended at the sight of a picture, which represented the Cæsars seated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge, which Attila inflicted on this monument of Roman vanity, was harmless and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated, on the same canvas, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch.* The spectators must have confessed the truth and propriety of the alteration; and were, perhaps, tempted to apply, on this singular occasion, the well-known fable of the dispute between the lion and the man.†

It is a saying worthy of the ferocious pride of Attila, that the grass never grew on the spot where his horse had trod. Yet the savage destroyer undesignedly laid the foundation of a republic, which revived, in the feudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry. The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia,‡ was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to the river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhætian and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity: Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station: but

edition.

* This anecdote may be found under two different articles (*μεδιόλανον* and *κόρυκος*) of the miscellaneous compilation of Suidas.

† Leo respondit, humanâ hoc pictum manû:
Videres hominem dejectum, si pingere
Leones scirent.

Appendix in Phædrum. Fab. 25.

The lion in Phædrus very foolishly appeals from pictures to the amphitheatre: and I am glad to observe, that the native taste of La Fontaine (l. 3, fable 10) has omitted this most lame and impotent conclusion.

‡ Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard. l. 2, c. 14, p. 784) describes the provinces of Italy about the end of the eighth century. *Venetia* non solum in paucis insulis quas nunc Venetias dicimus, constat; sed ejus terminus a Pannoniæ finibus usque Adduam fluvium protelatur. The history of that province till the age of Charlemagne forms the first and most interesting part of the Verona Illustrata, (p. 1—388,) in which the Marquis Scipio Maffei has shewn himself equally capable of enlarged views and minute disquisitions. [The Veneti of Italy were a Celtic people, inhabiting the districts where the present Po, Adige, and Brenta, flowed through many channels into the Hadriatic. In their own language they were Avainach, *river* or *water-landers*, a name, to which the Latins, elsewhere as well

the ancient dignity of Padua was supported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to one million seven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a safe though obscure refuge in the neighbouring islands.* At the extremity of the gulf, where the Hadriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near a hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by several long slips of land, which admit the entrance of vessels through some secret and narrow channels.† Till the middle of the fifth century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new situation; and one of the epistles of Cassiodorus,‡

as here, gave the form of Veneti.—ED.]

* This emigration is not attested by any contemporary evidence: but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia retired to the isle of Gradus, those of Padua to Rivus Altus, or Rialto, where the city of Venice was afterwards built, &c. [These islands most probably did not exist at the period here referred to. From data collected by Malte Brun (7. 598), he calculates, that the sea has receded at this point more than 233 feet every year since the sixteenth century; and says that "the deposits brought down by the Brenta, render it not improbable, that Venice may share the fate of Hadria," which is now eight leagues inland, though once washed by the waves of the gulph. In this process of accretion, the outer islands must have been among the more recent alluvial deposits, and cannot have been habitable in the fifth century, even if they had then risen above the waters. No ancient geographer mentions them. Those in which the people of Aquileia took refuge, were *holms*, formed by the numerous channels into which the rivers divided, as they approached the sea. The Padus (Po) and Medoacus (Brenta) with the streams between them, were thus united in Pliny's time. H. N. 3, 21.—ED.]

† The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, from Gradus to Clodia, or Chioggia, are accurately stated in the Dissertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Medii Ævi, p. 151—155.

‡ Cassiodor. Variar. l. 12, epist. 24. Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part 1, p. 240—254) has translated and explained this curious letter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the prefecture, of Cassiodorus, A.D. 523, and the marquis's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared an edition of

which describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be considered as the primitive monument of the republic. The minister of Theodoric compares them, in his quaint declamatory style, to water-fowl, who had fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves; and, though he allows that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he insinuates, that they were now reduced by misfortune to the same level of humble poverty. Fish was the common, and almost the universal, food of every rank: their only treasure consisted in the plenty of salt, which they extracted from the sea; and the exchange of that commodity, so essential to human life, was substituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and silver. A people whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice succeeded to those of necessity. The islanders, who, from Grado to Chiozza, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the secure, though laborious navigation of the rivers and inland canals. Their vessels, which were continually increasing in size and number, visited all the harbours of the gulf; and the marriage, which Venice annually celebrates with the Hadriatic, was contracted in her early infancy. The epistle of Cassiodorus, the prætorian prefect, is addressed to the maritime tribunes; and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate

his works, and actually published a dissertation on the true orthography of his name. See Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii, p. 290—339. [M. Guizot has here quoted from Sismondi (Repub. Ital. du Moyen Age, tom. i, p. 203,) an account of Venice given by Count Figliasi (Memorie de' Veneti Primi e Secondi, tom. vi.), but it adds nothing material to what Gibbon has stated. The islands, there said to have constituted the Venetia Seconda, were the river-holms, nor is anything more proved by the letter of Cassiodorus, whose office of prætorian prefect, during which it was written, extended from A.D. 534 to 538. (Clinton, F. R. i, 761.) As the inhabitants of these quiet retreats multiplied, they ascended the banks of the rivers, cultivated the fertile plains, and built towns. Of these Patavium (now Padua) was the capital, which in the time of Strabo (l. 5,) was the emporium of foreign commerce in northern Italy. About the seventh century the navigation of the Brenta was impeded, and the outer sand-banks had become permanent islands, which offered more accessible landing-places to fishermen, sailors, and merchants. To these the commerce of Padua was transferred and thus Venice arose. But till the beginning of the ninth century, the chief settlement was on the island of Malomocco. See Hallam,

the zeal of their countrymen for the public service, which required their assistance to transport the magazines of wine and oil from the province of Istria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition, that, in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic, under the Gothic kingdom of Italy, is attested by the same authentic record, which annihilates their lofty claim of original and perpetual independence.*

The Italians, who had long since renounced the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years' peace, by the approach of a formidable barbarian, whom they abhorred as the enemy of their religion as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Ætius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should achieve, alone and unassisted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The barbarians, who had defended Gaul, refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succours promised by the eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Ætius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and harassed or retarded the march of Attila, he never shewed himself more truly great, than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people.† If the mind of Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous sentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his example and his guide. But the timid grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the sound of war; and his hasty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his secret intention of

1. 470.—ED.]

* See, in the second volume of Amelot de la Houssaie, Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise, a translation of the famous *Squittinio*. This book, which has been exalted far above its merits, is stained in every line with the disingenuous malevolence of party: but the principal evidence, genuine and apocryphal, is brought together, and the reader will easily choose the fair medium.

† Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 19) has published a curious passage from the Chronicle of Prosper. Attila, redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit; nihil duce nostro Ætio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente, &c. He reproaches Ætius with neglecting to guard the Alps, and with a design to abandon Italy; but this rash censure may at least be counterbalanced by the favourable testimonies of Idatius and Isidore.

abandoning Italy, as soon as the danger should approach his imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to pusillanimous counsels, and sometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The Western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the more salutary resolution of deprecating, by a solemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his consular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the Roman senate. The specious and artful character of Avienus* was admirably qualified to conduct a negotiation either of public or private interest: his colleague Trigetius had exercised the prætorian prefecture of Italy; and Leo, bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius of Leo† was exercised and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deserved the appellation of *great*, by the successful zeal with which he laboured to establish his opinions and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith and ecclesiastical discipline. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the slow-winding Mincius is lost in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus,‡ and trampled, with the Scythian cavalry, the

* See the original portraits of Avienus, and his rival Basilius, delineated and contrasted in the epistles (1. 9, p. 22) of Sidonius. He had studied the characters of the two chiefs of the senate; but he attached himself to Basilius, as the more solid and disinterested friend.

† The character and principles of Leo may be traced in one hundred and forty-one original epistles, which illustrate the ecclesiastical history of his long and busy pontificate, from A.D. 440 to 461. See Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iii, part 2, p. 120—165. [Leo is painted in his true colours by Hallam (2. 228,) and Neander (3, 246. 4, 218). For fifteen years he ruled with unbounded sway the weak mind of Valentinian III., yet never checked in him a vice, implanted a virtue nor stimulated one effort for the redemption of a sinking empire. He used his influence only to establish the supremacy of his church, and for this he obtained imperial edicts, which are not less justly than severely condemned by the above-named writers. Leo ranks foremost among the destroyers of the Roman empire and the enslavers of Europe.—ED.]

‡ ———tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas
. . . . . .

farms of Catullus and Virgil.* The barbarian monarch listened with favourable, and even respectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom, or dowry, of the princess Honoria. The state of his army might facilitate the treaty and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate. The shepherds of the north, whose ordinary food consisted of milk and raw flesh, indulged themselves too freely in the use of bread, of wine, and of meat prepared and seasoned by the arts of cookery; and the progress of disease revenged in some measure the injuries of the Italians.† When Attila declared his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonished by his friends as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long survived the conquest of the eternal city. His mind, superior to real danger, was assaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs.‡ The

> Anne lacus tantos, te Lari maxime, teque
> Fluctibus et fremitu assurgens *Benace* marino.

* The Marquis Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part 1, p. 95. 129. 221; part 2, p. 2. 6,) has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica, or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and river; ascertains the villa of Catullus in the delightful peninsula of Sarmio, and discovers the Andes of Virgil in the village of Bandes, precisely situate quâ "se subducere colles incipiunt," where the Veronese hills imperceptibly slope down into the plain of Mantua. ["A singular mistake" is here laid to Gibbon's charge by Dean Milman, who says, "the Mincius flows out of the Benacus at Peschiera, not into it." Gibbon's words do not refer to the direction of the current; but simply mean, that to a traveller advancing from Mantua, the *view* of the Mincius *is lost* in the Benacus; the expression does not imply that it *flows into it*, nor is any river *lost* in a lake, which it merely traverses. The Rhine is not *lost* in the Lake of Constance, nor the Rhone in that of Geneva. M. Guizot's incorrect translation may perhaps have suggested the censure, here misapplied to the original.—ED.]

† Si statim infesto agmine urbem petiissent, grande discrimen esset: sed in Venetiâ quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsâ soli cœlique clementiâ robur elanguit. Ad hoc panis usû carnisque coctæ, et dulcedine vini mitigatos, &c. This passage of Florus (3, 3) is still more applicable to the Huns than to the Cimbri, and it may serve as a commentary on the *celestial* plague, with which Idatius and Isidore have afflicted the troops of Attila.

‡ The historian Priscus had positively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes, c. 42, p. 673. [Schmidt (i, 176) seems to

pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect, and sacerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christians. The apparition of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the barbarian with instant death if he rejected the prayer of their successor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclesiastical tradition. The safety of Rome might deserve the interposition of celestial beings; and some indulgence is due to a fable, which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael, and the chisel of Algardi.*

Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, he threatened to return more dreadful and more implacable, if his bride, the princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambassadors within the term stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the meanwhile, Attila relieved his tender anxiety by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the list of his innumerable wives.† Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, oppressed with wine and sleep, retired at a late hour from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures or his repose the greatest part of the ensuing day, till the unusual silence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apartment. They found the trembling bride sitting by the

have discerned the real motive of Alaric's retreat, which was that the troops, laden with booty, were satisfied and wished to place in security what they had acquired, without exposing themselves or their gains to farther danger.—ED.]

* The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the basso (or perhaps the alto) relievo of Algardi, on one of the altars of St. Peter. (See Dubos, Reflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture, tom. i, p. 519, 520.) Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 452. No. 57, 58) bravely sustains the truth of the apparition; which is rejected, however, by the most learned and pious Catholics.

† Attila, ut Priscus historicus refert, extinctionis suæ tempore, puellam Ildico nomine, decoram valde, sibi matrimonium post innumerabiles uxores . . socians. Jornandes, c. 49, p. 683, 684. He afterwards adds, (c. 50, p. 686): Filii Attilæ, quorum per licentiam libidinis pœne populus fuit. Polygamy has been established among the Tartars of every age. The rank of plebeian wives is regulated only by their personal charms: and the faded matron prepares, without a murmur, the bed which is destined for her blooming rival. But in royal families the daughters of khans communicate to their sons a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 406—408.

bedside, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night.* An artery had suddenly burst; and as Attila lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a passage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain, under a silken pavilion, and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chanted a funeral song to the memory of a hero glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were inclosed within three coffins, of gold, of silver, and of iron, and privately buried in the night: the spoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred: and the same Huns who had indulged such excessive grief, feasted with dissolute and intemperate mirth about the recent sepulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople that, on the fortunate night on which he expired, Marcian beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken asunder: and the report may be allowed to prove, how seldom the image of that formidable barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor.†

The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had sustained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous sons whom so many various mothers bore to the

* The report of her *guilt* reached Constantinople, where it obtained a very different name; and Marcellinus observes, that the tyrant of Europe was slain in the night by the hand and the knife of a woman. Corneille, who has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy, describes the irruption of blood in forty bombast lines, and Attila exclaims, with ridiculous fury,

——— S'il ne veut s'arrêter (*his blood*),
(Dit-il) on me payera ce qu'il m'en va coûter.

† The curious circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila are

deceased monarch divided and disputed, like a private inheritance, the sovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. The bold Ardaric felt and represented the disgrace of this servile partition; and his subjects, the warlike Gepidæ, with the Ostrogoths, under the conduct of three valiant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and decisive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepidæ, the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms of the Heruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or supported each other; and the victory of Ardaric was accompanied with the slaughter of thirty thousand of his enemies. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, lost his life and crown in the memorable battle of Netad: his early valour had raised him to the throne of the Acatzires, a Scythian people whom he subdued; and his father, who loved the superior merit, would have envied the death of Ellac.* His brother Dengisich, with an army of Huns, still formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power, which was erected by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ.† The Pannonian conquests, from Vienna to Sirmium were occupied by the Ostrogoths; and the settlements of the tribes who had so bravely asserted their native freedom were irregularly distributed, according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisich was confined to the circle of his wagons; his desperate courage urged him to invade the Eastern

related by Jornandes (c. 49, p. 683—685), and were probably transcribed from Priscus.

* See Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 50, p. 685—688. His distinction of the national arms is curious and important. Nam ibi admirandum reor fuisse spectaculum, ubi cernere erat cunctis, pugnantem Gothum ense furentem. Gepidam in vulnere suorum cuncta tela frangentem, Suevum pede, Hunnum sagittâ præsumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi armaturâ aciem instruere. I am not precisely informed of the situation of the river Netad.

† [Who were the Gepidæ? We find them for a about a century performing an actual part on the stage of the world, after which they disappear, and this is all that we know of them. Yet this little set the

empire; he fell in battle; and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. Attila had fondly or superstitiously believed, that Irnac, the youngest of his sons, was destined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the rashness of his brother Dengisich, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Irnac, with his subject hordes, retired into the heart of the Lesser Scythia. They were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had formerly discovered. The *Geougen* or Avars, whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the north, issuing from the cold Siberian regions, which produce the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert, as far as the Borysthenes and the Caspian gates; and finally extinguished the empire of the Huns.*

Such an event might contribute to the safety of the Eastern empire, under the reign of a prince, who conciliated the friendship, without forfeiting the esteem of the barbarians. But the emperor of the West, the feeble and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused this apparent security, to undermine the foundations of his own throne, by the murder of the patrician Ætius. From the instinct of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man who was universally celebrated as the terror of the barbarians, and the support of the republic; and his new favourite, the eunuch Heraclius, awakened the emperor from the supine lethargy, which might be disguised, during the life of Placidia,† by the excuse of filial piety. The fame of Ætius,

ancients on imagining various origins for them, among which that of Jornandes (p. 39) is the most fabulous. They were evidently some Gothic band which, after a term of separation, merged among the Ostrogoths.—Ed.]

* Two modern historians have thrown much new light on the ruin and division of the empire of Attila. M. de Buat, by his laborious and minute diligence (tom. viii, p. 3—31, 68--94), and M. de Guignes, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writers. See Hist. des Huns, tom. ii, p. 315—319.

† Placidia died at Rome, November 27, A.D. 450. She was buried at Ravenna, where her sepulchre, and even her corpse, seated in a chair

his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of barbarian followers, his powerful dependents, who filled the civil offices of the state, and the hopes of his son Gaudentius, who was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raised him above the rank of a subject. The ambitious designs of which he was secretly accused, excited the fears, as well as the resentment of Valentinian. Ætius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his services, and perhaps his innocence, seems to have maintained a haughty and indiscreet behaviour. The patrician offended his sovereign by a hostile declaration; he aggravated the offence, by compelling him to ratify with a solemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his suspicions; he neglected his safety; and from a vain confidence that the enemy whom he despised, was incapable even of a manly crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of Rome. Whilst he urged, perhaps with intemperate vehemence, the marriage of his son, Valentinian, drawing his sword, the first sword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had saved his empire; his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their master; and Ætius, pierced with a hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. Boethius, the prætorian prefect, was killed at the same moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his soldiers, his subjects, and his allies. The nations, who were strangers or enemies to Ætius, generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero; the barbarians who had been attached to his service, dissembled their grief and resentment; and the public contempt which had been so long entertained for Valentinian, was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such sentiments seldom pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to solicit. "I am ignorant, sir, of your motives or provocations; I only

of cypress wood, were preserved for ages. The empress received many compliments from the orthodox clergy; and St. Peter Chrysologus assured her, that her zeal for the Trinity had been recompensed by an

know, that you have acted like a man who cuts off his right hand with his left."*

The luxury of Rome seems to have attracted the long and frequent visits of Valentinian; who was consequently more despised at Rome, than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was insensibly revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became necessary for the support of his feeble government. The stately demeanour of an hereditary monarch offended their pride; and the pleasures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honour of noble families. The birth of the empress Eudoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deserved those testimonies of love, which her inconstant husband dissipated in vague and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the Anician family, who had been twice consul, was possessed of a chaste and beautiful wife: her obstinate resistance served only to irritate the desires of Valentinian; and he resolved to accomplish them either by stratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court; the emperor, who by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a considerable sum, uncourteously exacted his ring as a security for the debt; and sent it by a trusty messenger to his wife, with an order in her husband's name, that she should immediately attend the empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the imperial palace; the emissaries of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and silent bedchamber; and Valentinian violated, without remorse, the laws of hospi-

august trinity of children. See Tillemont. Hist. des Emp. tom. vi, p. 240. * Aetium Placidus mactavit semivir amens, is the expression of Sidonius. (Panegyr. Avit. 359.) The poet knew the world, and was not inclined to flatter a minister who had injured or disgraced Avitus and Majorian, the successive heroes of his song. [Niebuhr (Lectures, 3, 324) refers to Merobaudes, the Latin poet of that age, of whose compositions he was so fortunate as to discover an imperfect manuscript at St. Gall. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Ætius, as his model, Claudian, was of Stilicho, and sang his praises in some animated verse. The education of his hero, as a youthful hostage in the camp of Alaric, points out the school in which his future greatness was prepared. Ætius was trained far from the fatal influences that deadened the energies of Rome. Learning, of course, was not to be acquired among such teachers; but there were formed his fearless nature and a mind full of resources. These availed him on

tality. Her tears when she returned home; her deep affliction; and her bitter reproaches against her husband, whom she considered as the accomplice of his own shame, excited Maximus to a just revenge; the desire of revenge was stimulated by ambition; and he might reasonably aspire by the free suffrage of the Roman senate, to the throne of a detested and despicable rival. Valentinian, who supposed that every human breast was devoid, like his own, of friendship and gratitude, had imprudently admitted among his guards several domestics and followers of Ætius. Two of these, of barbarian race, were persuaded to execute a sacred and honourable duty, by punishing with death the assassin of their patron; and their intrepid courage did not long expect a favourable moment. Whilst Valentinian amused himself in the field of Mars, with the spectacle of some military sports, they suddenly rushed upon him with drawn weapons, dispatched the guilty Heraclius, and stabbed the emperor to the heart, without the least opposition from his numerous train, who seemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death. Such was the fate of Valentinian III.* the last Roman emperor of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate in their characters, the want of spirit and ability. Valentinian was less excusable, since he had passions without virtues; even his religion was questionable; and though he never deviated into the paths of heresy, he scandalized the pious Christians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

As early as the time of Cicero and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs, that the *twelve vultures*, which Romulus had seen, represented the twelve *centuries*, assigned for the fatal period of his city.† This prophecy,

every emergency, and led him to the eminence he afterwards attained. —ED.]

* With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Ætius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 4, p. 186—188) is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memory. His narrative must therefore be supplied and corrected by five or six Chronicles, none of which were composed in Rome or Italy; and which can only express in broken sentences, the popular rumours, as they were conveyed to Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, or Alexandria.

† This interpretation of Vettius, a celebrated

disregarded, perhaps, in the season of health and prosperity, inspired the people with gloomy apprehensions, when the twelfth century, clouded with disgrace and misfortune, was almost elapsed;* and even posterity must acknowledge, with some surprise, that the arbitrary interpretation of an accidental or fabulous circumstance, has been seriously verified in the downfal of the Western empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures; the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppressive to its subjects.† The taxes were multiplied with the public distress; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the indulgences, that might sometimes have alleviated their misery. The severe inquisition, which confiscated their goods and tortured their persons, compelled the subjects of Valentinian

augur, was quoted by Varro, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities. Censorinus, de Die Natali, c. 17, p. 90, 91, edit. Havercamp. [The scepticism of Niebuhr made both Romulus and Numa beings of fable. Of course, the vulture-augury is classed with these; and the era of the city's foundation, the celebrated A.U.C., however convenient afterwards as a measure of time, becomes, as to its commencement, altogether apocryphal. To have questioned its correctness would have introduced immeasurable confusion into the computation of time in the days of Varro and Cicero, and however the latter might in private smile at the auguries in which he bore a part, still to have doubted those of antiquity would have rudely shocked the popular superstition. The interpretation given to that of the vultures would not be unfavourably received, when it promised the empire a farther term of five hundred years, and when the end of the term approached, the unmistakeable symptoms of decay might well recal the omen with despondent forebodings.—ED.]

* According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A.D. 447; but the uncertainty of the true era of Rome might allow some latitude of anticipation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 265) and Sidonius (in Panegyr. Avit. 357) may be admitted as fair witnesses of the popular opinion.

> Jam reputant annos, interceptoque volatu
> Vulturis, incidunt properatis sæcula metis,
> . . . . . .
> Jam prope fata tui bissenas vulturis alas
> Implebant; scis namque tuos, scis Roma, labores.

See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 340—346.

† The fifth book of Salvian is filled with pathetic lamentations, and vehement invectives. His immoderate freedom serves to prove the weakness as well as the corruption of the Roman government. His book

to prefer the more simple tyranny of the barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary servants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul, and the greatest part of Spain, were thrown into a state of disorderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudæ; and the imperial ministers pursued, with proscriptive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels whom they had made.* If all the barbarian conquerors had been annihilated in the same hour, their total destruction would not have restored the empire of the West: and if Rome still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honour.†

CHAPTER XXXVI.—SACK OF ROME BY GENSERIC, KING OF THE VANDALS.—HIS NAVAL DEPREDATIONS.—SUCCESSION OF THE LAST EMPERORS OF THE WEST, MAXIMUS, AVITUS, MAJORIAN, SEVERUS, ANTHEMIUS, OLYBRIUS, GLYCERIUS, NEPOS, AUGUSTULUS.—TOTAL EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.—REIGN OF ODOACER, THE FIRST BARBARIAN KING OF ITALY.

THE loss or desolation of the provinces, from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the glory and greatness of Rome; her internal prosperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separation of Africa. The rapacious Vandals confiscated the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular subsidies, which relieved the poverty, and encouraged

was published after the loss of Africa (A.D. 439) and before Attila's war (A.D. 451). * The Bagaudæ of Spain, who fought pitched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Idatius. Salvian has described their distress and rebellion in very forcible language. Itaque nomen civium Romanorum . . . nunc ultro repudiatur ac fugitur, nec vile tamen sed etiam abominabile pœne habetur . . . . Et hinc est ut etiam hi qui ad barbaros non confugiunt, barbari tamen esse coguntur, scilicet ut est pars magna Hispanorum, et non minima Gallorum . . . . De Bagaudis nunc mihi sermo est, qui per malos judices et cruentos spoliati, afflicti, necati, postquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt . . . . Vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos, quos esse compulimus criminosos. De Gubernat. Dei, lib. 5, p. 158, 159.

† [Gibbon has here uttered forcibly a truth, which other historians confirm. See Schmidt (i, 188) and Niebuhr's Lectures (3, 343). —ED.]

the idleness of the plebeians. The distress of the Romans was soon aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, so long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days' journey from Tangier to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined, on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the black nations, that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genseric: but he cast his eyes towards the sea; he resolved to create a naval power, and his bold resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and ship-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of six centuries, the fleets that issued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The success of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the sack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian, and the sister of Theodosius. Alliances were formed; and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared for the destruction of the common enemy; who reserved his courage to encounter those dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The designs of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promises, and apparent concessions; and the interposition of his formidable confederate, the king of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the conquest of Africa to the care of their domestic safety. The revolutions of the palace, which left the Western empire without a defender, and without a lawful prince, dispelled the apprehensions, and stimulated the avarice of Genseric. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors, and cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber, about three months after the death of Valentinian, and the elevation of Maximus to the imperial throne.

The private life of the senator Petronius Maximus* was often alleged as a rare example of human felicity. His birth was noble and illustrious, since he descended from the Anician family; his dignity was supported by an adequate patrimony in land and money; and these advantages of fortune were accompanied with liberal arts and decent manners, which adorn or imitate the inestimable gifts of genius and virtue. The luxury of his palace and table was hospitable and elegant. Whenever Maximus appeared in public, he was surrounded by a train of grateful and obsequious clients:† and it is possible that, among these clients, he might deserve and possess some real friends. His merit was rewarded by the favour of the prince and senate: he thrice exercised the office of prætorian prefect of Italy; he was twice invested with the consulship, and he obtained the rank of patrician. These civil honours were not incompatible with the enjoyment of leisure and tranquillity; his hours, according to the demands of pleasure or reason, were accurately distributed by a water-clock; and this avarice of time may be allowed to prove the sense which Maximus entertained of his own happiness. The injury which he received from the emperor Valentinian, appears to excuse the most bloody revenge. Yet a philosopher might have reflected, that, if the resistance of his wife had been sincere, her chastity was still inviolate, and that it could never be restored if she had consented to the will of the adulterer. A patriot would have hesitated, before he plunged himself and his country into those inevitable calamities, which must follow the extinction of the royal house of Theodosius. The imprudent Maximus disregarded these salutary considerations; he gratified his resentment and ambition; he saw the bleeding corpse of Valentinian at his feet; and heard himself saluted emperor by the unanimous voice of the senate and people. But the day of his inauguration was the last day of his happiness. He was imprisoned (such is the lively

* Sidonius Apollinaris composed the thirteenth epistle of the second book, to refute the paradox of his friend Serranus, who entertained a singular, though generous, enthusiasm for the deceased emperor. This epistle, with some indulgence, may claim the praise of an elegant composition; and it throws much light on the character of Maximus.

† Clientum, prævia, pedisequa, circumfusa, populositas, is the train which Sidonius himself (l. 1, epist. 9) assigns to another senator of consular rank.

expression of Sidonius) in the palace; and, after passing a sleepless night, he sighed that he had attained the summit of his wishes, and aspired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. Oppressed by the weight of the diadem, he communicated his anxious thoughts to his friend and quæstor Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the secure pleasures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed,—"O fortunate Damocles,* thy reign began and ended with the same dinner!" a well-known allusion, which Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an instructive lesson for princes and subjects.

The reign of Maximus continued about three months. His hours, of which he had lost the command, were disturbed by remorse, or guilt, or terror; and his throne was shaken by the seditions of the soldiers, the people, and the confederate barbarians. The marriage of his son Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late emperor, might tend to establish the hereditary succession of his family; but the violence which he offered to the empress Eudoxia, could proceed only from the blind impulse of lust or revenge. His own wife, the cause of these tragic events, had been seasonably removed by death; and the widow of Valentinian was compelled to violate her decent mourning, perhaps her real grief, and to submit to the embraces of a presumptuous usurper, whom she suspected as the assassin of her deceased husband. These suspicions were soon justified by the indiscreet confession of Maximus himself; and he wantonly provoked the hatred of his reluctant bride, who was still conscious that she was descended from a line of emperors. From the East, however, Eudoxia could not hope to obtain any effectual assistance; her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead; her mother languished at Jerusalem in disgrace and exile; and the sceptre of Constantinople was in the hands of a stranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage; secretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals; and

* Districtus ensis cui super impiâ
Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem;
Non avium citharæque cantus
Somnum reducent.

Horat. Carm. 3. 1.

Sidonius concludes his letter with the story of Damocles, which Cicero (Tusculan. v. 20, 21) had so inimitably told.

persuaded Genseric to improve the fair opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs by the specious names of honour, justice, and compassion.* Whatever abilities Maximus might have shewn in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and though he might easily have been informed of the naval preparations which were made on the opposite shores of Africa, he expected with supine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any measures of defence, of negotiation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals disembarked at the mouth of the Tiber, the emperor was suddenly roused from his lethargy by the clamours of a trembling and exasperated multitude. The only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the senators to imitate the example of their prince. But no sooner did Maximus appear in the streets, than he was assaulted by a shower of stones; a Roman, or a Burgundian soldier, claimed the honour of the first wound; his mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tiber; the Roman people rejoiced in the punishment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities; and the domestics of Eudoxia signalized their zeal in the service of their mistress.†

On the third day after the tumult, Genseric boldly advanced from the port of Ostia to the gates of the defenceless city. Instead of a sally of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates an unarmed and venerable procession of the bishop at the head of his clergy.‡ The fearless spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, *again* mitigated the fierce-

* Notwithstanding the evidence of Procopius, Evagrius, Idatius, Marcellinus, &c. the learned Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv, p. 249) doubts the reality of this invitation, and observes, with great truth—"Non si può dir quanto sia facile il popolo a sognare e spacciar voci false." But his argument, from the interval of time and place, is extremely feeble. The figs which grew near Carthage were produced to the senate of Rome on the third day.

† - - - Infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu
Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.
Sidon in Panegyr. Avit. 442.

A remarkable line, which insinuates that Rome and Maximus were betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries. ‡ The apparent success of pope Leo may be justified by Prosper, and the Historia Miscellan.; but the improbable notion of Baronius (A.D. 455, no. 13) that Genseric spared the three apostolical churches, is not countenanced even by the doubtful testimony of the Liber Pontificalis.

ness of a barbarian conqueror; the king of the Vandals promised to spare the unresisting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although such orders were neither seriously given, nor strictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some degree beneficial to his country. But Rome and its inhabitants were delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public or private wealth, of sacred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religions, exhibited a memorable example of the vicissitudes of human and divine things. Since the abolition of Paganism, the capitol had been violated and abandoned; yet the statues of the gods and heroes were still respected, and the curious roof of gilt bronze was reserved for the rapacious hands of Genseric.* The holy instruments of the Jewish worship,† the gold table, and the gold candlestick with seven branches, originally framed according to the particular instructions of God himself, and which were placed in the sanctuary of his temple, had been ostentatiously displayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the temple of Peace: and, at the end of four hundred years, the spoils of Jerusalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage, by a barbarian who derived his origin from the shores of the Baltic. These ancient monuments might attract the notice of curiosity, as well as

* The profusion of Catulus, the first who gilt the roof of the Capitol, was not universally approved (Plin. Hist. Natur. 33. 18); but it was far exceeded by the emperor's; and the external gilding of the temple cost Domitian twelve thousand talents (2,400,000*l.*) The expressions of Claudian and Rutilius (*luce metalli æmula . . . fastigia astris*, and *confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus*) manifestly prove that this splendid covering was not removed either by the Christians or the Goths. (See Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. 2, c. 6, p. 125). It should seem that the roof of the Capitol was decorated with gilt statues, and chariots drawn by four horses. [The "Capitolium *fulgens*," which Horace (Carm. 3. 3) makes Juno utter, at the apotheosis of Romulus, must be regarded as prophetic of the splendour which Catulus and Augustus created seven centuries afterwards. —Ed.] † The curious reader may consult the learned and accurate treatise of Hadrian Reland, de Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcû Titiano Romæ conspicuis, in 12mo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1716.

of avarice. But the Christian churches, enriched and adorned by the prevailing superstition of the times, afforded more plentiful materials for sacrilege: and the pious liberality of pope Leo, who melted six silver vases, the gift of Constantine, each of a hundred pounds weight, is evidence of the damage which he attempted to repair. In the forty-five years that had elapsed since the Gothic invasion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape or to satisfy the avarice of a conqueror, who possessed leisure to collect, and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital. The imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the sideboards of massy plate, were accumulated with disorderly rapine; the gold and silver amounted to several thousand talents; yet even the brass and copper were laboriously removed. Eudoxia herself, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, soon bewailed the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only surviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal; who immediately hoisted sail, and returned with a prosperous navigation to the port of Carthage.* Many thousand Romans of both sexes, chosen for some useful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genseric; and their distress was aggravated by the unfeeling barbarians, who, in the division of the booty, separated the wives from their husbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Deogratias, bishop of Carthage,†

* The vessel which transported the relics of the Capitol, was the only one of the whole fleet that suffered shipwreck. If a bigoted sophist, a Pagan bigot, had mentioned the accident, he might have rejoiced that this cargo of sacrilege was lost in the sea.

† See Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. 1, c. 8, p. 11, 12, edit. Ruinart. Deogratias governed the church of Carthage only three years. If he had not been privately buried, his corpse would have been torn piecemeal by the mad devotion of the people. ["Deo Gratias," was a common salutation among the early Christians. It rarely occurs as a name, yet the benevolent bishop of Carthage, who bore it, made it honourable. For the space of fifteen years, no ecclesiastic would venture among the dreaded Vandals, and the see remained vacant. Deogratias at last undertook its dangers and its duties. He is not exalted, as he ought to be, by the contrast which Gibbon has drawn between him and Hannibal. His services were rendered without regard to difference of creed, for he was an Arian,

was their only consolation and support. He generously sold the gold and silver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the slavery of others, and to assist the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had suffered in their passage from Italy to Africa. By his order two spacious churches were converted into hospitals: the sick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his visits, both in the day and night, with an assiduity that surpassed his strength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value of his services. Compare this scene with the field of Cannæ; and judge between Hannibal and the successor of St. Cyprian.*

The deaths of Ætius and Valentinian had relaxed the ties which held the barbarians of Gaul in peace and subordination. The sea-coast was infested by the Saxons; the Allemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine; and the ambition of the Goths seemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests. The emperor Maximus relieved himself, by a judicious choice, from the weight of these distant cares; he silenced the solicitations

and the victims of Genseric's irruption were Nicenists. Orthodox writers, therefore, coldly acknowledged the assistance which he so generously bestowed, and his own sect upbraided his tender mercies for unbelievers. Gibbon might have raised him much higher by contrasting his principle of action with that of Leo *the great*, on a very similar occasion. Among the Africans who sought an asylum at Rome when Carthage was attacked by the Vandals, there was a large proportion of Manichæans and Pelagians. Instead of commiserating the unfortunate outcasts, Leo ordered that their creeds should be strictly inquired into, directed his clergy and true believers to repel all heretics, and obtained an imperial decree, by which they were either banished, imprisoned, or otherwise treated with the most rigorous severity. (Zedler's Lexicon, 17, p. 155. Neander, Hist. of Chris. 4. 489, 490.) The name of Deogratias, which deserves to be placed far above that of Leo, can seldom be found on the page of an ancient writer, and has scarcely a place in modern ecclesiastical histories or in biographies of eminent men. The mere attempt to make it remembered, is a gratifying effort.—ED.]

* The general evidence for the death of Maximus, and the sack of Rome by the Vandals, is comprised in Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 441—450), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 4, 5, p. 188, 189, and l. 2, c. 9, p. 255), Evagrius (l. 2, c. 7), Jornandes (De Reb. Geticis, c. 45, p. 677), and the Chronicles of Idatius, Prosper, Marcellinus, and Theophanes, under the proper year.

of his friends, listened to the voice of fame, and promoted a stranger to the general command of the forces in Gaul. Avitus,* the stranger, whose merit was so nobly rewarded, descended from a wealthy and honourable family in the diocese of Auvergne. The convulsions of the times urged him to embrace, with the same ardour, the civil and military professions; and the indefatigable youth blended the studies of literature and jurisprudence with the exercise of arms and hunting. Thirty years of his life were laudably spent in the public service; he alternately displayed his talents in war and negotiation; and the soldier of Ætius, after executing the most important embassies, was raised to the station of prætorian prefect of Gaul. Either the merit of Avitus excited envy, or his moderation was desirous of repose, since he calmly retired to an estate, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Clermont. A copious stream, issuing from the mountain, and falling headlong in many a loud and foaming cascade, discharged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleasantly seated on the margin of the lake. The baths, the porticoes, the summer and winter apartments, were adapted to the purposes of luxury and use; and the adjacent country afforded the various prospects of woods, pastures, and meadows.† In this retreat, where Avitus amused his leisure with books, rural sports, the practice of husbandry, and the society of his friends,‡ he received the imperial diploma, which constituted him master-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He assumed the military command; the

* The private live and elevation of Avitus must be deduced, with becoming suspicion, from the panegyric pronounced by Sidonius Apollinaris, his subject, and his son-in-law.

† After the example of the younger Pliny, Sidonius (lib. 2, c. 2) has laboured the florid, prolix, and obscure description of his villa, which bore the name (*Avitacum*), and had been the property of Avitus. The precise situation is not ascertained. Consult however the notes of Savaron and Sirmond.

‡ Sidonius (lib. 2, epist. 9) has described the country life of the Gallic nobles, in a visit which he made to his friends, whose estates were in the neighbourhood of Nismes. The morning-hours were spent in the *sphæristerium*, or tenniscourt; or in the library, which was furnished with *Latin* authors, profane and religious; the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice served, at dinner and supper, with hot meat (boiled and roast) and wine. During the intermediate time, the company slept, took the air on horseback, and used the warm bath.

barbarians suspended their fury; and whatever means he might employ, whatever concessions he might be forced to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Visigoths; and the Roman general, less attentive to his dignity than to the public interest, did not disdain to visit Thoulouse in the character of an ambassador. He was received with courteous hospitality by Theodoric, the king of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a solid alliance with that powerful nation, he was astonished by the intelligence, that the emperor Maximus was slain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A vacant throne, which he might ascend without guilt or danger, tempted his ambition;* and the Visigoths were easily persuaded to support his claim by their irresistible suffrage. They loved the person of Avitus: they respected his virtues; and they were not insensible of the advantage, as well as honour, of giving an emperor to the West. The season was now approaching, in which the annual assembly of the seven provinces was held at Arles: their deliberations might perhaps be influenced by the presence of Theodoric and his martial brothers; but their choice would naturally incline to the most illustrious of their countrymen. Avitus, after a decent resistance, accepted the imperial diadem from the representatives of Gaul; and his election was ratified by the acclamations of the barbarians and provincials. The formal consent of Marcian, emperor of the East, was solicited and obtained: but the senate, Rome, and Italy, though humbled by their recent calamities, submitted with a secret murmur to the presumption of the Gallic usurper.

Theodoric, to whom Avitus was indebted for the purple, had acquired the Gothic sceptre by the murder of his elder brother Torismond; and he justified this atrocious deed by the design which his predecessor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire.† Such a crime might not

* Seventy lines of panegyric (505—575) which describe the importunity of Theodoric and of Gaul, struggling to overcome the modest reluctance of Avitus, are blown away by three words of an honest historian,—Romanum *ambisset* imperium. Greg. Turon. lib. 2, c. 11, in tom. ii. p. 168.

† Isidore, archbishop of Seville, who was himself of the blood-royal of the Goths, acknowledges, and almost justifies (Hist. Goth. p. 718) the crime which their slave Jornandes had basely dissembled (c. 43, p. 673).

be incompatible with the virtues of a barbarian; but the manners of Theodoric were gentle and humane; and posterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king, whom Sidonius had intimately observed in the hours of peace and of social intercourse. In an epistle, dated from the court of Thoulouse, the orator satisfies the curiosity of one of his friends in the following description:*—"By the majesty of his appearance, Theodoric would command the respect of those who are ignorant of his merit; and although he is born a prince, his merit would dignify a private station. He is of a middle stature, his body appears rather plump than fat, and in his well-proportioned limbs agility is united with muscular strength.† If you examine his countenance, you will distinguish a high forehead, large shaggy eye-brows, an aquiline nose, thin lips, a regular set of white teeth, and a fair complexion, that blushes more frequently from modesty than from anger. The ordinary distribution of his time, as far as it is exposed to the public view, may be concisely represented. Before day-break he repairs, with a small train, to his domestic chapel, where the service is performed by the Arian clergy; but those who presume to interpret his secret sentiments consider this assiduous devotion as the effect of habit and policy. The rest of the morning is employed in the administration of his kingdom. His chair is surrounded by some military officers of decent aspect and behaviour: the noisy crowd of his barbarian guards occupies the hall of audience; but they are not permitted to stand within the veils, or curtains, that conceal the council-chamber from vulgar eyes. The ambassadors of the nations are successively introduced: Theodoric listens with attention, answers them with discreet brevity, and either announces or delays, according to the nature of their business, his final resolution. About eight (the second

* This elaborate description (lib. 1, ep. 2, p. 2—7) was dictated by some political motive. It was designed for the public eye, and had been shown by the friends of Sidonius, before it was inserted in the collection of his epistles. The first book was published separately. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclés. tom. xvi, p 264.

† I have suppressed in this portrait of Theodoric, several minute circumstances and technical phrases, which could be tolerable, or indeed intelligible, to those only, who, like the contemporaries of Sidonius, had frequented the markets where naked slaves were exposed to sale.

hour) he rises from his throne, and visits either his treasury or his stables. If he chooses to hunt, or at least to exercise himself on horseback, his bow is carried by a favourite youth; but when the game is marked, he bends it with his own hand, and seldom misses the object of his aim: as a king, he disdains to bear arms in such ignoble warfare; but, as a soldier, he would blush to accept any military service which he could perform himself. On common days, his dinner is not different from the repast of a private citizen; but every Saturday many honourable guests are invited to the royal table, which, on these occasions, is served with the elegance of Greece, the plenty of Gaul, and the order and diligence of Italy.* The gold or silver plate is less remarkable for its weight than for the brightness and curious workmanship; the taste is gratified without the help of foreign and costly luxury; the size and number of the cups of wine are regulated with a strict regard to the laws of temperance; and the respectful silence that prevails is interrupted only by grave and instructive conversation. After dinner Theodoric sometimes indulges himself in a short slumber; and as soon as he wakes he calls for the dice and tables, encourages his friends to forget the royal majesty, and is delighted when they freely express the passions which are excited by the incidents of play. At this game, which he loves as the image of war, he alternately displays his eagerness, his skill, his patience, and his cheerful temper. If he loses, he laughs; he is modest and silent if he wins. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming indifference, his courtiers choose to solicit any favour in the moments of victory; and I myself, in my applications to the king, have derived some benefit from my losses.† About the ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide of business again returns, and flows incessantly till after sunset, when the signal of the royal supper dismisses the weary crowd of suppliants and pleaders. At the supper, a more familiar repast, buffoons and pantomimes are sometimes introduced

Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 404.

* Videas ibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam, celeritatem Italam; publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam disciplinam.

† Tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus feliciter vincor, et mihi tabula perit ut causa salvetur. Sidonius of Auvergne was not a subject of Theodoric; but he might be compelled to solicit either justice

to divert, not to offend, the company, by their ridiculous wit: but female singers, and the soft effeminate modes of music, are severely banished, and such martial tunes as animate the soul to deeds of valour are alone grateful to the ear of Theodoric. He retires from table; and the nocturnal guards are immediately posted at the entrance of the treasury, the palace, and the private apartments."

When the king of the Visigoths encouraged Avitus to assume the purple, he offered his person and his forces as a faithful soldier of the republic.* The exploits of Theodoric soon convinced the world that he had not degenerated from the warlike virtues of his ancestors. After the establishment of the Goths in Aquitain, and the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Gallicia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Carthagena and Tarragona, afflicted by a hostile invasion, represented their injuries and their apprehensions. Count Fronto was dispatched, in the name of the emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interposed his weighty mediation, to declare that, unless his brother-in-law, the king of the Suevi, immediately retired, he should be obliged to arm in the cause of justice and of Rome. "Tell him," replied the haughty Rechiarius, "that I despise his friendship and his arms: but that I shall soon try whether he will dare to expect my arrival under the walls of Thoulouse." Such a challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold designs of his enemy: he passed the Pyrenees at the head of the Visigoths; the Franks and Burgundians served under his standard; and though he professed himself the dutiful servant of Avitus, he privately stipulated, for himself and his successors, the absolute possession of his Spanish conquests. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Astorga; and the decisive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extirpated the

or favour at the court of Thoulouse. * Theodoric himself had given a solemn and voluntary promise of fidelity, which was understood both in Gaul and Spain.

——— Romæ sum, te duce, Amicus,
Principe te, MILES. Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 511.

name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which still retained the splendid vestiges of its ancient commerce and dignity.* His entrance was not polluted with blood, and the Goths respected the chastity of their female captives, more especially of the consecrated virgins; but the greatest part of the clergy and people were made slaves, and even the churches and altars were confounded in the universal pillage. The unfortunate king of the Suevi had escaped to one of the ports of the ocean; but the obstinacy of the winds opposed his flight; he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechiarius, who neither desired nor expected mercy, received with manly constancy the death which he would probably have inflicted. After this bloody sacrifice to policy or resentment, Theodoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Lusitania, without meeting any resistance, except from the miraculous powers of St. Eulalia; but he was stopped in the full career of success, and recalled from Spain, before he could provide for the security of his conquests. In his retreat towards the Pyrenees, he revenged his disappointment on the country through which he passed; and in the sack of Pallantia and Astorga he showed himself a faithless ally as well as a cruel enemy. Whilst the king of the Visigoths fought and vanquished in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired, and both the honour and the interest of Theodoric were deeply wounded by the disgrace of a friend whom he had seated on the throne of the western empire.†

The pressing solicitations of the senate and people, per-

* Quæque sinû pelagi jactat se Bracara dives.—Auson. de Claris Urbibus, p. 245. From the design of the king of the Suevi, it is evident that the navigation from the ports of Gallicia to the Mediterranean was known and practised. The ships of Bracara, or Braga, cautiously steered along the coast, without daring to lose themselves in the Atlantic. [The Urtĭcus is the Orbega of the present day, which rises in the mountains of the Asturias, takes a southward course and is joined by the Esla, when the united streams, flowing by Leon, fall into the Douro at Zamora. Braga now one of the principal cities of Portugal, had the Roman name of Bracara Augusta. The place where Rechiarius embarked was probably Calle, at the mouth of the Douro, now the well-known harbour of Oporto.—Ed.]

† This Suevic war is the most authentic part of the Chronicle of Idatius, who, as bishop of Iria Flavia, was himself a spectator and a sufferer. Jornandes (c. 44, p. 675—677) has expatiated with pleasure

suaded the emperor Avitus to fix his residence at Rome, and to accept the consulship for the ensuing year. On the first day of January, his son-in-law, Sidonius Apollinaris, celebrated his praises in a panegyric of six hundred verses; but this composition, though it was rewarded with a brass statue,* seems to contain a very moderate proportion either of genius or of truth. The poet, if we may degrade that sacred name, exaggerates the merit of a sovereign and a father; and his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was soon contradicted by the event. Avitus, at a time when the imperial dignity was reduced to a pre-eminence of toil and danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury; age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insulting, with indiscreet and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose wives he had seduced or violated.† But the Romans were not inclined either to excuse his faults or to acknowledge his virtues. The several parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each other; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate asserted their legitimate claim in the election of an emperor; and their authority, which had been originally derived from the old constitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declining monarchy. Yet even such a monarchy might have resisted the votes of an unarmed senate, if their discontent had not been supported, or perhaps inflamed, by Count Ricimer, one of the principal commanders of the barbarian troops, who formed the military defence of Italy. The daughter of Wallia, king of the Visigoths, was the mother of Ricimer; but he was descended, on the father's side, from the nation of the Suevi;‡ his pride or patriotism might be exasperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen;

on the Gothic victory. [Idatius was three months a captive in the hands of the Suevi, under Frumarius. Pallantia, called by him Palantina civitas, bears now the name of Polencia, to the north of Valladolid. The village of Padron, south of Santiago de Compostella, was the ancient Iria Flavia.—ED.]

* In one of the porticoes or galleries belonging to Trajan's library, among the statues of famous writers and orators. Sidon. Apoll. lib. 9, epist. 16, p. 284. Carm. 8, p. 350.

† Luxuriose agere volens a senatoribus projectus est, is the concise expression of Gregory of Tours (l. 2, c. 11, in tom. ii, p. 168). An old Chronicle in tom. ii, p. 649) mentions an indecent jest of Avitus, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Treves.

‡ Sidonius (Panegyr. Anthem. 302, &c.) praises the royal birth of Ricimer, the lawful heir, as he chooses to insinuate, both of the Gothic and Suevic kingdoms.

and he obeyed with reluctance an emperor in whose elevation he had not been consulted. His faithful and important services against the common enemy rendered him still more formidable;* and after destroying, on the coast of Corsica, a fleet of Vandals, which consisted of sixty galleys, Ricimer returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He chose that moment to signify to Avitus that his reign was at an end; and the feeble emperor, at a distance from his Gothic allies, was compelled, after a short and unavailing struggle, to abdicate the purple. By the clemency, however, or the contempt of Ricimer,† he was permitted to descend from the throne to the more desirable station of bishop of Placentia; but the resentment of the senate was still unsatisfied; and their inflexible severity pronounced the sentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the humble hope, not of arming the Visigoths in his cause, but of securing his person and treasures in the sanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar saints of Auvergne.‡ Disease, or the hand of the executioner, arrested him on the road; yet his remains were decently transported to Brivas or Brioude, in his native province, and he reposed at the feet of his holy patron.§ Avitus left only one daughter, the wife of Sidonius Apollinaris, who inherited the patrimony of his father-in-law; lamenting, at the same time, the disappointment of his public and private expectations. His resentment prompted him to join, or at least to countenance, the measures of a rebellious faction in Gaul; and the poet had contracted some guilt, which it

* See the Chronicle of Idatius. Jornandes (c. 44, p. 676) styles him, with some truth, virum egregium, et pœne tunc in Italiâ ad exercitum singularem.

† Parcens innocentiæ Aviti, is the compassionate but contemptuous language of Victor Tunnunensis (in Chron. apud Scaliger. Euseb.). In another place he calls him vir totius simplicitatis. This commendation is more humble, but it is more solid and sincere, than the praises of Sidonius.

‡ He suffered, as it is supposed, in the persecution of Diocletian. (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. v, p. 279, 696.) Gregory of Tours, his peculiar votary, has dedicated to the glory of Julian the Martyr an entire book (de Gloria Martyrum, lib. 2, in Max. Biblioth. Patrum, tom. xi, p. 861—871), in which he relates about fifty foolish miracles performed by his relics.

§ Gregory of Tours (lib. 2. c. 11, p. 168) is concise, but correct, in the reign of his countryman. The words of Idatius, "caret imperio, caret et vita," seem to imply, that the death of Avitus was violent; but it must have been secret, since Evagrius (lib. 2, c. 7) could suppose that he died of the plague.

was incumbent on him to expiate, by a new tribute of flattery, to the succeeding emperor.*

The successor of Avitus presents the welcome discovery of a great and heroic character, such as sometimes arise in a degenerate age, to vindicate the honour of the human species. The emperor Majorian has deserved the praises of his contemporaries, and of posterity; and these praises may be strongly expressed in the words of a judicious and disinterested historian: "That he was gentle to his subjects; that he was terrible to his enemies; and that he excelled in *every* virtue *all* his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans."† Such a testimony may justify at least the panegyric of Sidonius; and we may acquiesce in the assurance, that, although the obsequious orator would have flattered, with equal zeal, the most worthless of princes, the extraordinary merit of his object confined him, on this occasion, within the bounds of truth.‡ Majorian derived his name from his maternal grandfather, who, in the reign of the great Theodosius, had commanded the troops of the Illyrian frontier. He gave his daughter in marriage to the father of Majorian, a respectable officer, who administered the revenues of Gaul with skill and integrity; and generously preferred the friendship of Ætius to the tempting offers of an insidious court. His son, the future emperor, who was educated in the profession of arms, displayed, from his early youth, intrepid courage, premature wisdom, and

* After a modest appeal to the examples of his brethren, Virgil and Horace, Sidonius honestly confesses the debt, and promises payment.

Sic mihi diverso nuper sub Marte cadenti
Jussisti placido victor ut essem animo.
Serviat ergo tibi servati lingua poetæ,
Atque meæ vitæ laus tua sit pretium.
Sidon. Apoll. carm. 4, p. 308.

See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 448, &c.

† The words of Procopius deserve to be transcribed; οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μαϊορῖνος ξύμπαντας τοὺς πώποτε Ῥωμαίων βεβασιλευκότας ὑπεραίρων ἀρετῇ πάσῃ; and afterwards, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μέτριος γεγονὼς, φοβερὸς δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους: (de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 7, p. 194) a concise but comprehensive definition of royal virtue.

‡ The panegyric was pronounced at Lyons before the end of the year 458, while the emperor was still consul. It has more art than genius, and more labour than art. The ornaments are false or trivial, the expression is feeble and prolix; and Sidonius wants the skill to exhibit the principal figure in a strong and distinct light. The private life of Majorian occupies about two hundred lines, 107—305.

unbounded liberality in a scanty fortune. He followed the standard of Ætius, contributed to his success, shared, and sometimes eclipsed, his glory, and at last excited the jealousy of the patrician, or rather of his wife, who forced him to retire from the service.* Majorian, after the death of Ætius, was recalled and promoted; and his intimate connection with count Ricimer was the immediate step by which he ascended the throne of the western empire. During the vacancy that succeeded the abdication of Avitus, the ambitious barbarian, whose birth excluded him from the imperial dignity, governed Italy, with the title of patrician; resigned to his friend the conspicuous station of master-general of the cavalry and infantry; and, after an interval of some months, consented to the unanimous wish of the Romans, whose favour Majorian had solicited by a recent victory over the Allemanni.† He was invested with the purple at Ravenna; and the epistle which he addressed to the senate will best describe his situation and his sentiments. "Your election, conscript fathers! and the ordinance of the most valiant army, have made me your emperor.‡ May the

* She pressed his immediate death, and was scarcely satisfied with his disgrace. It should seem, that Ætius, like Belisarius and Marlborough, was governed by his wife; whose fervent piety, though it might work miracles (Gregor. Turon. lib. 2, c. 7, p. 162) was not incompatible with base and sanguinary counsels.

† The Allemanni had passed the Rhætian Alps, and were defeated in the *Campi Canini*, or Valley of Bellinzone, through which the Tesin flows, in its descent from Mount Adula, to the Lago Maggiore. (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i, p. 100, 101.) This boasted victory over *nine hundred* barbarians (Panegyr. Majorian. 373, &c.) betrays the extreme weakness of Italy.

‡ Imperatorem me factum P. C. electionis vestræ arbitrio, et fortissimi exercitus ordinatione agnoscite. (Novell. Majorian. tit. 3, p. 34, ad calcem Cod. Theodos.) Sidonius proclaims the unanimous voice of the empire.

——— Postquam ordine vobis
Ordo omnis regnum dederat; *plebs, curia, miles,*
Et *collega* simul.——— 386.

This language is ancient and constitutional; and we may observe, that the *clergy* were not yet considered as a distinct order of the state. [The loose expressions of a poet do not warrant an inference so strong as this. In the common acceptation of the phrase, the Christian priesthood had long constituted a "distinct order of the state." This is amply proved by Neander (Hist. of Chris. vol. iii, 195, 197, 207). Nor is the language of Sidonius here "constitutional." The *constitution* of imperial Rome never gave either the people or the army a voice in the election of an emperor; this was left to the senate, whose voice, although

propitious Deity direct and prosper the counsels and events of my administration to your advantage, and to the public welfare! For my own part, I did not aspire, I have submitted, to reign; nor should I have discharged the obligations of a citizen, if I had refused, with base and selfish ingratitude, to support the weight of those labours which were imposed by the republic. Assist, therefore, the prince whom you have made; partake the duties which you have enjoined; and may our common endeavours promote the happiness of an empire, which I have accepted from your hands. Be assured, that, in our times, justice shall resume her ancient vigour, and that virtue shall become not only innocent, but meritorious. Let none, except the authors themselves, be apprehensive of delations,* which, as a subject, I have always condemned, and, as a prince, will severely punish. Our own vigilance, and that of our father, the patrician Ricimer, shall regulate all military affairs, and provide for the safety of the Roman world, which we have saved from foreign and domestic enemies.† You now understand the maxims of my government; you may confide in the faithful love and sincere assurances of a prince, who has formerly been the companion of your life and dangers; who still glories in the name of senator, and who is anxious that you should never repent of the judgment which you have pronounced in his favour." The emperor, who, amidst the ruins of the Roman world, revived the ancient language of law and liberty, which Trajan would not have disclaimed, must have derived those generous sentiments from his own heart, since they were not suggested to his imitation by the customs of his age, or the example of his predecessors.‡

soon virtually nullified, was to the last formally respected. In the case of Avitus, the *miles*, to whom he owed his elevation, was the Gothic warrior of Theodoric, and in that of Marjorian, the foreign mercenary, whose interference no *constitutional* provisions could have authorized.—Ed.]

* Either dilationes, or delationes, would afford a tolerable reading; but there is much more sense and spirit in the latter, to which I have therefore given the preference.

† Ab externo hoste et a domesticâ clade liberavimus: by the latter, Majorian must understand the tyranny of Avitus; whose death he consequently avowed as a meritorious act. On this occasion, Sidonius is fearful and obscure; he describes the twelve Cæsars, the nations of Africa, &c., that he may escape the dangerous name of Avitus. (305—369.)

‡ See the whole edict or epistle of Majorian to the senate. (Novell. tit. 4, p. 34.) Yet the

The private and public actions of Majorian are very imperfectly known; but his laws, remarkable for an original cast of thought and expression, faithfully represent the character of a sovereign who loved his people, who sympathized in their distress, who had studied the causes of the decline of the empire, and who was capable of applying (as far as such reformation was practicable) judicious and effectual remedies to the public disorders.* His regulations concerning the finances manifestly tended to remove, or at least to mitigate, the most intolerable grievances. I. From the first hour of his reign, he was solicitous (I translate his own words) to relieve the *weary* fortunes of the provincials, oppressed by the accumulated weight of indictions and superindictions.† With this view, he granted a universal amnesty, a final and absolute discharge of all arrears of tribute, of all debts, which, under any pretence, the fiscal officers might demand from the people. This wise dereliction of obsolete, vexatious, and unprofitable claims, improved and purified the sources of the public revenue; and the subject, who could now look back without despair, might labour with hope and gratitude for himself and for his country. II. In the assessment and collection of taxes, Majorian restored the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates; and suppressed the extraordinary commissions which had been introduced, in the name of the emperor himself, or of the prætorian prefects. The favourite servants, who obtained such irregular powers, were insolent in their behaviour, and arbitrary in their demands: they affected to despise the subordinate tribunals, and they were discontented if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the sum which they condescended to pay into the treasury. One instance of their extortion would appear incredible, were it not authenticated by the legislator himself. They exacted the whole payment in gold: but they refused the current coin of the empire, and would accept only such ancient

expression, *regnum nostrum*, bears some taint of the age, and does not mix kindly with the word *respublica*, which he frequently repeats.

* See the laws of Majorian (they are only nine in number, but very long and various) at the end of the Theodosian Code, Novell. lib. 4. p. 32—37. Godefroy has not given any commentary on these additional pieces.

† Fessas provincialium variâ atque multiplici tributorum exactione fortunas, et extraordinariis fiscalium solutionum oneribus attritas, &c. Novell. Majorian. tit. 4, p. 34.

pieces as were stamped with the names of Faustina or the Antonines. The subject, who was unprovided with these curious medals, had recourse to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or, if he succeeded in the research, his imposition was doubled, according to the weight and value of the money of former times.* III. "The municipal corporation (says the emperor), the lesser senates (so antiquity has justly styled them), deserve to be considered as the heart of the cities, and the sinews of the republic. And yet so low are they now reduced, by the injustice of magistrates and the venality of collectors, that many of their members, renouncing their dignity and their country, have taken refuge in distant and obscure exile." He urges, and even compels, their return to their respective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to desert the exercise of their municipal functions. They are directed, under the authority of the provincial magistrates, to resume their office of levying the tribute; but, instead of being made responsible for the whole sum assessed on their district, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have actually received, and of the defaulters who are still indebted to the public. IV. But Majorian was not ignorant that these corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injustice and oppression which they had suffered; and he therefore revives the useful office of the *defenders of cities*. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free assembly, some man of discretion and integrity, who would dare to assert their privileges, to represent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuses that were committed under the sanction of his name and authority.

The spectator who casts a mournful view over the ruins of ancient Rome, is tempted to accuse the memory of the Goths and Vandals for the mischief which they had neither leisure nor power, nor perhaps inclination to perpetrate. The tempest of war might strike some lofty turrets to the

* The learned Greaves (vol. I. p. 329—331) has found by a diligent inquiry, that *aurei* of the Antonines weighed one hundred and eighteen, and those of the fifth century only sixty-eight, English grains. Majorian gives currency to all gold coin, excepting only the *Gallic solidus*, from its deficiency, not in the weight, but in the standard.

ground; but the destruction which undermined the foundations of those massy fabrics was prosecuted, slowly and silently, during a period of ten centuries; and the motives of interest that afterwards operated without shame or control, were severely checked by the taste and spirit of the emperor Majorian. The decay of the city had gradually impaired the value of the public works. The circus and theatres might still excite, but they seldom gratified the desires of the people; the temples, which had escaped the zeal of the Christians, were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminished crowds of the Romans were lost in the immense space of their baths and porticoes; and the stately libraries and halls of justice became useless to an indolent generation, whose repose was seldom disturbed either by study or business. The monuments of consular or imperial greatness were no longer revered, as the immortal glory of the capital: they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials, cheaper and more convenient than the distant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addressed to the easy magistrates of Rome, which stated the want of stones or bricks for some necessary service: the fairest forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the sake of some paltry or pretended repairs; and the degenerate Romans, who converted the spoil to their own emolument, demolished with sacrilegious hands the labours of their ancestors. Majorian, who had often sighed over the desolation of the city, applied a severe remedy to the growing evil.* He reserved to the prince and senate the sole cognizance of the extreme cases which might justify the destruction of an ancient edifice; imposed a fine of fifty pounds of gold (two thousand pounds sterling) on every magistrate who should presume to grant

* The whole edict (Novell. Majorian. tit. 6, p. 35) is curious. "Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et ut aliquid reparetur, magna diruuntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur, ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædificium cõnstruens, per gratiam judicum . . . . præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet," &c. With equal zeal, but with less power, Petrarch, in the fourteenth century, repeated the same complaints. (Vie de Petrarque, tom. i, p. 326, 327.) If I prosecute this history, I shall not be unmindful of the decline and fall of the city of Rome; an interesting object, to which my plan was originally confined. [This edict of Majorian is an official contradiction of the indiscriminate havoc, alleged to have been perpetrated by the barbarians, and on the other hand equally exposes the

such illegal and scandalous license; and threatened to chastise the criminal obedience of their subordinate officers by a severe whipping, and the amputation of both their hands. In the last instance, the legislator might seem to forget the proportion of guilt and punishment; but his zeal arose from a generous principle, and Majorian was anxious to protect the monuments of those ages in which he would have desired, and deserved to live. The emperor conceived, that it was his interest to increase the number of his subjects; that it was his duty to guard the purity of the marriage-bed: but the means which he employed to accomplish these salutary purposes are of an ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable kind. The pious maids who consecrated their virginity to Christ, were restrained from taking the veil till they had reached their fortieth year. Widows under that age were compelled to form a second alliance within the term of five years, by the forfeiture of half their wealth to their nearest relations, or to the state. Unequal marriages were condemned or annulled. The punishment of confiscation and exile was deemed so inadequate to the guilt of adultery, that if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the express declaration of Majorian, be slain with impunity.*

While the emperor Majorian assiduously laboured to restore the happiness and virtue of the Romans, he encountered the arms of Genseric, from his character and situation, their most formidable enemy. A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Liris or Garigliano: but the imperial troops surprised and attacked the disorderly barbarians, who were encumbered with the spoils of Campania; they were chased with slaughter to their ships, and their leader, the king's brother-in-law, was found in the number of the slain.† Such vigilance might announce the character of the new reign; but the strictest vigilance and the most numerous forces were insufficient to protect the long-extended coast of Italy from the depredations of a naval war. The public opinion had imposed a nobler and

true authors of the mischief.—ED.]

* The emperor chides the lenity of Rogatian, consular of Tuscany, in a style of acrimonious reproof, which sounds almost like personal resentment. (Novell. tit. 9, p. 37.) The law of Majorian, which punished obstinate widows, was soon after repealed by his successor Severus. (Novell. Sever. tit. 1, p. 37.)

† Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. 385—440.

more arduous task on the genius of Majorian. Rome expected from him alone the restitution of Africa; and the design which he formed of attacking the Vandals in their new settlements, was the result of bold and judicious policy. If the intrepid emperor could have infused his own spirit into the youth of Italy; if he could have revived in the field of Mars the manly exercises in which he had always surpassed his equals; he might have marched against Genseric at the head of a *Roman* army. Such a reformation of national manners might be embraced by the rising generation; but it is the misfortune of those princes who laboriously sustain a declining monarchy, that, to obtain some immediate advantage or to avert some impending danger, they are forced to countenance, and even to multiply the most pernicious abuses. Majorian, like the weakest of his predecessors, was reduced to the disgraceful expedient of substituting barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his unwarlike subjects: and his superior abilities could only be displayed in the vigour and dexterity with which he wielded a dangerous instrument, so apt to recoil on the hand that used it. Besides the confederates who were already engaged in the service of the empire, the fame of his liberality and valour attracted the nations of the Danube, the Borysthenes, and perhaps of the Tanais. Many thousands of the bravest subjects of Attila, the Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Alani, assembled in the plains of Liguria; and their formidable strength was balanced by their mutual animosities.* They passed the Alps in a severe winter. The emperor led the way on foot, and in complete armour; sounding, with his long staff, the depth of the ice or snow, and encouraging the Scythians, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful assurance, that they should be satisfied with the heat of Africa. The citizens of Lyons had presumed to shut their gates: they soon implored and experienced the clemency of Majorian. He vanquished Theodoric in the field; and admitted to his friendship and alliance a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms. The beneficial though precarious reunion of the greatest part of

* The review of the army, and passage of the Alps, contain the most tolerable passages of the Panegyric. (470—552.) M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. viii, p. 49—55) is a more satisfactory commentator than either Savaron or Sirmond.

Gaul and Spain, was the effect of persuasion as well as of force;* and the independent Bagaudæ, who had escaped or resisted the oppression of former reigns, were disposed to confide in the virtues of Majorian. His camp was filled with barbarian allies; his throne was supported by the zeal of an affectionate people; but the emperor had foreseen, that it was impossible, without a maritime power, to achieve the conquest of Africa. In the first Punic war, the republic had exerted such incredible diligence, that, within sixty days after the first stroke of the axe had been given in the forest, a fleet of one hundred and sixty galleys proudly rode at anchor in the sea.† Under circumstances much less favourable, Majorian equalled the spirit and perseverance of the ancient Romans. The woods of the Apennine were felled; the arsenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Misenum were restored; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public service; and the imperial navy of three hundred large galleys, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in the secure and capacious harbour of Carthagena in Spain.‡ The intrepid countenance of Majorian animated his troops with a confidence of victory; and if we might credit the historian Procopius, his courage sometimes hurried him beyond the bounds of prudence. Anxious to explore, with his own eyes, the state of the Vandals, he ventured, after disguising the colour of his hair, to visit Carthage in the character of his own ambassador: and Genseric was afterwards mortified by the dis-

* Τὰ μὲν ὅπλοις, τὰ δὲ λόγοις, is the just and forcible distinction of Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 42), in a short fragment which throws much light on the history of Majorian. Jornandes has suppressed the defeat and alliance of the Visigoths, which were solemnly proclaimed in Gallicia; and are marked in the Chronicle of Idatius.

† Florus, lib. 2, c. 2. He amuses himself with the poetical fancy, that the trees had been transformed into ships; and indeed the whole transaction, as it is related in the first book of Polybius, deviates too much from the probable course of human events.

‡ Interea duplici texis dum littore classem
Inferno superoque mari, cadit omnis in æquor
Sylva tibi, &c. ———

Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. 441—461.

The number of ships, which Priscus fixes at three hundred, is magnified by an indefinite comparison with the fleets of Agamemnon, Xerxes, and Augustus.

covery, that he had entertained and dismissed the emperor of the Romans. Such an anecdote may be rejected as an improbable fiction; but it is a fiction which would not have been imagined unless in the life of a hero.*

Without the help of a personal interview, Genseric was sufficiently acquainted with the genius and designs of his adversary. He practised his customary arts of fraud and delay; but he practised them without success. His applications for peace became each hour more submissive, and perhaps more sincere; but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim, that Rome could not be safe, as long as Carthage existed in a hostile state. The king of the Vandals distrusted the valour of his native subjects, who were enervated by the luxury of the south;† he suspected the fidelity of the vanquished people, who abhorred him as an Arian tyrant; and the desperate measure which he executed, of reducing Mauritania into a desert,‡ could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor, who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the African coast. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin, by the treachery of some powerful subjects, envious or apprehensive of their master's success. Guided by their secret intelligence, he surprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagena: many of the ships were sunk, or taken, or burnt; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day.§ After this event, the behaviour of the two antagonists shewed them superior

* Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 8, p. 194. When Genseric conducted his unknown guest into the arsenal of Carthage, the arms clashed of their own accord. Majorian had tinged his yellow locks with a black colour.

† ——— Spoliisque potitus
Immensis, rôbur luxû jam perdidit omne,
Quo valuit dum pauper erat. Panegyr. Majorian. 330.

He afterwards applies to Genseric, unjustly as it should seem, the vices of his subjects.

‡ He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs. (Priscus, p. 42). Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 475) observes, that the magazines, which the Moors buried in the earth, might escape his destructive search. Two or three hundred pits are sometimes dug in the same place; and each pit contains at least four hundred bushels of corn. Shaw's Travels, p. 139.

§ Idatius, who was safe in Gallicia from the power of Ricimer, boldly and honestly declares, Vandali per proditores admoniti, &c. He dissembles, however, the name of the traitor.

to their fortune. The Vandal, instead of being elated by this accidental victory, immediately renewed his solicitations for peace. The emperor of the West, who was capable of forming great designs, and of supporting heavy disappointments, consented to a treaty, or rather to a suspension of arms; in the full assurance that before he could restore his navy, he should be supplied with provocations to justify a second war. Majorian returned to Italy, to prosecute his labours for the public happiness; and as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthagena sullied the glory which had dazzled the eyes of the multitude: almost every description of civil and military officers were exasperated against the reformer, since they all derived some advantage from the abuses which he endeavoured to suppress; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconstant passions of the barbarians against a prince whom he esteemed and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the impetuous sedition which broke out in the camp near Tortona, at the foot of the Alps. He was compelled to abdicate the imperial purple; five days after his abdication, it was reported that he died of a dysentery,* and the humble tomb which covered his remains, was consecrated by the respect and gratitude of succeeding generations.† The private character of Majorian inspired love and respect. Malicious calumny and satire excited his indignation, or, if he himself were the object, his contempt; but he protected the freedom of wit, and in the hours which the emperor gave to the familiar society of his friends, he could indulge his taste for pleasantry, without degrading the majesty of his rank.‡

* Procop. de Bell. Vandal, l. 1, c. 8, p. 194. The testimony of Idatius is fair and impartial:—"Majorianum de Galliis Romam redeuntem, et Romano imperio vel nomini res necessarias ordinantem; Richimer livore percitus, et *invidorum* consilio fultus, fraude interficit circumventum." Some read *Suevorum*, and I am unwilling to efface either of the words, as they express the different accomplices who united in the conspiracy against Majorian.

† See the Epigrams of Ennodius, No. 135, inter Sirmond. Opera, tom. i, p. 1903. It is flat and obscure; but Ennodius was made bishop of Pavia fifty years after the death of Majorian, and his praise deserves credit and regard.

‡ Sidonius gives a tedious account (l. 1, epist. 11,

It was not perhaps without some regret, that Ricimer sacrificed his friend to the interest of his ambition; but he resolved in a second choice, to avoid the imprudent preference of superior virtue and merit. At his command, the obsequious senate of Rome bestowed the imperial title on Libius Severus, who ascended the throne of the West, without emerging from the obscurity of a private condition. History has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired, as soon as his life became inconvenient to his patron,* and it would be useless to discriminate his nominal reign in the vacant interval of six years, between the death of Majorian and the elevation of Anthemius. During that period, the government was in the hands of Ricimer alone; and although the modest barbarian disclaimed the name of king, he accumulated treasures, formed a separate army, negotiated private alliances, and ruled Italy with the same independent and despotic authority which was afterwards exercised by Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting, with disdain, the phantom which he styled an emperor. Marcellinus still adhered to the old religion; and the devout Pagans, who secretly disobeyed the laws of the church and state, applauded his profound skill in the science of divination. But he possessed the more valuable qualifications of learning, virtue, and courage;† the study of the Latin literature had improved his taste; and his military talents had recommended him to the esteem

p. 25—31) of a supper at Arles, to which he was invited by Majorian a short time before his death. He had no intention of praising a deceased emperor; but a casual disinterested remark:—Subrisit Augustus; ut erat, auctoritate servatâ, cum se communioni dedisset, joci plenus," outweighs the six hundred lines of his venal panegyric.

* Sidonius (Panegyr. Anthem. 317) dismisses him to heaven.

> Auxerat Augustus naturæ lege Severus
> Divorum numerum.————

And an old list of the emperors, composed about the time of Justinian, praises his piety, and fixes his residence at Rome. (Sirmond. Not. ad Sidon. p. 111, 112.)

† Tillemont, who is always scandalized by the virtues of infidels, attributes this advantageous portrait of Marcellinus (which Suidas has preserved) to the partial zeal of some Pagan historian. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi, p. 330.

and confidence of the great Ætius, in whose ruin he was involved. By a timely flight, Marcellinus escaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly asserted his liberty amidst the convulsions of the Western empire. His voluntary or reluctant submission to the authority of Majorian, was rewarded by the government of Sicily, and the command of an army stationed in that island, to oppose or to attack the Vandals: but his barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, assumed the title of patrician of the West, secured the love of his subjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet, which claimed the dominion of the Hadriatic, and alternately alarmed the coasts of Italy and of Africa.* Ægidius, the master-general of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who imitated, the heroes of ancient Rome,† proclaimed his immortal resentment against the assassins of his beloved master. A brave and numerous army was attached to his standard; and though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maintained his independent sovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that singular honour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiesced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The authority of Ægidius ended only with his life; and the suspicions of poison and secret violence, which derived some countenance from the character of Ricimer, were eagerly entertained by the passionate credulity of the Gauls.‡

* Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 6, p. 191. In various circumstances of the life of Marcellinus, it is not easy to reconcile the Greek historian with the Latin Chronicles of the times.

† I must apply to Ægidius the praises which Sidonius (Panegyr. Majorian. 553) bestows on a nameless master-general, who commanded the rear-guard of Majorian. Idatius, from public report, commends his Christian piety; and Priscus mentions (p. 42) his military virtues.

‡ Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 12, in tom. ii, p. 168. The Père Daniel, whose ideas were superficial and modern, has started some objections

The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the Western empire was gradually reduced, was afflicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the incessant depredations of the Vandal pirates.* In the spring of each year they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage; and Genseric himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His designs were concealed with impenetrable secrecy, till the moment that he hoisted sail. When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer; "Leave the determination to the winds," replied the barbarian, with pious arrogance; "they will transport us to the guilty coast, whose inhabitants have provoked the divine justice." But if Genseric himself deigned to issue more precise orders, he judged the most wealthy to be the most criminal. The Vandals repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily: they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms spread desolation, or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they seldom attacked any fortified cities, or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them, almost at the same time, to threaten

against the story of Childeric (Hist. de France, tom. i, Preface Historique, p. 78, &c.), but they have been fairly satisfied by Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 460—510) and by two authors who disputed the prize of the Academy of Soissons (p. 131—177. 310—339). With regard to the term of Childeric's exile, it is necessary either to prolong the life of Ægidius beyond the date assigned by the Chronicle of Idatius, or to correct the text of Gregory, by reading *quarto* anno, instead of *octavo*.

* The naval war of Genseric is described by Priscus (Excerpta Legation. p. 42), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 5, p. 189, 190, and c. 22, p. 228), Victor Vitensis (de Persecut. Vandal. l. 1, c. 17, and Ruinart, p. 467—481), and in the three panegyrics of Sidonius, whose chronological order is absurdly transposed in the editions both of Savaron and Sirmond. (Avit. Carm. 7. 441—451 Majorian. Carm. 5. 327—350. 385. 440. Anthem. Carm. 2. 348. 386.) In one passage the poet seems inspired by his subject, and expresses a strong idea by a lively image:

—— Hinc Vandalus hostis
Urget; et in nostrum numerosâ classe quotannis
Militat excidium; conversoque ordine Fati
Torrida Caucaseos infert mihi Byrsa furores

and to attack the most distant objects which attracted their desires; and as they always embarked a sufficient number of horses, they had no sooner landed, than they swept the dismayed country with a body of light cavalry. Yet, notwithstanding the example of their king, the native Vandals and Alani insensibly declined this toilsome and perilous warfare; the hardy generation of the first conquerors was almost extinguished, and their sons, who were born in Africa, enjoyed the delicious baths and gardens which had been acquired by the valour of their fathers. Their place was readily supplied by a various multitude of Moors and Romans, of captives and outlaws; and those desperate wretches who had already violated the laws of their country, were the most eager to promote the atrocious acts which disgrace the victories of Genseric. In the treatment of his unhappy prisoners, he sometimes consulted his avarice, and sometimes indulged his cruelty; and the massacre of five hundred noble citizens of Zant, or Zacynthus, whose mangled bodies he cast into the Ionian sea, was imputed, by the public indignation, to his latest posterity.

Such crimes could not be excused by any provocations; but the war, which the king of the Vandals prosecuted against the Roman empire, was justified by a specious and reasonable motive. The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the sole heiress of the Theodosian house; her elder daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Hunneric, his eldest son; and the stern father, asserting a legal claim, which could not easily be refuted or satisfied, demanded a just proportion of the imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at least a valuable compensation, was offered by the Eastern emperor, to purchase a necessary peace. Eudoxia, and her younger daughter, Placidia, were honourably restored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Western empire. The Italians, destitute of a naval force, which alone was capable of protecting their coasts, implored the aid of the more fortunate nations of the East; who had formerly acknowledged, in peace and war, the supremacy of Rome. But the perpetual division of the two empires had alienated their interest and their inclinations; the faith of a recent treaty was alleged; and the western Romans, instead of arms and ships, could only obtain the assistance

of a cold and ineffectual mediation. The haughty Ricimer, who had long struggled with the difficulties of his situation, was a length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople, in the humble language of a subject; and Italy submitted, as the price and security of the alliance, to accept a master from the choice of the emperor of the East.* It is not the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concise view of the reign and character of the emperor Leo, may explain the last efforts that were attempted to save the falling empire of the West. †

Since the death of the younger Theodosius, the domestic repose of Constantinople had never been interrupted by war or faction. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on the modest virtue of Marcian: he gratefully reverenced her august rank and virgin chastity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship, that was due to the memory of the imperial saint.‡ Attentive to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marcian seemed to behold, with indifference, the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince to draw his sword against the Vandals, was ascribed to a secret promise which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a captive in the power of Genseric.§ The death of Marcian, after a reign of seven

* The poet himself is compelled to acknowledge the distress of Ricimer—

> Præterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata
> Respiciunt, *proprio* solus vix *Marte* repellit
> Piratam per rura vagum———

Italy addresses her complaint to the Tiber; and Rome, at the solicitation of the river god, transports herself to Constantinople, renounces her ancient claims, and implores the friendship of Aurora, the goddess of the East. This fabulous machinery, which the genius of Claudian had used and abused, is the constant and miserable resource of the muse of Sidonius.

† The original authors of the reigns of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno, are reduced to some imperfect fragments, whose deficiencies must be supplied from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Cedrenus.

‡ St. Pulcheria died A.D. 453, four years before her nominal husband; and her festival is celebrated on the 10th of September by the modern Greeks: she bequeathed an immense patrimony to pious, or at least to ecclesiastical, uses. See Tillemont, Mémoires Eccléss. tom. xv, p. 181. 184.

§ See Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 4, p. 185. [There is something truth-like in the story of Marcian's captivity and promise.

years, would have exposed the East to the danger of a popular election; if the superior weight of a single family had not been able to incline the balance in favour of the candidate whose interest they supported. The patrician Aspar might have placed the diadem on his own head, if he would have subscribed the Nicene creed.* During three generations, the armies of the East were successively commanded by his father, by himself, and by his son Ardaburius: his barbarian guards formed a military force that overawed the palace and the capital; and the liberal distribution of his immense treasures, rendered Aspar as popular as he was powerful. He recommended the obscure name of Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, and the principal steward of his household. His nomination was unanimously ratified by the senate: and the servant of Aspar received the imperial crown from the hands of the patriarch or bishop, who was permitted to express, by this unusual ceremony, the suffrage of the Deity.† This emperor, the first of the name of Leo, has been distinguished by the title of "the Great;" from a succession of princes, who gradually fixed, in the opinion of the Greeks, a very humble standard of heroic, or at least of royal, perfection. Yet the temperate firmness with which Leo resisted the oppression of his benefactor, shewed that he was conscious of his duty and of his prerogative. Aspar was

Although not a youth, as Ætius was among the Goths, still, like him, he acquired from his rude masters, the qualities which fitted him to fill the high station to which he rose, with a dignity that eclipses the degenerate posterity of Theodosius. Nor did he experience the harsh treatment reported to have been the usual lot of those who were made prisoners by the Vandals. As he was one day reposing in the open air and beneath a sunny sky, Genseric came up and saw an eagle hovering over the sleeping captive. The Vandal king regarded it as a fortunate omen, awoke the drowsy favourite of fate, and restored him to liberty, on the sole condition of a solemn oath, that, when emperor, he would never make war upon the Vandals. This anecdote throws a softer hue over the character of Genseric, divests his warfare of some ghastly features by which it has been disfigured, and again proves that the spirit of civilization was rather revived and invigorated, than depressed, by communion with rough barbarians.—ED.]

* From this disability of Aspar to ascend the throne, it may be inferred that the stain of *heresy* was perpetual and indelible, while that of *barbarism* disappeared in the second generation.

† Theophanes, p. 95. This appears to be the first origin of a ceremony which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted; and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable con-

astonished to find that his influence could no longer appoint a prefect of Constantinople; he presumed to reproach his sovereign with a breach of promise; and, insolently shaking his purple, "It is not proper," said he, "that the man, who is invested with this garment, should be guilty of lying."—"Nor is it proper," replied Leo, "that a prince should be compelled to resign his own judgment, and the public interest, to the will of a subject."* After this extraordinary scene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be sincere; or, at least, that it could be solid and permanent. An army of Isaurians† was secretly levied and introduced into Constantinople; and while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the disgrace of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behaviour restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to themselves or their enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar degraded the majesty of the throne, the secret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favour the cause of Genseric. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; resolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague Anthemius, whom he solemnly invested with the diadem and purple of the West.

The virtues of Anthemius have perhaps been magnified, since the imperial descent, which he could only deduce from the usurper Procopius, has been swelled into a line of emperors.‡ But the merit of his immediate parents, their honours, and their riches, rendered Anthemius one of the most illustrious subjects of the east. His father, Procopius,

sequences. * Cedrenus, (p. 345, 346,(who was conversant with the writers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar, Βασιλεῦ, τὸν ταύτην τὴν ἀλουργίδα περιβεβλημένον οὐ χρῆ διαψεύδεσθαι. † The power of the Isaurians agitated the eastern empire in the two succeeding reigns of Zeno and Anastasius: but it ended in the destruction of those barbarians, who maintained their fierce independence about two hundred and thirty years.

‡ ———Tali tu civis ab urbe
Procopio genitore micas; cui prisca propago
Augustis venit a *proavis*.

The poet (Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. 67—306) then proceeds to relate the private life and fortunes of the future emperor, with which he

obtained, after his Persian embassy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal grandfather, the celebrated prefect, who protected, with so much ability and success, the infant reign of Theodosius. The grandson of the prefect was raised above the condition of a private subject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcian. This splendid alliance, which might supersede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius to the successive dignities of count, of master-general, of consul, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained, on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the son-in-law of Marcian might hope to be his successor; but Anthemius supported the disappointment with courage and patience; and his subsequent elevation was universally approved by the public, who esteemed him worthy to reign till he ascended the throne.* The emperor of the West marched from Constantinople, attended by several counts of high distinction, and a body of guards, almost equal to the strength and numbers of a regular army: he entered Rome in triumph, and the choice of Leo was confirmed by the senate, the people, and the barbarian confederates of Italy.† The solemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer; a fortunate event, which was considered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the state. The wealth of two empires was ostentatiously displayed: and many senators completed their ruin by an expensive effort to disguise their poverty. All serious business was suspended during this festival; the courts of justice were shut; the streets of Rome, the theatres, the places of public and private resort resounded with hymeneal songs and dances; and the royal bride, clothed in silken robes, with a crown on her head; was conducted to the palace of Ricimer, who had changed his military dress for the habit of a consul

must have been very imperfectly acquainted. * Sidonius discovers with tolerable ingenuity, that this disappointment added new lustre to the virtues of Anthemius (210, &c.), who declined one sceptre, and reluctantly accepted another. (22, &c.)

† The poet again celebrates the unanimity of all orders of the state (15—22): and the Chronicle of Idatius mentions the forces

and a senator. On this memorable occasion, Sidonius, whose early ambition had been so fatally blasted, appeared as the orator of Auvergne, among the provincial deputies who addressed the throne with congratulations or complaints;* The calends of January were now approaching, and the venal poet, who had loved Avitus, and esteemed Majorian, was persuaded, by his friends, to celebrate, in heroic verse, the merit, the felicity, the second consulship, and the future triumphs of the emperor Anthemius. Sidonius pronounced with assurance and success, a panegyric which is still extant; and whatever might be the imperfections, either of the subject or of the composition, the welcome flatterer was immediately rewarded with the prefecture of Rome; a dignity which placed him among the illustrious personages of the empire, till he wisely preferred the more respectable character of a bishop and a saint.†

The Greeks ambitiously commend the piety and Catholic faith of the emperor whom they gave to the West; nor do they forget to observe, that when he left Constantinople, he converted his palace into the pious foundation of a public bath, a church, and a hospital for old men.‡ Yet some suspicious appearances are found to sully the theological fame of Anthemius. From the conversation of Philotheus, a Macedonian sectary, he had imbibed the spirit of religious toleration; and the heretics of Rome would have assembled with impunity, if the bold and vehement censure which pope Hilary pronounced in the church of St. Peter, had not obliged even him to abjure the unpopular indulgence.§

which attended his march. * Interveni autem nuptiis patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Augusti in spem publicæ securitatis copulabatur. The journey of Sidonius from Lyons, and the festival of Rome, are described with some spirit. Lib. 1, epist. 5, p. 9—13; epist. 9, p. 21. † Sidonius (l. 1, epist. 9, p. 23, 24) very fairly states his motive, his labour, and his reward. "Hic ipse Panegyricus, si non judicium, certe eventum, boni operis accepit." He was made bishop of Clermont, A.D. 471. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xvi, p. 750.

‡ The palace of Anthemius stood on the banks of the Propontis. In the ninth century, Alexius, the son-in-law of the emperor Theophilus, obtained permission to purchase the ground, and ended his days in a monastery which he founded on that delightful spot. Ducange, Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 117. 152.

§ Papa Hilarus . . . apud beatum Petrum Apostolum, palam ne id fieret, clara voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interpositione juramenti idem promitteret Imperator. Gelasius, Epistol. ad Andronicum, apud Baron. A.D. 467, No. 3. The cardinal observes, with

Even the Pagans, a feeble and obscure remnant, conceived some vain hopes from the indifference, or partiality, of Anthemius; and his singular friendship for the philosopher Severus, whom he promoted to the consulship, was ascribed to a secret project of reviving the ancient worship of the gods.* These idols were crumbled into dust; and the mythology which had once been the creed of nations, was so universally disbelieved, that it might be employed without scandal, or at least without suspicion, by Christian poets.† Yet the vestiges of superstition were not absolutely obliterated, and the festival of the Lupercalia, whose origin had preceded the foundation of Rome, was still celebrated under the reign of Anthemius. The savage and simple rites were expressive of an early state of society before the invention of arts and agriculture. The rustic deities, who presided over the toils and pleasures of the pastoral life, Pan, Faunus, and their train of satyrs, were such as the fancy of shepherds might create, sportive, petulant, and lascivious; whose power was limited, and whose malice was inoffensive. A goat was the offering the best adapted to their character and attributes; the flesh of the victim was roasted on willow spits; and the riotous youths, who crowded to the feast, ran naked about the fields, with leather thongs in their hands, communicating, as it was supposed, the blessing of fecundity to the women whom they touched.‡ The altar of Pan was erected, perhaps by Evander the Arcadian, in a dark recess in the side

some complacency, that it was much easier to plant heresies at Constantinople than at Rome. [This pope Hilary has an otherwise obscure name. But in any hands, ecclesiastical power was then more than a match for the civil. The impotence of the latter was never more manifest, than when it presumed to favour free thought and liberate opinion from political fetters.—ED.]

* Damascius, in the life of the philosopher Isidore, apud Photium, p. 1049. Damascius, who lived under Justinian, composed another work, consisting of five hundred and seventy preternatural stories of souls, demons, apparitions, the dotage of Platonic Paganism. [For a more particular notice of Damascius, see the conclusion of c. 40.—ED.]

† In the poetical works of Sidonius, which he afterwards condemned (l. 9, epist. 16, p. 285), the fabulous deities are the principal actors. If Jerome was scourged by the angels for only reading Virgil, the bishop of Clermont, for such a vile imitation, deserved an additional whipping from the Muses.

‡ Ovid (Fast. l. 2, 267—452) has given an amusing description of the follies of antiquity, which still inspired so much respect, that a grave magistrate, running naked through the streets, was not an object

of the Palatine hill, watered by a perpetual fountain, and shaded by a hanging grove. A tradition, that, in the same place, Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf, rendered it still more sacred and venerable in the eyes of the Romans; and this sylvan spot was gradually surrounded by the stately edifices of the Forum.* After the conversion of the imperial city, the Christians still continued, in the month of February, the annual celebration of the Lupercalia; to which they ascribed a secret and mysterious influence on the genial powers of the animal and vegetable world. The bishops of Rome were solicitous to abolish a profane custom, so repugnant to the spirit of Christianity; but their zeal was not supported by the authority of the civil magistrate: the inveterate abuse subsisted till the end of the fifth century, and pope Gelasius, who purified the Capitol from the last stain of idolatry, appeased, by a formal apology, the murmurs of the senate and people.†

In all his public declarations, the emperor Leo assumes the authority, and professes the affection, of a father, for his son Anthemius, with whom he had divided the administration of the universe.‡ The situation, and perhaps the character, of Leo, dissuaded him from exposing his person to the toils and dangers of an African war. But the powers of the Eastern empire were strenuously exerted to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals; and Genseric, who had so long oppressed both the land and sea, was threatened from every side with a formidable invasion. The campaign was opened by a bold and successful enterprise of

of astonishment or laughter. * See Dionys. Halicarn. l. 1, p. 25. 65, edit. Hudson. The Roman antiquaries, Donatus (l. 2, c. 18, p. 173, 174), and Nardini (p. 386, 387), have laboured to ascertain the true situation of the Lupercal. † Baronius published, from the MSS. of the Vatican, this epistle of pope Gelasius, (A.D. 496, No. 28—45,) which is entitled Adversus Andromachum Senatorem, cæterosque Romanos, qui Lupercalia secundum morem pristinum colenda constituebant. Gelasius always supposes that his adversaries are nominal Christians; and, that he may not yield to them in absurd prejudice, he imputes to this harmless festival all the *calumities* of the age. ‡ Itaque nos quibus totius mundi regimen commisit superna provisio . . . . . Pius et triumphator semper Augustus filius noster Anthemius, licet Divina Majestas et nostra creatio pietati ejus plenam Imperii commiserit potestatem, &c. . . . . Such is the dignified style of Leo, whom Anthemius respectfully names, Dominus et Pater meus Princeps sacratissimus Leo. See Novell. Anthem. tit. 2, 3, p. 38,

the prefect Heraclius.* The troops of Egypt, Thebais, and Libya, were embarked under his command; and the Arabs, with a train of horses and camels, opened the roads of the desert. Heraclius landed on the coast of Tripoli, surprised and subdued the cities of that province, and prepared, by a laborious march, which Cato had formerly executed,† to join the imperial army under the walls of Carthage. The intelligence of this loss extorted from Genseric some insidious and ineffectual propositions of peace; but he was still more seriously alarmed by the reconciliation of Marcellinus with the two empires. The independent patrician had been persuaded to acknowledge the legitimate title of Anthemius, whom he accompanied in his journey to Rome; the Dalmatian fleet was received into the harbours of Italy; the active valour of Marcellinus expelled the Vandals from the island of Sardinia; and the languid efforts of the West, added some weight to the immense preparations of the eastern Romans. The expense of the naval armament, which Leo sent against the Vandals, has been distinctly ascertained; and the curious and instructive account displays the wealth of the declining empire. The royal demesnes, or private patrimony of the prince, supplied seventeen thousand pounds of gold; forty-seven thousand pounds of gold, and seven hundred thousand of silver, were levied and paid into the treasury by the prætorian prefects. But the cities were reduced to extreme poverty; and the diligent calculation of fines and forfeitures, as a valuable object of the revenue, does not suggest the idea of a just or merciful administration.

The whole expense, by whatsoever means it was defrayed, of the African campaign, amounted to the sum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold, about five millions

ad calcem Cod. Theod. * The expedition of Heraclius is clouded with difficulties (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi, p. 640), and it requires some dexterity to use the circumstances afforded by Theophanes, without injury to the more respectable evidence of Procopius. † The march of Cato from Berenice, in the province of Cyrene, was much longer than that of Heraclius from Tripoli. He passed the deep sandy desert in thirty days, and it was found necessary to provide, besides the ordinary supplies, a great number of skins filled with water, and several *Psylli*, who were supposed to possess the art of sucking the wounds which had been made by the serpents of their native country. See Plutarch in Caton. Uticens. tom. iv, p. 275. Strabon. Geograph. l. 17, p. 1193.

two hundred thousand pounds sterling, at a time when the value of money appears, from the comparative price of corn, to have been somewhat higher than in the present age.* The fleet that sailed from Constantinople to Carthage, consisted of eleven hundred and thirteen ships, and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thousand men. Basiliscus, the brother of the empress Verina, was intrusted with this important command. His sister, the wife of Leo, had exaggerated the merit of his former exploits against the Scythians. But the discovery of his guilt, or incapacity, was reserved for the African war; and his friends could only save his military reputation, by asserting, that he had conspired with Aspar to spare Genseric, and to betray the last hope of the Western empire.

Experience has shown, that the success of an invader most commonly depends on the vigour and celerity of his operations. The strength and sharpness of the first impression are blunted by delay; the health and spirit of the troops insensibly languish in a distant climate; the naval and military force, a mighty effort which perhaps can never be repeated, is silently consumed; and every hour that is wasted in negotiation, accustoms the enemy to contemplate and examine those hostile terrors, which, on their first appearance, he deemed irresistible. The formidable navy of Basiliscus pursued its prosperous navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus to the coast of Africa. He landed his troops at Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury, about forty miles from Carthage.† The army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus, either joined or seconded the imperial lieutenant; and the Vandals, who opposed his progress by sea or land, were successively vanquished.‡ If Basiliscus

* The principal sum is clearly expressed by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 6, p. 191); the smaller constituent parts, which Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi, p. 396) has laboriously collected from the Byzantine writers, are less certain, and less important. The historian Malchus laments the public misery; (Excerpt. ex Suida in Corp. Hist. Byzant. p. 58,) but he is surely unjust when he charges Leo with hoarding the treasures which he extorted from the people.

† This promontory is forty miles from Carthage, (Procop. l. 1, c. 6, p. 192,) and twenty leagues from Sicily. (Shaw's Travels, p. 89.) Scipio landed farther in the bay, at the fair promontory; see the animated description of Livy, 29. 26, 27.

‡ Theophanes (p. 100,) affirms, that many ships of the Vandals were sunk. The assertion

had seized the moment of consternation, and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the kingdom of the Vandals was extinguished. Genseric beheld the danger with firmness, and eluded it with his veteran dexterity. He protested, in the most respectful language, that he was ready to submit his person, and his dominions, to the will of the emperor; but he requested a truce of five days to regulate the terms of his submission; and it was universally believed, that his secret liberality contributed to the success of this public negotiation. Instead of obstinately refusing whatever indulgence his enemy so earnestly solicited, the guilty, or the credulous, Basiliscus, consented to the fatal truce; and his imprudent security seemed to proclaim, that he already considered himself as the conqueror of Africa. During this short interval, the wind became favourable to the designs of Genseric. He manned his largest ships of war with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals; and they towed after them many large barks, filled with combustible materials. In the obscurity of the night, these destructive vessels were impelled against the unguarded and unsuspecting fleet of the Romans, who were awakened by the sense of their instant danger. Their close and crowded order assisted the progress of the fire, which was communicated with rapid and irresistible violence; and the noise of the wind, the crackling of the flames, the dissonant cries of the soldiers and mariners, who could neither command nor obey, increased the horror of the nocturnal tumult. Whilst they laboured to extricate themselves from the fire-ships, and to save at least a part of the navy, the galleys of Genseric assaulted them with temperate and disciplined valour; and many of the Romans, who escaped the fury of the flames, were destroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Among the events of that disastrous night, the heroic, or rather desperate, courage of John, one of the principal officers of Basiliscus, has rescued his name from oblivion. When the ship, which he had bravely defended, was almost consumed, he threw himself in his armour into the sea, disdainfully rejected the esteem and pity of Genso, the son of Genseric, who pressed him to accept honourable quarter, and sunk under the waves; exclaiming with his last

of Jornandes, (de Successione Regn.) that Basiliscus attacked Carthage, must be understood in a very qualified sense.

breath, that he would never fall alive into the hands of those impious dogs. Actuated by a far different spirit, Basiliscus, whose station was the most remote from danger, disgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, till his sister, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heraclius effected his retreat through the desert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was assassinated, perhaps at the instigation of Ricimer, by one of his own captains; and the king of the Vandals expressed his surprise and satisfaction, that the Romans themselves should remove from the world his most formidable antagonists.* After the failure of this great expedition, Genseric again became the tyrant of the sea: the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, were again exposed to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and, before he died, in the fulness of years and of glory, he beheld the final extinction of the empire of the West.†

During his long and active reign, the African monarch had studiously cultivated the friendship of the barbarians of Europe, whose arms he might employ in a seasonable and effectual diversion against the two empires. After the death of Attila, he renewed his alliance with the Visigoths of Gaul; and the sons of the elder Theodoric, who successively reigned over that warlike nation, were easily persuaded by the sense of interest to forget the cruel affront which Genseric had inflicted on their sister.‡ The death

* Damascius in Vit. Isidor. apud Phot. p. 1048. It will appear, by comparing the three short chronicles of the times, that Marcellinus had fought near Carthage, and was killed in Sicily.

† For the African war, see Procopius (De Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 6, p. 191—193), Theophanes (p. 99—101), Cedrenus (p. 349, 350), and Zonaras, (tom. ii, l. 14, p. 50, 51.) Montesquieu (Considérations sur la Grandeur, &c. c. 20, tom. iii, p. 497) has made a judicious observation on the failure of these great naval armaments.

‡ Jornandes is our best guide through the reigns of Theodoric II. and Euric. (De Rebus Geticis, c. 44—47, p. 675—681.) Idatius ends too soon, and Isidore is too sparing of the information which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to Gaul are laboriously illustrated in the third book of the abbé Dubos. Hist.

of the emperor Majorian delivered Theodoric II. from the restraint of fear, and perhaps of honour; he violated his recent treaty with the Romans, and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The selfish policy of Ricimer encouraged him to invade the provinces which were in the possession of Ægidius, his rival; but the active count, by the defence of Arles, and the victory of Orleans, saved Gaul, and checked, during his lifetime, the progress of the Visigoths. Their ambition was soon rekindled; and the design of extinguishing the Roman empire in Spain and Gaul, was conceived, and almost completed, in the reign of Euric, who assassinated his brother Theodoric, and displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities, both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, vanquished in battle the martial nobles of the Tarragonese province, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Lusitania, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Gallicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain.* The efforts of Euric were not less vigorous or less successful in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhone and the Loire, Berry and Auvergne were the only cities or dioceses which refused to acknowledge him as their master.† In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne sustained, with inflexible resolution, the miseries of war, pestilence, and famine; and the Visigoths, relinquishing the fruitless siege, suspended the hopes of that important conquest. The youth of the province were animated by the heroic, and almost incredible, valour of Ecdicius, the son of the emperor Avitus,‡ who made a desperate sally with only eighteen horsemen, boldly attacked the Gothic army, and, after maintaining a flying skirmish, retired safe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme scarcity,

Critique, tom. i, p. 424—620. * See Mariana, Hist. Hispan. tom. i, l. 5, c. 5, p. 162. † An imperfect, but original, picture of Gaul, more especially of Auvergne, is shown by Sidonius; who as a senator, and afterwards as a bishop, was deeply interested in the fate of his country. See l. 5, epist. 1. 5. 9, &c. ‡ Sidonius, l. 3, epist. 3, p. 65--68. Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 24, in tom. ii, p. 174. Jornandes, c. 45, p. 675. Perhaps Ecdicius was only the son-in-law of Avitus, his

four thousand poor were fed at his expense; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From *his* virtues alone, the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of safety or freedom; and even such virtues were insufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, since they were anxious to learn, from his authority and example, whether they should prefer the alternative of exile or servitude.* The public confidence was lost; the resources of the state were exhausted; and the Gauls had too much reason to believe, that Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his distressed subjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their defence the service of twelve thousand British auxiliaries. Riothamus, one of the independent kings or chieftains of the island, was persuaded to transport his troops to the continent of Gaul; he sailed up the Loire, and established his quarters in Berry, where the people complained of these oppressive allies, till they were destroyed or dispersed by the arms of the Visigoths.†

One of the last acts of jurisdiction which the Roman senate exercised over their subjects of Gaul was the trial and condemnation of Arvandus, the prætorian prefect.

wife's son by another husband. * Si nullæ a republicâ vires, nulla præsidia, si nullæ, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes, statuit, te auctore, nobilitas seu patriam dimittere, seu capillos. (Sidon. l. 2, epist. 1, p. 33.) The last words (Sirmond, Not. p. 25) may likewise denote the clerical tonsure, which was indeed the choice of Sidonius himself. † The history of these Britons may be traced in Jornandes, (c. 45, p. 678) Sidonius, (l. 3, epistol. 9, p. 73, 74) and Gregory of Tours, (l. 2, c. 18, in tom. ii, p. 170.) Sidonius (who styles these mercenary troops argutos, armatos, tumultuosos, virtute, numero, contubernio, contumaces) addresses their general in a tone of friendship and familiarity. [The Britons who were in those days struggling for their own existence, had no auxiliary force of 12,000 men, under one of their kings, to spare for the relief of the distressed empire, to which they had themselves just before so piteously appealed. These alleged Britons were Bretones of Armorica. In the brief statement of Jornandes, there is not one word to disprove this; and on the other hand, it may be deduced from all that Sidonius has said. The epistle, Riothamo suo, was evidently addressed, not to a stranger landed from a distant country, but to one with whom the writer had long been on friendly terms during his peregrinations in Gaul; and he then, as well as on other occasions, (Epist. l. 1. 7, and l. 9. 9) so spoke of the "Britannos" that his annotator, Sirmond (Not. p. 16) affirms them to be "Britones Gallicos, Armoricos," and cautions readers against supposing that they came from the Island of Britain.—ED.]

Sidonius, who rejoices that he lived under a reign in which he might pity and assist a state-criminal, has expressed, with tenderness and freedom, the faults of his indiscreet and unfortunate friend.* From the perils which he had escaped, Arvandus imbibed confidence rather than wisdom; and such was the various, though uniform, imprudence of his behaviour, that his prosperity must appear much more surprising than his downfal. The second prefecture, which he obtained within the term of five years, abolished the merit and popularity of his preceding administration. His easy temper was corrupted by flattery, and exasperated by opposition; he was forced to satisfy his importunate creditors with the spoils of the province; his capricious insolence offended the nobles of Gaul, and he sank under the weight of the public hatred. The mandate of his disgrace summoned him to justify his conduct before the senate; and he passed the sea of Tuscany with a favourable wind, the presage, as he vainly imagined, of his future fortunes. A decent respect was still observed for the *prefectorian* rank; and, on his arrival at Rome, Arvandus was committed to the hospitality, rather than to the custody, of Flavius Asellus, the count of the sacred largesses, who resided in the Capitol.† He was eagerly pursued by his accusers, the four deputies of Gaul, who were all distinguished by their birth, their dignities, or their eloquence. In the name of a great province, and according to the forms of Roman jurisprudence, they instituted a civil and criminal action, requiring such restitution as might compensate the losses of individuals, and such punishment as might satisfy the justice of the state. Their charges of corrupt oppression were numerous and weighty; but they placed their secret dependence on a letter, which they had intercepted, and which they could prove, by the evidence of his secretary, to have been dictated by Arvandus himself. The author of this letter seemed to dissuade the king of the Goths from a peace with the *Greek* emperor; he suggested the attack

* See Sidonius, l. 1, epist. 7, p. 15—20, with Sirmond's notes. This letter does honour to his heart, as well as to his understanding. The prose of Sidonius, however vitiated by a false and affected taste, is much superior to his insipid verses.

† When the capitol ceased to be a temple, it was appropriated to the use of the civil magistrate; and it is still the residence of the Roman senator. The travellers, &c. might be allowed to expose their precious wares in the

of the Britons on the Loire; and he recommended a division of Gaul, according to the law of nations, between the Visigoths and the Burgundians.* These pernicious schemes, which a friend could only palliate by the reproaches of vanity and indiscretion, were susceptible of a treasonable interpretation: and the deputies had artfully resolved not to produce their most formidable weapons till the decisive moment of the contest. But their intentions were discovered by the zeal of Sidonius. He immediately apprized the unsuspecting criminal of his danger; and sincerely lamented, without any mixture of anger, the haughty presumption of Arvandus, who rejected, and even resented, the salutary advice of his friends. Ignorant of his real situation, Arvandus shewed himself in the Capitol in the white robe of a candidate, accepted indiscriminate salutations and offers of service, examined the shops of the merchants, the silks and gems, sometimes with the indifference of a spectator, and sometimes with the attention of a purchaser; and complained of the times, of the senate, of the prince, and of the delays of justice. His complaints were soon removed. An early day was fixed for his trial; and Arvandus appeared with his accusers before a numerous assembly of the Roman senate. The mournful garb which they affected excited the compassion of the judges, who were scandalized by the gay and splendid dress of their adversary; and when the prefect Arvandus, with the first of the Gallic deputies, were directed to take their places on the senatorial benches, the same contrast of pride and modesty was observed in their behaviour. In this memorable judgment, which presented a lively image of the old republic, the Gauls exposed with force and freedom the grievances of the province; and as soon as the minds of the audience were sufficiently inflamed, they recited the fatal epistle. The obstinacy of Arvandus was founded on the strange supposition, that a subject could not be convicted of treason, unless he had actually conspired to assume the purple. As the paper was read, he repeatedly, and with a loud voice, acknowledged it for his genuine composition;

porticoes.

* Hæc ad regem Gothorum charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Græco Imperatore dissuadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos impugnari oportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans.

and his astonishment was equal to his dismay, when the unanimous voice of the senate declared him guilty of a capital offence. By their decree, he was degraded from the rank of a prefect to the obscure condition of a plebeian, and ignominiously dragged by servile hands to the public prison. After a fortnight's adjournment, the senate was again convened to pronounce the sentence of his death; but while he expected, in the island of Æsculapius, the expiration of the thirty days allowed by an ancient law to the vilest malefactors,* his friends interposed, the emperor Anthemius relented, and the prefect of Gaul obtained the milder punishment of exile and confiscation. The faults of Arvandus might deserve compassion; but the impunity of Seronatus accused the justice of the republic, till he was condemned, and executed, on the complaint of the people of Auvergne. That flagitious minister, the Catiline of his age and country, held a secret correspondence with the Visigoths, to betray the province which he oppressed; his industry was continually exercised in the discovery of new taxes and obsolete offences; and his extravagant vices would have inspired contempt, if they had not excited fear and abhorrence.†

Such criminals were not beyond the reach of justice; but whatever might be the guilt of Ricimer, that powerful barbarian was able to contend or to negotiate with the prince, whose alliance he had condescended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive, or impatient, of a superior, retired from Rome, and fixed his residence at Milan; an advantageous situation, either to invite, or to repel, the warlike tribes that were seated between the Alps and the Danube.‡

* *Senatûs consultum Tiberianum* (Sirmond, Not. p. 17); but that law allowed only ten days between the sentence and execution; the remaining twenty were added in the reign of Theodosius. [The law was enacted by Theodosius, as a safeguard against hasty ebullitions of passion like that which caused the massacre of Thessalonica. See ch. 27, vol. 3, p. 259.—ED.]

† Catilina seculi nostri. Sidonius, l. 2, epist. 1, p. 33; l. 5, epist. 13, p. 143; l. 7, epist. 7, p. 185. He execrates the crimes, and applauds the punishment, of Seronatus, perhaps with the indignation of a virtuous citizen, perhaps with the resentment of a personal enemy.

‡ Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, defeated and slew in battle Beorgor, king of the Alani. (Jornandes,

Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms; and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell prostrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country. "For my own part," replied Ricimer, in a tone of insolent moderation, "I am still inclined to embrace the friendship of the Galatian;* but who will undertake to appease his anger, or to mitigate the pride, which always rises in proportion to our submission?" They informed him, that Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia,† united the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; and appeared confident, that the eloquence of such an ambassador must prevail against the strongest opposition, either of interest or passion. Their recommendation was approved; and Epiphanius, assuming the benevolent office of mediation, proceeded without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honours due to his merit and reputation. The

c. 45, p. 678.) His sister had married the king of the Burgundians, and he maintained an intimate connection with the Suevic colony established in Pannonia and Noricum. * Galatam concitatum. Sirmond (in his notes to Ennodius) applies this appellation to Anthemius himself. The emperor was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose inhabitants, the Gallo-Grecians, were supposed to unite the vices of a savage and a corrupted people. [Ricimer was confessedly coarser in his manners than most of the Goths of his time. When addressing the Ligurians, of an ancient Gallic or Celtic race, he probably gave vent to a low ethnical antipathy, by a contemptuous sneer at one who belonged to this family. In their early days, the Galatians had the character of restless disturbers and faithless mercenaries. But it does not appear that after their submission to the Romans, any national stigma attached to them. From that time "they lived quietly and hellenized themselves." Niebuhr's Lectures, vol. ii, p. 182, 183. —ED.] † Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia. (A.D. 467—497, see Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xvi, p. 788.) His name and actions would have been unknown to posterity, if Ennodius, one of his successors, had not written his life (Sirmond, Opera, tom. i, p. 1647—1692); in which he represents him as one of the greatest characters of the age. [The events of the times appear to corroborate much that is said of Epiphanius by his biographer. If not a shining, he seems to have been an amiable, character. He assisted, with his own revenues in repairing the injuries which Pavia had sustained, redeemed captives from miserable servitude, employed himself willingly in promoting peace, and sometimes reconciled hostile leaders. That other ecclesiastical writers have made no mention of him, is in his favour; he had not raised himself to eminence by any act of religious intolerance, for which they deemed him worthy to be canonized.—ED.]

oration of a bishop in favour of peace may be easily supposed; he argued, that in all possible circumstances, the forgiveness of injuries must be an act of mercy, or magnanimity, or prudence; and he seriously admonished the emperor to avoid a contest with a fierce barbarian, which might be fatal to himself, and must be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemius acknowledged the truth of his maxims; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behaviour of Ricimer; and his passion gave eloquence and energy to his discourse. "What favours (he warmly exclaimed) have we refused to this ungrateful man? What provocations have we not endured? Regardless of the majesty of the purple, I gave my daughter to a Goth; I sacrificed my own blood to the safety of the republic. The liberality which ought to have secured the eternal attachment of Ricimer, has exasperated him against his benefactor. What wars has he not excited against the empire? How often has he instigated and assisted the fury of hostile nations? Shall I now accept his perfidious friendship? Can I hope that *he* will respect the engagements of a treaty, who has already violated the duties of a son?" But the anger of Anthemius evaporated in these passionate exclamations; he insensibly yielded to the proposals of Epiphanius; and the bishop returned to his diocese with the satisfaction of restoring the peace of Italy, by a reconciliation,* of which the sincerity and continuance might be reasonably suspected. The clemency of the emperor was extorted from his weakness; and Ricimer suspended his ambitious designs till he had secretly prepared the engines with which he resolved to subvert the throne of Anthemius. The mask of peace and moderation was then thrown aside. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and oriental Suevi: he disclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, marched from Milan to the gates of Rome, and fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his imperial candidate.

The senator Olybrius, of the Anician family, might esteem himself the lawful heir of the Western empire. He

* Ennodius (p. 1659—1664) has related this embassy of Epiphanius, and his narrative, verbose and turgid as it must appear, illustrates some curious passages in the fall of the Western empire.

had married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian, after she was restored by Genseric; who still detained her sister Eudocia, as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his son. The king of the Vandals supported, by threats and solicitations, the fair pretensions of his Roman ally; and assigned, as one of the motives of the war, the refusal of the senate and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to a stranger.* The friendship of the public enemy might render Olybrius still more unpopular to the Italians; but when Ricimer meditated the ruin of the emperor Anthemius, he tempted, with the offer of a diadem, the candidate who could justify his rebellion by an illustrious name, and a royal alliance. The husband of Placidia, who, like most of his ancestors, had been invested with the consular dignity, might have continued to enjoy a secure and splendid fortune in the peaceful residence of Constantinople; nor does he appear to have been tormented by such a genius, as cannot be amused or occupied, unless by the administration of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends, perhaps of his wife; rashly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and with the secret connivance of the emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was bestowed and resumed, at the capricious will of a barbarian. He landed without obstacle (for Genseric was master of the sea) either at Ravenna or the port of Ostia, and immediately proceeded to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the sovereign of the western world.†

The patrician, who had extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already possessed two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and the Janiculum, which are separated by the Tiber from the rest of the city;‡ and it may be con-

* Priscus, Excerpt. Legation. p. 74. Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 6, p. 191. Eudoxia and her daughter were restored after the death of Majorian. Perhaps the consulship of Olybrius (A.D. 464) was bestowed as a nuptial present.

† The hostile appearance of Olybrius is fixed (notwithstanding the opinion of Pagi) by the duration of his reign. The secret connivance of Leo is acknowledged by Theophanes and the Paschal Chronicle. We are ignorant of his motives; but in this obscure period, our ignorance extends to the most public and important facts.

‡ Of the fourteen regions, or quarters, into which Rome was divided by Augustus, only *one*, the Janiculum, lay on the Tuscan side of the Tiber. But, in the fifth century, the Vatican suburb formed a considerable city; and in the

jectured, that an assembly of seceding senators imitated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the senate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public distress, by a resistance of three months, which produced the concomitant evils of famine and pestilence. At length, Ricimer made a furious assault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo; and the narrow pass was defended with equal valour by the Goths, till the death of Gilimer their leader. The victorious troops, breaking down every barrier, rushed with irresistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may use the language of a contemporary pope) was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer.* The unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment and inhumanly massacred by the command of his son-in-law; who thus added a third, or perhaps a fourth, emperor to the number of his victims. The soldiers, who united the rage of factious citizens with the savage manners of barbarians, were indulged, without control, in the licence of rapine and murder: the crowd of slaves and plebeians, who were unconcerned in the event, could only gain by the indiscriminate pillage; and the face of the city exhibited the strange contrast of stern cruelty, and dissolute intemperance.† Forty days after this calamitous event, the subject, not of glory, but of guilt, Italy was delivered, by a painful disease, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same

ecclesiastical distribution, which had been recently made by Simplicius, the reigning pope, *two* of the *seven* regions, or parishes of Rome, depended on the church of St. Peter. See Nardini, Roma Antica, p. 67. It would require a tedious dissertation to mark the circumstances, in which I am inclined to depart from the topography of that learned Roman.

* Nuper Anthemii et Ricimeris civili furore subversa est. Gelasius in Epist. ad Andromach. apud Baron. A.D. 496, No. 42. Sigonius, (tom. i, l. 14, de Occidentali Imperio, p. 542, 543) and Muratori, (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv, p. 308, 309) with the aid of a less imperfect MS. of the Historia Miscella. have illustrated this dark and bloody transaction.

† Such had been the sæva ac deformis urbe totâ facies, when Rome was assaulted and stormed by the troops of Vespasian (see Tacit. Hist. 3. 82, 83); and every cause of mischief had since acquired much additional energy. The revolution of ages may bring round the same calamities; but ages may revolve, without

year, all the principal actors in this great revolution were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Olybrius, whose death does not betray any symptoms of violence, is included within the term of seven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia; and the family of the great Theodosius, transplanted from Spain to Constantinople, was propagated in the female line as far as the eighth generation.*

Whilst the vacant throne of Italy was abandoned to lawless barbarians,† the election of a new colleague was seriously agitated in the council of Leo. The empress Verina, studious to promote the greatness of her own family, had married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who succeeded his uncle Marcellinus in the sovereignty of Dalmatia, a more solid possession than the title which he was persuaded to accept, of emperor of the West. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irresolute, that many months elapsed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could show himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable, or unwilling, to support his nomination by a civil war: the pursuits of domestic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps,‡ and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the bishopric of Salona. After extinguishing such a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the senate, by the Italians, and by the provincials of Gaul; his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his

producing a Tacitus to describe them. * See Ducange, Familiæ Byzantin. p. 74, 75. Areobindus, who appears to have married the niece of the emperor Justinian, was the eighth descendant of the elder Theodosius. † The last revolutions of the western empire are faintly marked in Theophanes (p. 102), Jornandes (c. 45, p. 679), the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the fragments of an anonymous writer, published by Valesius at the end of Ammianus (p. 716, 717). If Photius had not been so wretchedly concise, we should derive much information from the contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus. See his Extracts, p. 172—179. ‡ See Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 28, in tom. ii, p. 175. Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i, p. 613. By the murder, or death, of his two brothers, Gundobald acquired the sole possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, whose ruin was hastened

government, announced, in prophetic strains, the restoration of the public felicity.* Their hopes (if such hopes had been entertained) were confounded within the term of a single year; and the treaty of peace, which ceded Auvergne to the Visigoths, is the only event of his short and inglorious reign. The most faithful subjects of Gaul were sacrificed by the Italian emperor, to the hope of domestic security;† but his repose was soon invaded by a furious sedition of the barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, their general, were in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled at their approach; and, instead of placing a just confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmatian principality, on the opposite coast of the Hadriatic. By this shameful abdication, he protracted his life about five years, in a very ambiguous state, between an emperor and an exile, till he was assassinated at Salona by the ungrateful Glycerius, who was translated, perhaps as the reward of his crime, to the archbishopric of Milan.‡

The nations who had asserted their independence after the death of Attila, were established, by the right of possession or conquest, in the boundless countries to the north of the Danube; or in the Roman provinces between the river and the Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of *confederates*, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy;§ and in this promiscuous multitude, the

by their discord.

* Julius Nepos armis pariter summus Augustus ac moribus. Sidonius, l. 5, ep. 16, p. 146, Nepos had given to Ecdicius the title of patrician, which Anthemius had promised, decessoris Anthemii fidem absolvit. See l. 8, ep. 7, p. 224.

† Epiphanius was sent ambassador from Nepos to the Visigoths, for the purpose of ascertaining the *fines Imperii Italici*. (Ennodius in Sirmond. tom. i, p. 1665—1669.) His pathetic discourse concealed the disgraceful secret, which soon excited the just and bitter complaints of the bishop of Clermont.

‡ Malchus, apud Phot. p. 172. Ennod. Epigram. l. 82, in Sirmond Oper. tom. i, p. 1879. Some doubt may however be raised on the identity of the emperor and the archbishop. [According to Zedler, who may be trusted, because his authorities are always good, the ex-emperor Glycerius died bishop of Salona, in the year 480. (Lexicon, 10. 1729.) But (Ib. 23. 1750) he instigated the murder of Julius Nepos. Marcellinus (Chron. ad cons. Basilii) says that this deed was perpetrated by two of his *comites*, Viator and Ovida. The latter is named Odiva by Cassiodorus.—ED.]

§ Our knowledge of these mercenaries, who subverted the Western empire, is derived from Procopius (De Bell. Gothico, l. 1, c. 1, p. 308).

names of the Herculi, the Scyrri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and the Rugians, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes,* the son of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman emperor of the West. Orestes, who has been already mentioned in this history, had never deserted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious subjects of Pannonia. When that province was ceded to the Huns, he entered into the service of Attila, his lawful sovereign, obtained the office of his secretary, and was repeatedly sent ambassador to Constantinople, to represent the person, and signify the commands, of the imperious monarch. The death of that conqueror restored him to his freedom, and Orestes might honourably refuse either to follow the sons of Attila into the Scythian desert, or to obey the Ostrogoths, who had usurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the service of the Italian princes, the successors of Valentinian; and, as he possessed the qualifications of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced with rapid steps in the military profession, till he was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himself, to the dignities of patrician, and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and authority of Orestes, who affected their manners, conversed with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chieftains, by long habits of familiarity and friendship. At his solicitation they rose in arms against the obscure Greek, who presumed to claim their obedience; and when Orestes, from some secret motive, declined the purple, they consented, with the same facility, to acknowledge his son Augustulus, as the emperor of the West. By the abdi-

The popular opinion, and the recent historians, represent Odoacer in the false light of a *stranger* and a *king*, who invaded Italy with an army of foreigners, his native subjects. [Gibbon's subsequent sketch of the early life and rise of Odoacer, explains this note. The origin of the popular error which made him a king of the Heruli, will be shown at ch. 39. In this stage of history, it is desirable to observe, as closely as possible, every ascertained bearing on the minds that rode aloft in the whirlwind of change and directed the storm.—ED.]

* Orestes, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit, se illi junxit, et ejus notarius factus fuerat. Anonym. Vales. p. 716. He is mistaken in the date; but we may credit his assertion, that the secretary of Attila was the father of Augustulus.

cation of Nepos, Orestes had now attained the summit of his ambitious hopes; but he soon discovered, before the end of the first year, that the lessons of perjury and ingratitude, which a rebel must inculcate, will be retorted against himself; and that the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to choose, whether he would be the slave, or the victim, of his barbarian mercenaries. The dangerous alliance of these strangers had oppressed and insulted the last remains of Roman freedom and dignity. At each revolution, their pay and privileges were augmented; but their insolence increased in a still more extravagant degree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whose victorious arms had acquired an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they insisted on their peremptory demand, that a *third* part of the lands of Italy should be immediately divided among them. Orestes, with a spirit which, in another situation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer; a bold barbarian, who assured his fellow-soldiers, that, if they dared to associate under his command, they might soon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrisons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the same resentment and the same hopes, impatiently flocked to the standard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, hastily retreated to the strong city of Pavia, the episcopal seat of the holy Epiphanius. Pavia was immediately besieged, the fortifications were stormed, the town was pillaged; and although the bishop might labour with much zeal and some success, to save the property of the church, and the chastity of female captives, the tumult could only be appeased by the execution of Orestes.* His brother Paul was slain in an action near Ravenna; and the helpless Augustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency, of Odoacer.

That successful barbarian was the son of Edecon; who,

* See Ennodius (in Vit. Epiphan. Sirmond, tom. i, p. 1669, 1670.) He adds weight to the narrative of Procopius, though we may doubt whether the devil actually contrived the siege of Pavia, to distress the

in some remarkable transactions, particularly described in a preceding chapter, had been the colleague of Orestes himself. The honour of an ambassador should be exempt from suspicion; and Edecon had listened to a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign. But this apparent guilt was expiated by his merit or repentance; his rank was eminent and conspicuous; he enjoyed the favour of Attila; and the troops under his command, who guarded, in their turn, the royal village, consisted of a tribe of Scyrri, his immediate and hereditary subjects. In the revolt of the nations, they still adhered to the Huns; and, more than twelve years afterwards, the name of Edecon is honourably mentioned, in their unequal contest with the Ostrogoths; which was terminated, after two bloody battles, by the defeat and dispersion of the Scyrri.* Their gallant leader, who did not survive this national calamity, left two sons, Onulf and Odoacer, to struggle with adversity, and to maintain as they might, by rapine or service, the faithful followers of their exile. Onulf directed his steps towards Constantinople, where he sullied, by the assassination of a generous benefactor, the fame which he had acquired in arms. His brother Odoacer led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, with a mind and a fortune suited to the most desperate adventures; and when he had fixed his choice, he piously visited the cell of Severinus, the popular saint of the country, to solicit his approbation and blessing. The lowness of the door would not admit the lofty stature of Odoacer: he was obliged to stoop; but in that humble attitude the saint could discern the symptoms of his future greatness; and addressing him in a prophetic tone, "Pursue," said he, "your design; proceed to Italy; you will soon cast away this coarse garment of skins; and your wealth will be adequate to the liberality of your mind."† The barbarian, whose daring spirit accepted and ratified the

bishop and his flock. * Jornandes, c. 53, 54, p. 692—695. M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. viii, p. 221—228) has clearly explained the origin and adventures of Odoacer. I am almost inclined to believe that he was the same who pillaged Angers, and commanded a fleet of Saxon pirates on the ocean. Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 18, in tom. ii, p. 170. † Vade ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertis: sed multis cito plurima largiturus. Anonym. Vales. p. 717. He quotes the life of St. Severinus, which is extant, and contains much unknown and valuable history; it was composed

prediction, was admitted into the service of the Western empire, and soon obtained an honourable rank in the guards. His manners were gradually polished, his military skill was improved, and the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general, unless the exploits of Odoacer had established a high opinion of his courage and capacity.* Their military acclamations saluted him with the title of King: but he abstained, during his whole reign, from the use of the purple and diadem,† lest he should offend those princes, whose subjects, by their accidental mixture, had formed the victorious army which time and policy might insensibly unite into a great nation.

Royalty was familiar to the barbarians, and the submissive people of Italy was prepared to obey, without a murmur, the authority which he should condescend to exercise as the vicegerent of the emperor of the West. But Odoacer had resolved to abolish that useless and expensive office: and such is the weight of antique prejudice, that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise. The unfortunate Augustulus was made the instrument of his own disgrace; he signified his resignation to the senate; and that assembly, in their last act of obedience to a Roman prince, still affected the spirit of freedom, and the forms of the constitution. An epistle was addressed, by their unanimous decree, to the emperor Zeno, the son-in-law and successor of Leo; who had lately been restored, after a short rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. They solemnly "disclaim the necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any longer the imperial succession

by his disciple Eugippius (A.D. 511), thirty years after his death. See Tillemont, Mém. Eccles. tom. xvi, p. 168—181.

* Theophanes, who calls him a Goth, affirms, that he was educated and nursed (τραφεντος) in Italy (p. 102); and as this strong expression will not bear a literal interpretation, it must be explained by long service in the imperial guards.

† Nomen regis Odoacer assumpsit, cum tamen neque purpurâ nec regalibus uteretur insignibus. Cassiodor. in Chron. A.D. 476. He seems to have assumed the abstract title of a king, without applying it to any particular nation or country. [It has been said that Odoacer never exercised the prerogative of coining money. One of his silver pieces exists, however, in the imperial cabinet at Vienna. It was among the numismatic treasures discovered in Hungary in the years 1797 and 1805, of which M. Steinbüchel, the successor of Eckhel, published an account in 1826. See the Notes of Eckhel's Editor, Num. Vet. vol. viii, p. 82. 203.—ED.]

in Italy; since, in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same time, both the East and the West. In their own name, and in the name of the people, they consent that the seat of universal empire shall be transferred from Rome to Constantinople; and they basely renounce the right of choosing their master, the only vestige that yet remained of the authority which had given laws to the world. The republic," they repeat that name without a blush, "might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly request, that the emperor would invest him with the title of patrician, and the administration of the *diocese* of Italy." The deputies of the senate were received at Constantinople with some marks of displeasure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he sternly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemius and Nepos, whom the East had successively granted to the prayers of Italy. "The first," continued he, "you have murdered; the second you have expelled; but the second is still alive, and whilst he lives he is your lawful sovereign." But the prudent Zeno soon deserted the hopeless cause of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of sole emperor, and by the statues erected to his honour in the several quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly, though ambiguous, correspondence with the *patrician* Odoacer; and he gratefully accepted the imperial ensigns, the sacred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the sight of the people.*

In the space of twenty years since the death of Valentinian nine emperors had successively disappeared; and the son of Orestes, a youth recommended only by his beauty, would be the least entitled to the notice of posterity, if his reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the West, did not leave a memorable era in the history of mankind.† The patrician Orestes had married

* Malchus, whose loss excites our regret, has preserved (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 93) this extraordinary embassy from the senate to Zeno. The anonymous fragment (p. 717), and the extract from Candidus, (apud Phot. p. 176) are likewise of some use.

† The precise year in which the Western empire was extinguished is not positively ascertained. The vulgar era of A.D. 476, *appears* to

the daughter of count *Romulus*, of Petovio in Noricum: the name of *Augustus*, notwithstanding the jealousy of power, was known at Aquileia as a familiar surname; and the appellations of the two great founders of the city and of the monarchy, were thus strangely united in the last of their successors.* The son of Orestes assumed and disgraced the names of Romulus Augustus; but the first was corrupted into Momylus, by the Greeks, and the second has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive Augustulus. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odoacer; who dismissed him, with his whole family, from the imperial palace, fixed his annual allowance at six thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, for the place of his exile or retirement.† As soon as the Romans breathed from the toils of the Punic war, they were attracted by the beauties and the pleasures of Campania; and the country-house of the elder Scipio, at Liternum, exhibited a

have the sanction of authentic chronicles. But the two dates assigned by Jornandes (c. 46, p. 680), would delay that great event to the year 479: and though M. de Buat has overlooked *his* evidence, he produces (tom. viii, p. 261—288) many collateral circumstances in support of the same opinion. [Clinton (F. R. i. 684) cites Jornandes (Get. c. 44, and De Regn. p. 709) as a concurrent authority with Cassiod. Chron. for the year 476. The date is determined by the second consulship of Basiliscus, whose usurpation ended in 477. Eckhel (8. 203) has no coins of Romulus later than Aug. 22, A.D. 476.—ED.]

* See his medals in Ducange (Fam. Byzantin. p. 81), Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 56.) Maffei (Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii, p. 314.) We may allege a famous and similar case. The meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the *illustrious* name of *patricius*, which, by the conversion of Ireland, has been communicated to a whole nation. [The medals of the son of Orestes exhibit only Romulus as his real name, and Augustus as the usual imperial title. There was here no unusual or affected assumption of names. Those of Augustulus, Momulus, or Momylus, were mockeries, by which the contempt of his subjects was expressed; they were never recorded on coins. Eckhel, 8. 203. Gibbon has too hastily adopted his illustration of the similarly assumed *illustrious* name of Patricius. The apostle of Ireland was not a subject of the Roman empire. As already observed, (ch. 30) he was born in Scotland, and through all the first years of his life, known only by the name of Succoth. That of Patricius, afterwards adopted, could scarcely give him importance among the people of Ireland, by whom its meaning was not understood.—ED.]

† Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cujus infantiam misertus concessit ei sanguinem; et quia pulcher erat, tamen

lasting model of their rustic simplicity.* The delicious shores of the bay of Naples were crowded with villas; and Sylla applauded the masterly skill of his rival, who had seated himself on the lofty promontory of Misenum, that commands, on every side, the sea and land, as far as the boundaries of the horizon.† The villa of Marius was purchased, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increased from two thousand five hundred, to more than fourscore thousand, pounds sterling.‡ It was adorned by the new proprietor with Grecian arts and Asiatic treasures; and the houses and gardens of Lucullus obtained a distinguished rank in the list of imperial palaces.§ When the Vandals became formidable to the sea-coast, the Lucullan villa, on the promontory of Misenum, gradually assumed the strength and appellation of a strong castle, the obscure retreat of the last emperor of the West. About twenty years after that great revolution, it was converted into a church and monastery, to receive the bones of St. Severinus. They securely reposed, amidst the broken trophies of Cimbric and Armenian victories, till the beginning of the tenth century; when the fortifications, which might afford a dangerous shelter to the Saracens, were demolished by the people of Naples.¶

donavit ei reditum sex millia solidos, et misit eum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Anonym. Vales. p. 716. Jornandes says (c. 46, p. 680), in Lucullano Campaniæ castello exilii pœna damnavit.

* See the eloquent Declamation of Seneca. (epist. 86.) The philosopher might have recollected, that all luxury is relative; and that the elder Scipio, whose manners were polished by study and conversation, was himself accused of that vice by his ruder contemporaries. (Livy, 29. 19.)

† Sylla, in the language of a soldier, praised his *peritia castrametandi*. (Plin. Hist. Natur. 18. 7.) Phædrus, who makes its shady walks (*læta viridia*) the scene of an insipid fable, (2. 5) has thus described the situation:

> Cæsar Tiberius quum petens Neapolim,
> In Misenensem villam venisset suam;
> Quæ monte summo posita Luculli manu
> Prospectat Siculum et prospicit Tuscum mare.

‡ From seven myriads and a half to two hundred and fifty myriads of drachmæ. Yet even in the possession of Marius, it was a luxurious retirement. The Romans derided his indolence: they soon bewailed his activity. See Plutarch, in Mario, tom. ii, p. 524.

§ Lucullus had other villas of equal though various magnificence, at Baiæ, Naples, Tusculum, &c. He boasted that he changed his climate with the storks and cranes. Plutarch, in Lucull. tom. iii, p. 193.

¶ Severinus died in Noricum, A.D. 482. Six years afterwards,

Odoacer was the first barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people who had once asserted their just superiority above the rest of mankind. The disgrace of the Romans still excites our respectful compassion, and we fondly sympathize with the imaginary grief and indignation of their degenerate posterity. But the calamities of Italy had gradually subdued the proud consciousness of freedom and glory. In the age of Roman virtue, the provinces were subject to the arms, and the citizens to the laws, of the republic; till those laws were subverted by civil discord, and both the city and the provinces became the servile property of a tyrant. The forms of the constitution, which alleviated or disguised their abject slavery, were abolished by time and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the presence or the absence of the sovereigns, whom they detested or despised; and the succession of five centuries inflicted the various evils of military licence, capricious despotism, and elaborate oppression.* During the same period, the barbarians had emerged from obscurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and Scythia were introduced into the provinces, as the servants, the allies, and at length the masters, of the Romans, whom they insulted or protected. The hatred of the people was suppressed by fear; they respected the spirit and splendour of the martial chiefs who were invested with the honours of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the sword of those formidable strangers. The stern Ricimer, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exercised the power, without assuming the title, of a king; and the patient Romans were insensibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his barbaric successors.

The king of Italy was not unworthy of the high station to which his valour and fortune had exalted him; his savage manners were polished by the habits of conversation; and

body, which scattered miracles as it passed, was transported by his disciples into Italy. The devotion of a Neapolitan lady invited the saint to the Lucullan villa, in the place of Augustulus, who was probably no more. See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 496, No. 50, 51) and Tillemont, Mém. Eccléss. tom. xvi, p. 178—181) from the original life by Eugippius. The narrative of the last migration of Severinus to Naples, is likewise an authentic piece.

* [This concise recapitulation of the evils to which Gibbon attributes Rome's decay, may here permit a repetition of the remark, that these could not of themselves have produced such dire consequences, had not the public mind been previously enfeebled. Sacerdotal tyranny, cloaking itself

he respected, though a conqueror and a barbarian, the institutions, and even the prejudices, of his subjects. After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the consulship of the West. For himself, he modestly, or proudly, declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperors of the East; but the curule chair was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators;* and the list is adorned by the respectable name of Basilius, whose virtues claimed the friendship and grateful applause of Sidonius, his client.† The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the prætorian prefect, and his subordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magistrates the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue; but he reserved for himself the merit of seasonable and popular indulgence.‡ Like the rest of the barbarians, he had been instructed in the Arian heresy; but he revered the monastic and episcopal characters; and the silence of the Catholics attests the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interposition of his prefect Basilius in the choice of a Roman pontiff: the decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands, was ultimately designed for the benefit of the people, whose devotion would have been taxed to repair the dilapidations of the church.§ Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the barbarians of Gaul and Germany,

in the reverend mantle of Christianity, had everywhere exacted the submission, and gradually destroyed the resources, of self-dependent intellect.—ED.]

* The consular Fasti may be found in Pagi or Muratori. The consuls named by Odoacer, or perhaps by the Roman senate, appear to have been acknowledged in the Eastern empire.

† Sidonius Apollinaris (l. 1, epist. 9, p. 22, edit. Sirmond) has compared the two leading senators of his time (A.D. 468), Gennadius Avienus and Cæcina Basilius. To the former he assigns the specious, to the latter the solid, virtues of public and private life. A Basilius junior, possibly his son, was consul in the year 480.

‡ Epiphanius interceded for the people of Pavia; and the king first granted an indulgence of five years, and afterwards relieved them from the oppression of Pelagius, the prætorian prefect. (Ennodius, in Vit. St. Epiphan. in Sirmond. Oper. tom. i, p. 1670. 1672.)

§ See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 483, No. 10—15. Sixteen years afterwards, the irregular proceedings of Basilius were condemned by pope Symmachus in a Roman synod. [Pope Symmachus must not be confounded with his contemporary the senator of the same name and father-in-law of Boethius. The zeal and determination of this pontiff

who had so long insulted the feeble race of Theodosius. Odoacer passed the Hadriatic, to chastise the assassins of the emperor Nepos, and to acquire the maritime province of Dalmatia. He passed the Alps, to rescue the remains of Noricum from Fava, or Feletheus, king of the Rugians, who held his residence beyond the Danube. The king was vanquished in battle, and led away prisoner; a numerous colony of captives and subjects was transplanted into Italy; and Rome, after a long period of defeat and disgrace, might claim the triumph of her barbarian master.*

Notwithstanding the prudence and success of Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the sad prospect of misery and desolation. Since the age of Tiberius, the decay of agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint, that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves.† In the division and the decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subsistence; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable losses of war, famine,‡

to extend the power of the church, are ably shown in Zedler's Lexicon, 41. 711.—Ed.]

* The wars of Odoacer are concisely mentioned by Paul the deacon, (De Gest. Langobard. l. 1, c. 19, p. 757, edit. Grot.) and in the two Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Cuspinian. The life of St. Severinus, by Eugippius, which the count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, &c., tom. viii, c. 1. 4. 8, 9) has diligently studied, illustrates the ruin of Noricum and the Bavarian antiquities. [We now see the work completed. So entirely was the Roman empire overthrown, that its barbarian conqueror is said to have proposed the abolition of its very name, and to have thought of immortalizing his own by giving to the venerable city the new designation of Odoacria. (Zedler, 25. 502.) Still we see no sudden darkness overspreading the land, no ruthless destroyers converting it into one wide desert. On the contrary, the state of Italy had so far improved, that security had succeeded to terror, and a regular, even a milder, government, to the capricious exactions of an impoverished tyranny. If "the sad prospect of misery and desolation" still deformed the scene, it was not consequent on the great change; it had been there for ages before, nor could it be brightened all at once.—Ed.]

† Tacit. Annal. 3. 53. The Recherches sur l'Administration des Terres chez les Romains (p. 351—361), clearly state the progress of internal decay.

‡ A famine, which afflicted Italy at the time of the irruption of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, is eloquently described in prose and verse, by a French poet. (Les Mois, tom. ii, p. 174. 206, edit. in 12mo.) I am ignorant from whence he derives his information; but I am well

and pestilence. St. Ambrose has deplored the ruin of a populous district, which had been once adorned with the flourishing cities of Bologna, Modena, Regium, and Placentia.* Pope Gelasius was a subject of Odoacer, and he affirms, with strong exaggeration, that in Æmilia, Tuscany, and the adjacent provinces, the human species was almost extirpated.† The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their master, perished or disappeared, as soon as his liberality was suppressed; the decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want; and the senators, who might support with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. One-third of those ample estates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed,‡ was extorted for the use of the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by insults; the sense of actual sufferings was imbittered by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new swarms of barbarians, each senator was apprehensive lest the arbitrary surveyors should approach his favourite villa, or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they desired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and since he was the absolute master of their fortunes, the portion which he left must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift.§ The distress of Italy was mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odoacer, who had bound himself, as the price of his elevation, to satisfy the demands of a licentious and turbulent multitude. The kings of the barbarians were frequently resisted, deposed, or murdered, by their *native* subjects; and the various

assured that he relates some facts incompatible with the truth of history.

* See the thirty-ninth epistle of St. Ambrose, as it is quoted by Muratori, sopra le Antichità Italiane, tom. i, Dissert. 21, p. 354.

† Æmilia, Tuscia, ceteræque provinciæ in quibus hominum prope nullus exsistit. Gelasius, Epist. ad Andromachum, ap Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 496, No. 36.

‡ Verumque confitentibus, latifundia perdidere Italiam. Plin. Hist. Natur. 18. 7.

§ Such are the topics of consolation, or rather of patience, which Cicero (ad Familiares, l. 9, epist. 17) suggests to his friend Papirius Pætus under the military despotism of Cæsar. The argument, however, of "vivere pulcherrimum duxi," is more forcibly addressed to a Roman philosopher, who possessed the free alternative of life or death.

bands of Italian mercenaries, who associated under the standard of an elective general, claimed a larger privilege of freedom and rapine. A monarchy destitute of national union, and hereditary right, hastened to its dissolution. After a reign of fourteen years, Odoacer was oppressed by the superior genius of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government, who restored an age of peace and prosperity, and whose name still excites and deserves the attention of mankind.

CHAPTER XXXVII. — ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND EFFECTS OF THE MONASTIC LIFE.—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS TO CHRISTIANITY AND ARIANISM.—PERSECUTION OF THE VANDALS IN AFRICA.—EXTINCTION OF ARIANISM AMONG THE BARBARIANS.

THE indissoluble connection of civil and ecclesiastical affairs has compelled and encouraged me to relate the progress, the persecutions, the establishment, the divisions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption of Christianity. I have purposely delayed the consideration of two religious events, interesting in the study of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. I. The institution of the monastic life; * and, II. The conversion of the northern barbarians.

I. Prosperity and peace introduced the distinction of the *vulgar* and the *Ascetic Christians*.† The loose and imperfect practice of religion satisfied the conscience of the multitude. The prince or magistrate, the soldier or mer-

* The origin of the monastic institution has been laboriously discussed by Thomassin, (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 1419—1426) and Helyot, (Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i, p. 1—66.) These authors are very learned and tolerably honest, and their difference of opinion shows the subject in its full extent. Yet the cautious Protestant, who distrusts *any* Popish guides, may consult the seventh book of Bingham's Christian Antiquities.

† See Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangel. (l. 1, p. 20, 21, edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1545.) In his Ecclesiastical History, published twelve years after the Demonstration, Eusebius (l. 2, c. 17) asserts the Christianity of the Therapeutæ; but he appears ignorant that a similar institution was actually revived in Egypt. [Neander (Hist. of Chris. vol. iii, p. 328) justly remarks that "the ascetic tendency cannot, in

chant, reconciled their fervent zeal, and implicit faith, with the exercise of their profession, the pursuit of their interest, and the indulgence of their passions; but the Ascetics, who obeyed and abused the rigid precepts of the gospel, were inspired by the savage enthusiasm, which represents man as a criminal and God as a tyrant. They seriously renounced the business and the pleasures of the age; abjured the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage; chastised their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. In the reign of Constantine, the Ascetics fled from a profane and degenerate world, to perpetual solitude, or religious society. Like the first Christians of Jerusalem,* they resigned the use, or the property, of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sex, and a similar disposition; and assumed the names of *Hermits*, *Monks*, and *Anachorets*, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial desert. They soon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was bestowed

itself considered, be regarded as a phenomenon peculiar to Christianity and springing simply out of the spirit of this religion. Something like it is to be found in other religions." Not only in other religions, but in human nature itself. Amid our endless varieties of temper and character, there always will be some more or less disposed to seek retirement from the world. The studious, the toil-worn, the persecuted, the disappointed, the disgusted, all in their own way, withdraw into a solitude where they may escape the cares of social life. Christianity undoubtedly favoured this tendency, by encouraging in its earnest professors a desire to avoid the contamination of licentious manners. Mosheim (Institutes, 1. 167) assumes it to be almost coeval with the religion itself, and to have originated in the wish of the earliest Greek believers to assimilate themselves to the Pythagoreans and Platonists of the day, who affected a rigid austerity of manners and a sublime dignity of deportment. Like those, the zealous converts desired to elevate themselves to a position where they might "live above nature," and prove the moral superiority to which they laid claim. The connection between primitive Christianity and philosophy, is generally denied by Mosheim; but this very explanation affords additional evidence of a fact so extensively and lucidly indicated by other circumstances. The monastic system (the organized form of asceticism), would not, however, have grown to such consistency and importance, had not the hierarchy perceived that these devotees might be used, not merely as a defensive, but also as an aggressive host, to fortify and extend their authority.—ED.]

* Cassian (Collat. 18. 5) claims this origin for the institution of the *Cœnobites*, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Antony and his disciples.

on this DIVINE PHILOSOPHY,* which surpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. The monks might indeed contend with the Stoics, in the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death: the Pythagorean silence and submission were revived in their servile discipline; and they disdained as firmly as the Cynics themselves all the forms and decencies of civil society. But the votaries of this divine philosophy aspired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets, who had retired to the desert;† and they restored the devout and contemplative life, which had been instituted by the Essenians, in Palestine and Egypt. The philosophic eye of Pliny had surveyed with astonishment a solitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead Sea; who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women, and who derived from the disgust and repentance of mankind, a perpetual supply of voluntary associates.‡

Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony,§ an illiterate¶ youth

* Ὠφελιμώτατον γάρ τι χρῆμα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐλθοῦσα παρα Θέου ἡ τοιαύτη φιλοσοφία. These are the expressive words of Sozomen, who copiously and agreeably describes (l. 1, c. 12—14) the origin and progress of this monkish philosophy. (See Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii, p. 1441.) Some modern writers, Lipsius, (tom. iv, p. 448. Manuduct. ad Philos. Stoic. 3. 13) and La Mothe le Vayer (tom. ix, de la Vertu des Payens, p. 228—262), have compared the Carmelites to the Pythagoreans, and the Cynics to the Capuchins.

† The Carmelites derive their pedigree, in regular succession, from the prophet Elijah. (See the Theses of Beziers, A.D. 1682, in Bayle's Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, Œuvres, tom. i, p. 82, &c. and the prolix irony of the Ordres Monastiques, an anonymous work, tom. i, p. 1—433, Berlin, 1751.) Rome and the inquisition of Spain silenced the profane criticism of the Jesuits of Flanders (Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i, p. 282—300); and the statue of Elijah, the Carmelite, has been erected in the church of St. Peter. (Voyages du P. Labat. tom. iii, p. 87.)

‡ Plin. Hist. Natur. 5. 15. Gens sola, et in toto orbe præter cæteras mira, sine ullâ feminâ, omni venere abdicatâ, sine pecuniâ, socia palmarum. Ita per seculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est in quâ nemo nascitur. Tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est. He places them just beyond the noxious influence of the lake, and names Engaddi and Masada as the nearest towns. The Laura, and monastery of St. Sabas, could not be far distant from this place. See Reland. Palestin. tom. i, p. 295; tom. ii, p. 763. 874. 880. 890.

§ See Athanas. Op. tom. ii, p. 450—505, and the Vit. Patrum, p. 26—74, with Rosweyde's Annotations. The former is the Greek original; the latter, a very ancient Latin version by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerome.

¶ Γράμματα μὲν μάθειν οὐκ ἠνέσχετο. Athanas. tom. ii, in Vit.

of the lower parts of Thebais, distributed his patrimony,* deserted his family and native home, and executed his *monastic* penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful noviciate among the tombs and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert three days' journey to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on mount Colzim near the Red Sea; where an

St. Anton. p. 452, and the assertion of his total ignorance has been received by many of the ancients and moderns. But Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii, p. 666) shows, by some probable arguments, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic, his native tongue; and that he was only a stranger to the *Greek letters*. The philosopher Synesius (p. 51) acknowledges that the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning. [Neander (vol. iii, p. 323) supplies a more correct account of Antony's first movements, and the origin of a regular monastic life. "In the fourth century, men were not agreed on the question as to who was to be considered the founder of monasticism, whether Paul or Antony. If by this was to be understood the individual from whom the *spread* of this mode of life proceeded, the name was unquestionably due to the latter, for if Paul was the first Christian hermit, yet, without the influence of Antony, he must have remained unknown to the rest of the Christian world, and would have found no followers. Before Antony, there may have been many who by inclination or by peculiar circumstances, were led to adopt this mode of life; but they remained at least unknown. The first, who is named by tradition—which in this case it must be confessed is entitled to little confidence and much distorted by fable—is the above-mentioned Paul. He is said to have been moved by the Decian persecution, to withdraw himself, when a young man, to a grotto in a remote mountain. To this mode of life he became attached, and was supplied with food and raiment by a neighbouring palm tree. Antony having heard of him, visited him and made him known to others." After reciting this story, Neander questions its authenticity. Yet Athanasius, in his Life of Antony, states, that the excited youth "heard of a venerable old man, who was living as an ascetic, on the border of a neighbouring village. He sought him out and made him his pattern." Whether the old man's name was Paul or not, is quite unimportant; we see how Antony's early propensity for solitude became more decided. He first breathed a spirit into the inert mass of asceticism; and Athanasius, ever quick in discerning and improving advantages, accelerated, regulated, and directed the movement. The patriarch of Alexandria, if not the actual parent, was, by his patronage, the godfather and rearer of monasticism.—ED.]

* *Arurœ* autem erant ei trecentæ uberes, et valde optimæ. (Vit. Patr. l. 1, p. 36.) If the *Arura* be a square measure of a hundred Egyptian cubits, (Rosweyde, Onomasticon ad Vit. Patrum, p. 1014, 1015) and the Egyptian cubit of all ages be equal to twenty-two English inches (Greaves, vol. i, p. 233), the arura will consist of about three quarters of an English acre.

ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint.* The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert; and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation from the emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria, were peopled by five thousand anachorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.† In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne‡ was occupied by Pachomius, and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine

* The description of the monastery is given by Jerome (tom. i, p. 248, 249, in Vit. Hilarion.) and the P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. v, p. 122—200.) Their accounts cannot always be reconciled: the father painted from his fancy, and the Jesuit from his experience.

† Jerome, tom. i, p. 146, ad Eustochium. Hist. Lausiac. c. 7, in Vit. Patrum, p. 712. The P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii, p. 29—79) visited, and has described, this desert, which now contains four monasteries, and twenty or thirty monks. See D'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 74. [M. Guizot, quoting Planck (Hist. Ecc. l. 14. 3) says that, "The persecutions of Diocletian contributed largely to fill the desert with Christian fugitives, who preferred safety as anchorites, to glory as martyrs." To which it may be added from Neander, that Antony was born in 251, and consequently more than fifty years of age when Diocletian's decrees were issued. It is, therefore, very probable that the example of his security attracted many at that time to seek such an asylum. In the year 311, his reputation for sanctity was so great, that having occasion to visit Alexandria during the persecution, renewed by Maximin, "while other monks who had come into the city concealed themselves, Antony appeared in public, yet no one dared to touch him."—ED.]

‡ Tabenne is a small island in the Nile, in the diocese of Tentyra or Dendera, between the modern town of Girge and the ruins of ancient Thebes. (D'Anville, p. 194.) M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an isle; but I may conclude, from his own facts, that the primitive name was afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Pabau. (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii, p. 678. 688.)

monasteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his *angelic* rule of discipline.* The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females, and twenty thousand males, of the monastic profession.† The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people,‡ and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, that, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a god than a man.

Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited at first horror and contempt, and at length applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow institution of *six* vestals was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman Forum.§ Inflamed by the example of

* See, in the Codex Regularum (published by Lucas Holstenius, Rome, 1661), a preface of St. Jerome to his Latin version of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. i, p. 61.

† Rufin. c. 5, in Vit. Patrum, p. 459. He calls it, civitas ampla valde et populosa, and reckons twelve churches. Strabo (l. 17, p. 1166) and Ammianus (22. 16) have made honourable mention of Oxyrinchus, whose inhabitants adored a small fish in a magnificent temple.

‡ Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tantæ pœne habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum. Rufin. c. 7, in Vit. Patrum, p. 461. He congratulates the fortunate change.

§ The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy is occasionally mentioned by Jerome (tom. i, p. 119, 120. 199). [Monastic institutions were largely indebted, during their early growth, to the vigorous intellect of Athanasius. His biography of Antony proves the interest which he took in them, and reveals his guiding hand. In the year 352, he ordered the patriarch of asceticism, then a hundred years old, to visit Alexandria, that he might assist in putting down Arianism, favoured and supported by the emperor

Antony, a Syrian youth whose name was Hilarion,* fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance, in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anachorets, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil† is immortal in the monastic history of the east. With a mind that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens; with an ambition, scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus; and deigned for awhile to give

Constantius. The appearance of the archbishop's celebrated friend made so great a sensation, that even Pagans crowded to church that they might see "the man of God," and the diseased pressed round him to touch his garments, in the hope of being healed. In the few days of his residence, more were converted to Christianity and orthodoxy, than during a year at other times. (Neander, 3, p. 231.) The six years of his next exile (356—361) were passed by Athanasius in the deserts of Thebais. Antony was dead, but the primate of Egypt was welcomed and sheltered in the numerous monasteries that had risen there; nor can it be doubted that he employed himself in disciplining their inmates, and digesting for them the rules of Pachomius. The monks were, on all occasions, his faithful guardians, cunning emissaries, and discreet ministers. In the West, monachism was altogether introduced and recommended by him. It found at first little favour there, but his powerful intervention soon secured for it a warm reception. "Athanasius was the first who, during his residence at different times, when banished from the East, among the Western people, introduced among them a better knowledge of the Oriental monachism. His biographical account of the monk Antony, which was early translated into the Latin, had a great influence in this matter." (Neander, 3. 367.) He made the bishops sensible of the advantages to be derived from it, and the most eminent leaders of the Western church continued during the next eighty years, to aid its progress. Eusebius of Vercelli, Ambrose of Milan, Martin of Tours, Jerome and Augustin, all "contributed still further to awaken and diffuse this tendency of the Christian spirit in Italy, in Gaul, and in Africa."—ED.]

* See the life of Hilarion, by St. Jerome (tom. i, p. 241. 252.) The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the same author, are admirably told; and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common sense.

† His original retreat was in a small village on the banks of the Iris, not far from Neo-Cæsarea. The ten or twelve years of his monastic life were disturbed by long and frequent avocations. Some critics have disputed the authenticity of his ascetic rules; but the external evidence is weighty, and they can only prove that it is the work of a real or affected enthusiast. See Tillemont, Mém. Eccléss.

laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black sea. In the west, Martin of Tours,* a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul: two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid or universal than that of Christianity itself. Every province, and, at last, every city of the empire was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan sea, were chosen by the anachorets for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus.† The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims who visited Jerusalem eagerly copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Æthiopia.‡ The monastery of Banchor,§ in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the barbarians of Ireland,¶ and Iona, one of Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish

tom. ix, p. 636—644. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i, p. 175—181.

* See his Life, and the Three Dialogues by Sulpicius Severus, who asserts (Dialog. l. 16) that the booksellers of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready sale of his popular work.

† When Hilarion sailed from Parætonium to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Gospels. Posthumian, a Gallic monk, who had visited Egypt, found a merchantship bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days. (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. l. 1.) Athanasius, who addressed his Life of St. Antony to the foreign monks, was obliged to hasten the composition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the fleets (tom. ii, p. 451).

‡ See Jerome (tom. i, p. 126), Assemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv, p. 92. p. 857—919), and Geddes (Church History of Æthiopia, p. 29—31.) The Abyssinian monks adhere very strictly to the primitive institution.

§ Camden's Britannia, vol. i, p. 666, 667.

¶ All that learning can extract from the rubbish of the dark ages is copiously stated by archbishop Usher, in his Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, cap. 16, p. 425—503.

monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition.*

These unhappy exiles from social life were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of superstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either sex, of every age, and of every rank; and each proselyte, who entered the gates of a monastery, was persuaded that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness.† But the operation of these religious motives was variously determined by the temper and situation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion might suspend, their influence; but they acted most forcibly on the infirm minds of children and females; they were strengthened by secret remorse, or accidental misfortune; and they might derive some aid from the temporal considerations of vanity or interest. It was naturally supposed that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world to accomplish the work of their salvation, were the best qualified for the spiritual government of the Christians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell and seated, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the episcopal throne: the monasteries of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the east, supplied a regular succession of saints and bishops; and ambition soon

* This small, though not barren, spot, Iona, Hy, or Columbkill, only two miles in length, and one mile in breadth, has been distinguished, 1. By the monastery of St. Columba, founded A.D. 566, whose abbot exercised an extraordinary jurisdiction over the bishops of Caledonia. 2. By a *classic* library, which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy; and, 3. By the tombs of sixty kings, Scots, Irish, and Norwegians; who reposed in holy ground. See Usher (p. 311. 360—370) and Buchanan (Rer. Scot. l. 2, p. 15, edit. Ruddiman). [The original accounts of Columba and his monastery are to be found in the Chron. Sax. A.D. 565, and in Bede's Ecc. Hist. l. iii. c. 4. (Bohn's edit. p. 113, 114, 313.) Columbkill was a name, not of the island, but of the saint. (Ib. p. 248.) He has by some been confounded with his contemporary Columbanus, who founded the monasteries of Luxovium in Gaul, and of Bobium in Lombardy. Clinton, F. R. ii. 484.—ED.]

† Chrysostom (in the first tome of the Benedictine edition) has consecrated three books to the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged, by the example of the ark, to presume, that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved (l. 1, p. 55, 56). Elsewhere, indeed, he becomes more merciful, (l. 3, p. 83, 84) and allows different degrees of glory, like the sun, moon, and stars. In his lively comparison of a king and a monk, (l. 3, p. 116—121) he supposes (what is hardly fair) that the king will be more sparingly rewarded

discovered the secret road which led to the possession of wealth and honours.* The popular monks, whose reputation was connected with the fame and success of the order, assiduously laboured to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They insinuated themselves into noble and opulent families; and the specious arts of flattery and seduction were employed to secure those proselytes, who might bestow wealth or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant father bewailed the loss, perhaps, of an only son;† the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the matron aspired to imaginary perfection, by renouncing the virtues of domestic life. Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerome;‡ and the profane title of mother-in-law of God,§ tempted that illustrious widow to consecrate the virginity of her daughter Eustochium. By the advice, and in the company of her spiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant son, retired to the holy village of Bethlem, founded a hospital and four monasteries, and acquired, by her alms and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the Catholic

and more rigorously punished. * Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 1426—1469) and Mabillon. (Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii, p. 115—158.) The monks were gradually adopted as a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. [This was the regular course of progressive management. Through successive ages, cathedral and monastery rose side by side; bishops, mitred abbots, and priors, acted in concert to rivet the chains of ignorance on the passive laity.—ED.]

† Dr. Middleton (vol. i, p. 110) liberally censures the conduct and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and successful advocates for the monastic life.

‡ Jerome's devout ladies form a very considerable portion of his works: the particular treatise which he styles the Epitaph of Paula (tom. i, p. 169—192) is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The exordium is ridiculously turgid:—"If all the members of my body were changed into tongues, and if all my limbs resounded with a human voice, yet should I be incapable," &c. [Such abuses were prohibited by the first statutes that regulated the organization of monasteries. Of a wedded pair, one could not embrace the monastic life without the consent of the other. (Basil. Reg. maj. qu. 12.) A minor was not admitted without parental concurrence. (Ib. qu. 15. Conc. Gangr. c. 16.) The owner's leave must be obtained, before a slave could join the fraternity. But the emperor Justinian removed these restraints, and allowed slaves, children, and wives, to be received into monasteries even against the will of masters, parents, and husbands. (Novell. 5, c. 2. Cod. Just. l. 1, tom. iii, leg. 53. 55.)—GUIZOT.]

§ Socrus Dei esse cœpisti (Jerome, tom. i, p. 140, ad Eustochium). Rufinus (in Hieronym. Op.

church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians,* who gained in the cloister much more than they had sacrificed in the world. Peasants, slaves, and mechanics might escape from poverty and contempt to a safe and honourable profession; whose apparent hardships were mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation of discipline.† The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the imperial government; and the pusillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monastic, to the dangers of a military, life. The affrighted provincials, of every rank, who fled before the barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same cause, which relieved the distress of individuals, impaired the strength and fortitude of the empire.‡

The monastic profession of the ancients§ was an act of

tom. iv. p. 223) who was justly scandalized, asks his adversary, From what Pagan poet he had stolen an expression so impious and absurd?

* Nunc autem veniunt *plerumque* ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei, et ex conditione servili, vel etiam liberati, vel propter hoc a Dominis liberati sive liberandi; et ex vitâ rusticanâ, et ex opificum exercitatione, et plebeio labore. Augustin. de Oper. Monach. c. 22, ap. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii, p. 1094. The Egyptian, who blamed Arsenius, owned that he led a more comfortable life as a monk, than as a shepherd. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv, p. 679.

† A Dominican friar (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. i, p. 10) who lodged at Cadiz in a convent of his brethren, soon understood that their repose was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion: "quoiqu'on ne laisse pas de sonner pour l'édification du peuple."

‡ See a very sensible preface of Lucas Holstenius to the Codex Regularum. The emperors attempted to support the obligation of public and private duties; but the feeble dykes were swept away by the torrent of superstition; and Justinian surpassed the most sanguine wishes of the monks. (Thomassin, tom. i, p. 1782—1799, and Bingham, l. 7, c. 3, p. 253.) [A law of the emperor Valens was particularly directed "Contra ignaviæ quosdam sectatores, qui, desertis civitatum muneribus, captant solitudines ac secreta, et specie religionis, cœtibus monachorum congregantur." (Cod. Theod. l. 12, tit. 1, leg. 63.—Guizot.] [The laws, canons, and rules to which Guizot, in this and his preceding note, refers as palliatives of the evil, were not of long duration; the influence and perseverance of the priesthood, at no distant period, accomplished their abrogation.—Ed.]

§ The

voluntary devotion. The inconstant fanatic was threatened with the eternal vengeance of the God whom he deserted: but the doors of the monastery were still open for repentance. Those monks, whose conscience was fortified by reason or passion, were at liberty to resume the character of men and citizens; and even the spouses of Christ might accept the legal embraces of an earthly lover.* The examples of scandal, and the progress of superstition, suggested the propriety of more forcible restraints. After a sufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was secured by a solemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the church and state. A guilty fugitive was pursued, arrested, and restored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate oppressed the freedom and merit, which had alleviated, in some degree, the abject slavery of the monastic discipline.† The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inflexible rule,‡ or a capricious superior: the slightest offences were corrected by disgrace or confinement, extraordinary fasts or bloody flagellation; and disobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous sins.§ A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however absurd, or even criminal, they might seem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue of the Egyp-

monastic institutions, particularly those of Egypt, about the year 400, are described by four curious and devout travellers; Rufinus, Vit. Patrum l. 2, 3, p. 424—536), Posthumian (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. 1), Palladius, (Hist. Lausiac. in Vit. Patrum. p. 709—863), and Cassian (see in tom. vii, Bibliothec. Max. Patrum, his four first books of Institutes, and the twenty-four Collations or Conferences.)

* The example of Malchus (Jerome, tom. i, p. 256), and the design of Cassian and his friend (Collation 24. 1) are incontestable proofs of their freedom; which is elegantly described by Erasmus in his Life of St. Jerome. See Chardon (Hist. des Sacremens, tom. vi, p. 279—300).

† See the laws of Justinian (Novel. 123, No. 42), and of Lewis the Pious, (in the Historians of France, tom. vi, p. 427) and the actual jurisprudence of France, in Denissart. (Decisions, &c. tom. iv, p. 855, &c.)

‡ The ancient Codex Regularum, collected by Benedict Anianinus, the reformer of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and published in the seventeenth by Lucas Holstenius, contains thirty different rules for men and women. Of these seven were composed in Egypt, one in the East, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in Gaul or France, and one in England.

§ The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the

tian monks; and their patience was frequently exercised by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; assiduously to water a barren staff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond; and several saints, or madmen, have been immortalized in monastic story by their thoughtless and fearless obedience.* The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly followed the faith and passions of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the eastern church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the fiercest barbarians.†

West, inflicts one hundred lashes for very slight offences. (Cod. Reg. part 2, p. 174.) Before the time of Charlemagne, the abbots indulged themselves in mutilating their monks, or putting out their eyes; a punishment much less cruel than the tremendous *vade in pace* (the subterraneous dungeon or sepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable discourse of the learned Mabillon (Œuvres Posthumes, tom. ii, p. 321—336), who, on this occasion, seems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. For such an effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy tear of Vendome (p. 361—399).

* Sulp. Sever. Dialog. l. 12, 13, p. 532, &c. Cassian. Institut. l. 4, c. 26, 27. "Præcipua ibi virtus et prima est obedientia." Among the Verba Seniorum (in Vit. Patrum, l. 5, p. 617) the fourteenth libel or discourse is on the subject of obedience; and the Jesuit Rosweyde, who published that huge volume for the use of convents, has collected all his scattered passages in his two copious indexes.

† Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv, p. 161) has observed the scandalous valour of the Cappadocian monks, which was exemplified in the banishment of Chrysostom. [Not too dark are the colours in which Gibbon has here painted the process of destroying "the freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment." To the force of his description nothing can be added; but it may be remarked that the mischievous delusions, which he exposes and condemns, were not the offspring of religion, but the arts employed by its faithless and treacherous ministers. Before the introduction of the monastic expedient, society, as has been shown, had gradually lost its energetic tone. But when this engine was brought to bear, the work went on rapidly. The influence of this new movement was not confined to the cloister and the cell. The example of

Superstition has often framed and consecrated the fantastic garments of the monks:* but their apparent singularity sometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a simple and primitive model, which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice or merit; and soberly exhorts his disciples to adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit.† The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life: and they assumed, with the same indifference, the sheepskin of the Egyptian peasants, or the cloak of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themselves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the West, they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury.‡ It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair; they wrapped their heads in a cowl, to escape the sight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their slow and feeble steps were supported by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine Anachoret was horrid and disgusting: every sensation that is offensive to man was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the salutary custom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil.§ The austere monks slept on the

abandoned duties, the contagion of indolent habits, the soporific atmosphere of ignorance, the lessons of abject servility, the warning penalties of refractory insubordination, and the honours paid to sainted folly, involved all classes in one common hallucination, and invested subservient stupidity with the merit of pious docility. Under those auspices was achieved that conquest of the state which is falsely called the triumph of Christianity. It was the triumph of a power that trampled Christianity under foot and scorned every sacred obligation. In less than a hundred and fifty years after this, it made all weak but itself, subverted everything but its own domination, and planting its throne on the wreck, reigned for ten centuries in clouds and darkness.—ED.]

* Cassian has simply, though copiously, described the monastic habit of Egypt (Institut. l.1), to which Sozomen (l. 3, c. 14) attributes such allegorical meaning and virtue.

† Regul. Benedict. No. 55, in Cod. Regul. part 2, p. 51.

‡ See the Rule of Ferreolus, bishop of Usez, (No. 31, in Cod. Regul. part 2, p. 136,) and of Isidore, bishop of Seville, (No. 13, in Cod. Regul. part 2, p. 214.)

§ Some partial indulgences were granted for the hands and feet. "Totum autem corpus nemo ungue

ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the same bundle of palm-leaves served them as a seat in the day, and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the slightest materials; which formed, by the regular distribution of the streets, a large and populous village, enclosing within the common wall, a church, a hospital, perhaps a library, some necessary offices, a garden, and a fountain or reservoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

Pleasure and guilt are synonymous terms in the language of the monks; and they had discovered, by experience, that rigid fasts and abstemious diet are the most effectual preservatives against the impure desires of the flesh.* The rules of abstinence which they imposed, or practised, were not uniform or perpetual: the cheerful festival of the Pentecost was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervour of new monasteries was insensibly relaxed; and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient and temperate virtue of the Egyptians.† The disciples of Antony and Pachomius were satisfied with their daily pittance‡ of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit,§ which they divided into two frugal repasts of

nisi causâ infirmitatis, nec lavabitur aquâ nudo corpore, nisi languor perspicuus sit." (Regul. Pachom. 92, part 1, p. 78).

* St. Jerome, in strong, but indiscreet language, expresses the most important use of fasting and abstinence.—"Non quod Deus universitatis Creator et Dominus, intestinorum nostrorum rugitû, et inanitate ventris, pulmonisque ardore delectetur, sed quod aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit." (Op. tom. i, p. 137, ad Eustochium.) See the twelfth and twenty-second Collations of Cassian, *de Castitate*, and *de Illusionibus Nocturnis*.

† Edacitas in Græcis gula est, in Gallis natura. (Dialog. 1, c. 4, p. 521.) Cassian fairly owns, that the perfect model of abstinence cannot be imitated in Gaul, on account of the aerum temperies, and the qualitas nostræ fragilitatis. (Institut. 4. 11.) Among the western rules, that of Columbanus is the most austere; he had been educated amidst the poverty of Ireland, as rigid perhaps, and inflexible, as the abstemious virtue of Egypt. The rule of Isidore of Seville is the mildest: on holidays he allows the use of flesh.

‡ "Those who drink only water, and have no nutritious liquor, ought, at least, to have a pound and a half (*twenty-four ounces*) of bread every day." State of Prisons, p. 40, by Mr. Howard.

§ See Cassian. Collat. 1. 2, 19—21. The small loaves, or biscuit, of six ounces each, had obtained the name of *paximacia*. (Rosweyde,

the afternoon and of the evening. It was esteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot sometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheese, fruit, salad, and the small dried fish of the Nile.* A more ample latitude of sea and river fish was gradually allowed or assumed; but the use of flesh was long confined to the sick or travellers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular distinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domestic, had been less profane than the grosser animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the intemperance of the age.† Such an allowance might be easily supplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious disciples, who passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, required, in the place of wine, an adequate compensation of strong beer or cyder.

The candidate who aspired to the virtue of evangelical poverty, abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate, or exclusive, possession.‡ The brethren were supported by their manual labour; and the duty of labour was strenu-

Onomasticon, p. 1045.) Pachomius, however, allowed his monks some latitude in the quantity of their food; but he made them work in proportion as they ate. (Pallad. in Hist. Lausiac. c. 38, 39, in Vit. Patrum, l. 8, p. 736, 737.) [The proper term for one of these six-ounce portions was *paximatium*. See Du Cange, 5. 307. He gives it the meaning of "panis subcinericius vel recoctus." *Biscuit* is therefore its correct designation. Suidas derived the name from one Paxamus, by whom it was said to have been invented.—ED.]

* See the banquet to which Cassian (Collation 8. 1,) was invited by Serenus, an Egyptian abbot.

† See the Rule of St. Benedict, No. 39, 40, (in Cod. Reg. part 2, p. 41, 42.) Licet legamus vinum omnino monachorum non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest; he allows them a Roman *hemina*, a measure which may be ascertained from Arbuthnot's Tables.

‡ Such expressions as *my* book, *my* cloak, *my* shoes, (Cassian. Institut. l. 4, c. 13,) were not less severely prohibited among the Western monks, (Cod. Regul. part 2, p. 174. 235. 288), and the Rule of Columbanus punished them with six lashes. The ironical author of the *Ordres Monastiques*, who laughs at the foolish nicety of modern convents, seems ignorant that

ously recommended as a penance, as an exercise, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subsistence.* The garden, and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the morass, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of slaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utensils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended for the most part, to darken, rather than to dispel, the cloud of superstition. Yet the curiosity or zeal of some learned solitaries has cultivated the ecclesiastical, and even the profane, sciences; and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preserved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens.† But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the silent, sedentary occupation, of making wooden sandals, or of twisting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community: the boats of Tabenne, and the other monasteries of Thebais, descended the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

the ancients were equally absurd. * Two great masters of ecclesiastical science, the P. Thomassin, (Discipline d'Eglise, tom. iii, p. 1090—1139,) and the P. Mabillon, (Etudes Monastiques, tom. i, p. 116—155,) have seriously examined the manual labour of the monks, which the former considers as a *merit*, and the latter as a *duty*.

† Mabillon (Etudes Monastiques, tom. i, p. 47—55,) has collected many curious facts to justify the literary labours of his predecessors, both in the East and West. Books were copied in the ancient monasteries of Egypt, (Cassian. Institut. l. 4, c. 12,) and by the disciples of St. Martin. (Sulp. Sever. in Vit. Martin. c. 7, p. 473.) Cassiodorus has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks; and *we* shall not be scandalized, if their pen sometimes wandered from Chrysostom and Augustin, to Homer and Virgil. [It would indeed have been strange, if among the millions of monks, in so many ages, a few had not relieved by study the monotony of their lives, and even betaken themselves by choice to literary pursuits. Yet what is the sum of their labours? Gibbon has truly said, that they "tended for the most part rather to darken than dispel the cloud of superstition." That they have preserved for us some portions of ancient literature, is but an equivocal merit. How were the rest destroyed? The praise of having "led Europe

But the necessity of manual labour was insensibly superseded. The novice was tempted to bestow his fortune on the saints, in whose society he was resolved to spend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future accessions of legacy or inheritance.* Melania contributed her plate (three hundred pounds weight of silver), and Paula contracted an immense debt, for the relief of their favourite monks; who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and penance to a rich and liberal sinner.† Time continually increased, and accidents could seldom diminish, the estates of the popular monasteries, which spread over the adjacent country and cities; and, in the first century of their institution, the infidel Zosimus has maliciously observed, that, for the benefit of the poor, the Christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind to a state of beggary.‡ As long as they maintained their original fervour, they approved themselves, however, the faithful and benevolent stewards of the charity which was intrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity; they gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expense. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal society. But every age of the church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks; who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and sensual pleasures of the world, which they had

forth from the dark ages," has been of late ostentatiously claimed for them by some, and inconsiderately accorded by others; but we must bear in mind, that it is to them we owe those dark ages.—ED.]

* Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii, p. 118. 145. 146. 171—179,) has examined the revolution of the civil, canon, and common law. Modern France confirms the death which monks have inflicted on themselves, and justly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

† See Jerome, tom. i, p. 176. 183. The monk Pambo made a sublime answer to Melania, who wished to specify the value of her gift. "Do you offer it to me, or to God? If to God, HE who suspends the mountains in a balance, need not be informed of the weight of your plate." (Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 10, in the Vit. Patrum, l. 8, p. 715.)

‡ Τὸ πολὺ μέρος τῆς γῆς ὠκειώσαντο, προφάσει τοῦ μεταδιδόναι πάντα πτωχοῖς, πάντας (ὡς εἰπεῖν) πτωχοὺς καταστήσαντες. Zosim. lib. 5, p.325. Yet the wealth of the Eastern monks was far surpassed by the princely greatness of the Benedictines.

renounced,* and scandalously abused the riches which had been acquired by the austere virtues of their founders.† Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

The lives of the primitive monks were consumed in penance and solitude; undisturbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exercise the faculties, of reasonable, active, and social beings. Whenever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions; and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at least to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers, who professed the orthodox faith, were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was restricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic slave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender sister, or an aged parent, by the obstinate refusal of a word or look.‡ The monks themselves passed their lives without personal attachments, among a crowd which had been formed by accident, and was detained in the same prison by force of prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or sentiments to communicate; a special licence of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar visits; and, at their silent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inaccessible

* The sixth general council (the Quinisext in Trullo, Canon 47, in Beveridge, tom. i, p. 213,) restrains women from passing the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. The seventh general council (the second Nicene, Canon 20, in Beveridge, tom. i, p. 325) prohibits the erection of double or promiscuous monasteries of both sexes; but it appears from Balsamon, that the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleasures and expenses of the clergy and *monks*, see Thomassin, tom. iii, p. 1334—1368. † I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine abbot—"My vow of poverty has given me a hundred thousand crowns a year; my vow of obedience has raised me to the rank of a sovereign prince." I forget the consequences of his vow of chastity.

‡ Prior, an Egyptian monk, allowed his sister to see him; but he shut his eyes during the whole visit. See Vit. Patrum, l. 3, p. 504.

and almost invisible to each other.* Study is the resource of solitude: but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the mechanics and peasants, who filled the monastic communities. They might work; but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labour; and the industry must be faint and languid, which is not excited by the sense of personal interest.

According to their faith and zeal, they might employ the day, which they passed in their cells, either in vocal or mental prayer: they assembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are seldom clouded in the serene sky of Egypt; and a rustic horn or trumpet, the signal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast silence of the desert.† Even sleep, the last refuge of the unhappy, was rigorously measured; the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and before the close of each day, he had repeatedly accused the tedious progress of the sun.‡ In this comfortless state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries.§ The repose which they had sought in the cloister was disturbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty desires; and, while they considered each natural impulse as an unpardonable sin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by

Many such examples might be added.

* The seventh, eighth, twenty-ninth, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-fourth, fifty-seventh, sixtieth, eighty-sixth, and ninety-fifth, articles of the Rule of Pachomius impose most intolerable *laws* of silence and mortification.

† The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are copiously discussed by Cassian in the third and fourth books of his Institutions; and he constantly prefers the liturgy, which an angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tabenne.

‡ Cassian, from his own experience, describes the *acedia*, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed, when he sighed to find himself alone. Sæpiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem crebrius intuetur. (Institut. 10. 1.)

§ The temptations and sufferings of Stagirius were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St. Chrysostom. See Middleton's Works, vol. i, p. 107—110. Something similar introduces the life of every saint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of

madness or death; and, in the sixth century, a hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the austere penitents, who were deprived of their senses.* Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that the air which they breathed was peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable demons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of distempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary slumber, might easily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his sleeping, and his waking, dreams.†

The monks were divided into two classes: the *Cœnobites*, who lived under a common, and regular, discipline; and the *Anachorets*, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism.‡ The most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *Laura*,§ a distant circle of solitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation.¶ They

the Jesuits (Vie d'Inigo de Guipuscoa, tom. i, p. 29—38) may serve as a memorable example. * Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique, tom. vii, p. 46. I have read, somewhere in the Vitæ Patrum, but I cannot recover the place, that *several*, I believe *many*, of the monks, who did not reveal their temptations to the abbot, became guilty of suicide. † See the seventh and eighth Collations of Cassian, who gravely examines, why the demons were grown less active and numerous since the time of St. Antony. Rosweyde's copious index to the Vitæ Patrum will point out a variety of infernal scenes. The devils were most formidable in a female shape. ‡ For the distinction of the *Cœnobites* and the *Hermits*, especially in Egypt, see Jerome (tom. i, p. 45, ad Rusticum), the first Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus; Rufinus (c. 22, in Vit. Patrum, l. 2, p. 478), Palladius, (c. 7. 69, in Vit. Patrum, l. 8, p. 712. 758,) and, above all, the eighteenth and nineteenth Collations of Cassian. Those writers who compare the common and solitary life, reveal the abuse and danger of the latter.

§ Suicer, Thesaur. Ecclesiast. tom. ii, p. 205. 218. Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 1501, 1502) gives a good account of these cells. When Gerasimus founded his monastery, in the wilderness of Jordan, it was accompanied by a Laura of seventy cells.

¶ Theodoret, in a large volume (the Philotheus, in Vit. Patrum, l. 9,

sank under the painful weight of crosses and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous incumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals: and a numerous sect of Anachorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd.* They often usurped the den of some wild beast whom they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance.† The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the *man* (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or seat, of a peculiar construction, which might expose him in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the name and genius of Simeon Stylites‡ have been immortalized by the singular invention of an aërial penance. At the age of thirteen the young Syrian deserted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monastery. After a long and painful noviciate, in which Simeon was repeatedly saved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain about thirty or forty miles to the east of Antioch. Within the space of a *mandra*, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was successively raised

p. 793—863,) has collected the lives and miracles of thirty anachorets. Evagrius (l. 1, c. 12) more briefly celebrates the monks and hermits of Palestine.

* Sozomen, l. 6, c. 33. The great St. Ephrem composed a panegyric on these *βόσκοι*, or grazing monks. (Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii, p. 292.)

† The P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii, p. 217—223) examined the caverns of the Lower Thebais with wonder and devotion. The inscriptions are in the old Syriac character, which was used by the Christians of Abyssinia.

‡ See Theodoret (in Vit. Patrum, l. 9, p. 848—854), Antony (in Vit. Patrum, l. 1, p. 107—177), Cosmas (in Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i, p. 239—253), Evagrius (l. 1, c. 13, 14), and Tillemont (Mém.

from the height of nine, to that of sixty feet, from the ground.* In this last, and lofty station, the Syrian anachoret resisted the heat of thirty summers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous situation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his out-stretched arms in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet; and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and forty-four repetitions, at length desisted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh† might shorten, but it could not disturb, this *celestial* life; and the patient hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant; but it would surpass the power of a tyrant to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be presumed that the fanatics, who torment themselves, are susceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel unfeeling temper has distinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciless zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the inquisition.

The monastic saints, who excite only the contempt and pity of a philosopher, were respected, and almost adored, by the prince and people. Successive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India saluted the divine pillar of Simeon; the tribes of Saracens disputed in arms the honour of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia gratefully confessed his supernatural virtue; and the angelic hermit

Ecclés. tom. xv, p. 347—392). * The narrow circumference of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column, is inconsistent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived. † I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported, that the devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a fiery chariot. The saint too hastily raised his foot, and Satan seized the moment of inflicting this chastisement on his vanity.

was consulted by the younger Theodosius, in the most important concerns of the church and state. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telenissa, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, six bishops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and six thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his bones, as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular anachorets; the Christian world fell prostrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives* was embellished by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a believing age was easily persuaded, that the slightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the universe. The favourites of Heaven were accustomed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch, a word, or a distant message; and to expel the most obstinate demons from the souls or bodies which they possessed. They familiarly accosted, or imperiously commanded, the lions and serpents of the desert; infused vegetation into a sapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water; passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fiction, without the genius, of poetry, have seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the morals of the Christians. Their credulity debased and vitiated the faculties of the mind; they corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship which had been practised by the saints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the sanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the servile and pusillanimous reign of the monks. If it be possible to measure the interval between

* I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the *Vitæ Patrum* of Rosweyde, as the number very much exceeds the thousand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant specimen may be found in the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, and his life of St. Martin. He reveres the monks of Egypt; yet he insults them with the remark, that *they* never raised the dead; whereas the bishop of Tours had restored *three* dead men to life.

the philosophic writings of Cicero and the sacred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.*

II. The progress of Christianity has been marked by two glorious and decisive victories: over the learned and luxurious citizens of the Roman empire; and over the warlike barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion, of the Romans. The Goths were the foremost of these savage proselytes; and the nation was indebted for its conversion to a countryman, or, at least, to a subject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors of useful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Gothic bands, who ravaged Asia in the time of Gallienus: and of these captives, many were Christians, and several belonged to the ecclesiastical order. Those involuntary missionaries, dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia, successively laboured for the salvation of their masters. The seeds which they planted, of the evangelic doctrine, were gradually propagated; and before the end of a century, the pious work was achieved by the labours of Ulphilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube, from a small town of Cappadocia.

Ulphilas, the bishop and apostle of the Goths,† acquired

* [The term of five hundred years is too long and begins too early. The degeneracy of Roman character and talent does not date from the age that immediately followed that of Cicero and Cato. No marked deterioration is perceptible till after the beginning of the second century. The change then came on gradually. It may be more accurately measured, by comparing Theodoret and Prosper with Pliny or Tacitus, and seeing Simeon Stylites on his pillar more revered than Antonine on his throne. It is important to mark the date, for it will be found, that Roman decay began soon after the Christian priesthood erected themselves into a hierarchy, received endowments, coveted more, manœuvred for the acquisition of wealth, and used ignorance and superstition as their purveyors. Public debasement and episcopal aggrandizement went on together, "passibus æquis."—Ed.]

† On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths, see Sozomen, l. 6, c. 37; Socrates, l. 4, c. 33; Theodoret, l. 4, c. 37; Philostorg. l. 2, c. 5. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information.

their love and reverence by his blameless life and indefatigable zeal; and they received, with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth and virtue, which he preached and practised. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German or Teutonic language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the barbarians. The rude,

[Most ancient and many modern writers have been so occupied in debating, whether and why Ulphilas was an Arian, whether he lived in the time of Constantine or of Valens, and whether he was the inventor of the alphabet used in his translation of the Scriptures, that they have overlooked the most instructive lesson to be gathered from what we know of him. These discussions may be found in Neander's Hist. of Chris. vol. iii, p. 177, and Mallet's Northern Ant. with Bishop Percy's Notes, p. 223, edit. Bohn. *Wolff* or *Wölfel*, the real name of Ulphilas, is manifestly Gothic. Yet, as Neander suggests, it may have been adopted by him, though of a Cappadocian family, to ingratiate himself with the Mœsian colony among whom he was born and had long been resident. He certainly acquired great influence over them, and by his translation of the Scriptures into their language, marked an important era in the history of their progress. It was the first book that they ever possessed. The manuscript, mentioned by Gibbon, was discovered in the abbey of Werden, in Westphalia, and is believed to be the "identical version of Ulphilas." It is preserved in the library of Upsal under the name of the "Codex Argenteus," the letters being all of silver, with gold initials, on a violet-coloured vellum. They are stamped with hot metal types, like titles on the backs of books, and show that at that early period the art of printing was all but invented. Other fragments have been discovered in the library at Wolfenbüttel and by Cardinal Mai at Rome, by means of which a complete edition was published in 1836, at Leipzig. In these manuscripts, the letters are quite different from the Runic, and bishop Percy admits that they must have been invented by Ulphilas, as ancient writers expressly assert. Niebuhr (Lectures, 3. 317) ascribes to them a rather earlier origin, for he says that when the Visigoths crossed the Danube, in the time of the emperor Valens, "they had a national civilization of their own, and already possessed an alphabet, invented for them by Ulphilas." No discordant statements can however cloud or conceal the fact which here stands prominent to fix our attention. Intercourse with the Roman world had so far improved the Goths, that the first preliminary step to all education and enlightenment was decidedly taken, and they were fit to receive the means of acquiring and diffusing knowledge. All their alleged incapacity and aversion for learning is here at once disproved. Yet such were the obstacles by which this progress was impeded, that the Gothic mind had to struggle against them for a thousand years, after the days of Ulphilas, before it could assert its native privilege of working freely.—Ed.]

imperfect idiom of soldiers and shepherds, so ill qualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius; and Ulphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twenty-four letters; four of which he invented, to express the peculiar sounds that were unknown to the Greek and Latin pronunciation.* But the prosperous state of the Gothic church was soon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the chieftains were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the proselyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty soul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the persecution which he excited. A wagon, bearing aloft the shapeless image of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in solemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the God of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the Eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the distressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of *Moses* was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people, through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise.† The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement, at the foot of the Mœsian mountains, in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These harmless barbarians multiplied in obscure peace, and the profession of Christianity.‡

* A mutilated copy of the four gospels, in the Gothic version, was published A.D. 1665, and is esteemed the most ancient monument of the Teutonic language, though Wetstein attempts, by some frivolous conjectures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honour of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the *W*, and our own *Th*. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, tom. ii, p. 219—223. Mill, Prolegom. p. 151, edit. Kuster; Wetstein, Prolegom. tom. i, p. 114.

† Philostorgius erroneously places this passage under the reign of Constantine; but I am much inclined to believe that it preceded the great emigration.

‡ We are obliged to Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 51, p. 688) for a short and lively picture of these lesser Goths. Gothi minores, populus immensus, cum suo Pontifice ipsoque primate Wulfila. The last words, if they are not mere tautology, imply some

Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Visigoths, universally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rising generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Thoulouse, might edify, or disgrace, the palaces of Rome and Constantinople.* During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Ostrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of mercenaries, that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of Paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their submission to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reclaimed from their savage superstition by the missionaries of Rome. These barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the Othos, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the evangelic light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic.†

The different motives which influenced the reason, or the passions, of the barbarian converts, cannot easily be ascertained. They were often capricious and accidental: a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some priest or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and, above all, the fortunate event of a prayer or vow, which, in a moment of danger, they had addressed to the God of the Christians.‡ The early prejudices of education were in-

temporal jurisdiction.

* At non ita Gothi, non ita Vandali; malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tamen etiam in hâc parte quam nostri. Salvian de Gubern. Dei, l. 7, p. 243.

† Mosheim has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an ecclesiastical, and even philosophical, history.

‡ To such a cause has Socrates (l. 7, c. 30) ascribed the conversion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by Orosius,

sensibly erased by the habits of frequent and familiar society; the moral precepts of the gospel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a spiritual theology was supported by the visible power of relics, and the pomp of religious worship. But the rational and ingenious mode of persuasion, which a Saxon bishop* suggested to a popular saint, might sometimes be employed by the missionaries, who laboured for the conversion of infidels. "Admit," says the sagacious disputant, "whatever they are pleased to assert of the fabulous and carnal genealogy of their gods and goddesses, who are propagated from each other. From this principle deduce their imperfect nature and human infirmities, the assurance they were born, and the probability that they will die. At what time, by what means, from what cause, were the eldest of the gods or goddesses produced? Do they still continue, or have they ceased, to propagate? If they have ceased, summon your antagonists to declare the reason of this strange alteration. If they still continue, the number of the gods must become infinite; and shall we not risk, by the indiscreet worship of some impotent deity, to excite the resentment of his jealous superior? The visible heavens and earth, the whole system of the universe, which may be conceived by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how, or where, could the gods themselves exist before the creation? If eternal, how could they assume the empire of an independent and pre-existing world? Urge these arguments with temper and moderation; insinuate, at seasonable intervals, the truth and beauty of the Christian revelation; and endeavour to make the unbelievers ashamed, without making them angry." This metaphysical reasoning, too refined perhaps for the barbarians of Germany, was fortified by the grosser weight of authority and popular consent. The advantage of temporal prosperity had deserted the Pagan cause, and passed

(l. 7, c. 19.)

* See an original and curious epistle from Daniel, the first bishop of Winchester, (Beda, Hist. Eccles. Anglorum, l. 5, c. 18, p. 203, edit. Smith), to St. Boniface, who preached the gospel among the savages of Hesse and Thuringia. Epistol. Bonifacii, 67, in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xiii, p. 93. [Daniel was the first bishop of Winchester, after the division of Wessex into two dioceses, and the erection of a separate see at Sherborne, about A.D. 705. There had been five preceding bishops of Winchester. Bede, Ecc. Hist. lib. iii. c. 7, iv. c. 12, p. 119, 191, edit. Bohn.—ED.]

over to the service of Christianity. The Romans themselves, the most powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their ancient superstition; and, if the ruin of their empire seemed to accuse the efficacy of the new faith, the disgrace was already retrieved by the conversion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate barbarians, who subdued the provinces of the West, successively received, and reflected, the same edifying example. Before the age of Charlemagne, the Christian nations of Europe might exult in the exclusive possession of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands, which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters, and their helpless idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the north.*

Christianity, which opened the gates of heaven to the barbarians, introduced an important change in their moral and political condition. They received, at the same time, the use of letters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a sacred book; and, while they studied the divine truth, their minds were insensibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of society. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, must excite, among their clergy, some curiosity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclesiastical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the inestimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Livy, which were accessible to the Christian barbarians, maintained a silent intercourse between the reign of Augustus, and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the barbarians might learn justice from the *law*, and mercy from the *gospel;* and if the knowledge of their duty was insufficient to guide their actions, or to

* The sword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Daniel wrote this epistle (A.D. 723,) the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might have retorted it against the Christians.

regulate their passions, they were sometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorse. But the direct authority of religion was less effectual than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. The influence of these sentiments contributed to secure their fidelity in the service, or the alliance, of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the insolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the downfal of the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of Paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controlled the jurisdiction of the magistrates; and the zealous proselytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the Christian faith. The sacred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions; they obtained an honourable seat in the legislative assemblies of soldiers and freemen; and it was their interest, as well as their duty, to mollify, by peaceful counsels, the fierce spirit of the barbarians. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic; and gradually produced the similar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have distinguished from the rest of mankind, the independent, and even hostile, nations of modern Europe.

But the operation of these causes was checked and retarded by the unfortunate accident, which infused a deadly poison into the cup of salvation. Whatever might be the early sentiments of Ulphilas, his connections with the empire and the church were formed during the reign of Arianism. The apostle of the Goths subscribed the creed of Rimini; professed with freedom, and perhaps with sincerity, that the SON was not equal, or con-substantial to the FATHER;* communicated these errors to the clergy and people; and infected the barbaric world with a heresy,†

* The opinions of Ulphilas and the Goths inclined to Semi-Arianism, since they would not say that the Son was a *creature*, though they held communion with those who maintained that heresy. Their apostle represented the whole controversy as a question of trifling moment, which had been raised by the passions of the clergy. Theodoret, l. 4, c. 37.

† The Arianism of the Goths has been

which the great Theodosius proscribed and extinguished among the Romans. The temper and understanding of the new proselytes were not adapted to metaphysical subtleties; but they strenuously maintained what they had piously received, as the pure and genuine doctrines of Christianity. The advantage of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language, promoted the apostolic labours of Ulphilas and his successors; and they ordained a competent number of bishops and presbyters, for the instruction of the kindred tribes. The Ostrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had listened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy,* preferred the more intelligible lessons of their domestic teachers; and Arianism was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts, who were seated on the ruins of the Western empire. This irreconcilable difference of religion was a perpetual source of jealousy and hatred; and the reproach of *barbarian* was embittered by the more odious epithet of *heretic*. The heroes of the north, who had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe that all their ancestors were in hell,† were astonished and exasperated to learn, that they themselves had only changed the mode of their eternal condemnation. Instead of the smooth applause, which Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox bishops and their clergy were in a state of opposition to the Arian courts; and their indiscreet opposition frequently became criminal, and might sometimes be dangerous.‡ The pulpit, that safe and sacred organ of sedition, resounded with the

imputed to the emperor Valens.—"Itaque justo Dei judicio ipsi eum vivum incenderunt, qui propter eum etiam mortui, vitio erroris arsuri sunt." Orosius, l. 7, c. 33, p. 554. This cruel sentence is confirmed by Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. 6, p. 604—610), who coolly observes, "un seul homme entraîna dans l'enfer un nombre infini de Septentrionaux," &c. Salvian (de-Gubern. Dei, l. 5, p. 150, 151,) pities and excuses their involuntary error.

* Orosius affirms, in the year 416 (l. 7, c. 41, p. 580), that the churches of Christ (of the Catholics) were filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

† Radbod, king of the Frisons, was so much scandalized by this rash declaration of a missionary, that he drew back his foot after he had entered the baptismal font. See Fleury, Hist. Ecclés. tom. ix, p. 167.

‡ The Epistles of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, under the Visigoths, and of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, under the Burgundians, explain, sometimes in dark hints, the general dispositions of the Catholics. The history of Clovis and Theodoric will suggest some particular facts.

names of Pharoah and Holofernes;* the public discontent was inflamed by the hope or promise of a glorious deliverance; and the seditious saints were tempted to promote the accomplishment of their own predictions. Notwithstanding these provocations, the Catholics of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, enjoyed, under the reign of the Arians, the free and peaceful exercise of their religion. Their haughty masters respected the zeal of a numerous people, resolved to die at the foot of their altars; and the example of their devout constancy was admired and imitated by the barbarians themselves. The conquerors evaded, however, the disgraceful reproach, or confession of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of reason and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly imbibed the spirit, of genuine Christianity.

The peace of the church was sometimes interrupted. The Catholics were indiscreet, the barbarians were impatient; and the partial acts of severity or injustice, which had been recommended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the orthodox writers. The guilt of persecution may be imputed to Euric, king of the Visigoths; who suspended the exercise of ecclesiastical, or, at least, of episcopal functions; and punished the popular bishops of Aquitain with imprisonment, exile, and confiscation.† But the cruel and absurd enterprise of subduing the minds of a whole people, was undertaken by the Vandals alone. Genseric himself, in his early youth, had renounced the orthodox communion; and the apostate could neither grant, nor expect, a sincere forgiveness. He was exasperated to find, that the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, still presumed to dispute his will in synods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear, or of compassion. His Catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws, and arbitrary punishments. The language of Genseric was furious and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might justify the most unfavourable interpretation of his actions; and the

* Genseric confessed the resemblance, by the severity with which he punished such indiscreet allusions. Victor Vitensis, l. 7, p. 10.

† Such are the contemporary complaints of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont (l. 7, c. 6, p. 182, &c., edit. Sirmond). Gregory of Tours, who quotes this epistle, (l. 2, c. 25, in tom. ii, p. 174,) extorts an unwarrantable assertion, that of the nine vacancies in Aquitain, some had been produced by episcopal *martyrdoms*.

Arians were reproached with the frequent executions which stained the palace, and the dominions of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of the monarch of the sea. But Hunneric, his inglorious son, who seemed to inherit only his vices, tormented the Catholics with the same unrelenting fury which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favourites of his father; and even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midst of Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an insidious truce; persecution was made the serious and important business of the Vandal court; and the loathsome disease, which hastened the death of Hunneric, revenged the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the church. The throne of Africa was successively filled by the two nephews of Hunneric; by Gundamund, who reigned about twelve, and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation above twenty-seven, years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or even to surpass, the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the bishops, and restored the freedom of Athanasian worship, a premature death intercepted the benefits of his tardy clemency. His brother, Thrasimund, was the greatest and most accomplished of the Vandal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, and magnanimity of soul. But this magnanimous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Instead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle, but efficacious, powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favour, were the liberal rewards of apostacy; the Catholics, who had violated the laws, might purchase their pardon by the renunciation of their faith: and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patiently waited till the indiscretion of his adversaries furnished him with a specious opportunity. Bigotry was his last sentiment in the hour of death; and he exacted from his successor a solemn oath, that he would never tolerate the sectaries of Athanasius. But his successor, Hilderic, the gentle son of the savage Hunneric, preferred the duties of humanity and justice, to the vain obligation of an impious oath; and his accession was gloriously marked by the restoration of peace and universal freedom. The throne of that

virtuous, though feeble monarch, was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, a zealous Arian; but the Vandal kingdom, before he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belisarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endured.*

The passionate declamations of the Catholics, the sole historians of this persecution, cannot afford any distinct series of causes and events; any impartial view of characters, or counsels; but the most remarkable circumstances that deserve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads.—I. In the original law, which is still extant,† Hunneric expressly declares, and the declaration appears to be correct, that he had faithfully transcribed the regulations and penalties of the imperial edicts, against the heretical congregations, the clergy, and the people, who dissented from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the Catholics must have condemned their past conduct, or acquiesced in their actual sufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the lash of persecution, they praised the *laudable* severity of Hunneric himself, who burnt or banished great numbers of Manichæans;‡ and they rejected with horror, the ignomi-

* The original monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the history of Victor Vitensis (de Persecutione Vandalicâ), a bishop who was exiled by Hunneric; in the Life of St. Fulgentius, who was distinguished in the persecution of Thrasimund, (in Biblioth. Max. Patrum, tom. ix, p. 4—16,) and in the first book of the Vandalic War, by the impartial Procopius, (c. 7, 8, p. 196—199.) Dom. Ruinart, the last editor of Victor, has illustrated the whole subject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and supplement. (Paris, 1694.)

† Victor, 4. 2, p. 65. Hunneric refuses the name of Catholics to the *Homoousians.* He describes, as the veri Divinæ Majestatis cultores, his own party, who professed the faith, confirmed by more than a thousand bishops, in the synods of Rimini and Seleucia. [These recitals, even after making much allowance for the exaggerations of the injured and irritated, only prove what it was that the converted barbarians were taught to regard as Christianity. Neander (4. 92) traces the joint influence of example and instigation. "The Vandal princes wished to retaliate the oppressions which their companions in the faith had to suffer in the Roman empire; those among their subjects, who agreed in faith with the Roman Christians, were also objects of suspicion to them; and in part they were led on by the rude fanatical Arian clergy."—ED.]

‡ Victor. 2. 1, p. 21, 22. *Laudabilior . . .* videbatur. In the MSS.

nious compromise, that the disciples of Arius, and of Athanasius, should enjoy a reciprocal and similar toleration in the territories of the Romans, and in those of the Vandals.* II. The practice of a conference, which the Catholics had so frequently used, to insult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves.† At the command of Hunneric, four hundred and sixty-six orthodox bishops assembled at Carthage; but when they were admitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cyrila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated after the mutual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the Catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-six were sent into Corsica to cut timber for the royal navy; and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the insults of their enemies, and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life.‡ The hardships of ten years exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of Thrasimund, which prohibited any episcopal consecrations, the orthodox church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia; where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic.§

which omit this word, the passage is unintelligible. See Ruinart, Not. p. 164. * Victor. 2. 2, p. 22, 23. The clergy of Carthage called these conditions *periculosæ*; and they seem, indeed, to have been proposed as a snare to entrap the Catholic bishops. † See the narrative of this conference, and the treatment of the bishops, in Victor. 2. 13—18, p. 35—42, and the whole fourth book, p. 63—171. The third book, p. 42—62, is entirely filled by their apology or confession of faith. ‡ See the list of the African bishops, in Victor. p. 117—140, and Ruinart's notes p. 215—397. The schismatic name of *Donatus* frequently occurs, and they appear to have adopted (like our fanatics of the last age) the pious appellations of *Deodatus, Deogratias, Quidvultdeus, Habetdeum*, &c. [The Deogratias, of whom honourable mention has been made (c. 36) was an Arian bishop. The prevalent spirit of the times, as here depicted, shows us why his kindness to the suffering orthodox made him obnoxious to all parties.—ED.] § Fulgent. Vit. c. 16—29. Thrasimund affected the praise of moderation and learning; and Fulgentius addressed three books of controversy to the

The two islands were judiciously chosen by the malice of their Arian tyrants. Seneca, from his own experience, has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corsica,* and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air.† III. The zeal of Genseric, and his successors, for the conversion of the Catholics, must have rendered them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally shut, it was a crime to appear in a barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair.‡ The palatine officers, who refused to profess the religion of their prince, were ignominiously stripped of their honours and employments; banished to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the servile labours of slaves and peasants in the fields of Utica. In the districts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exercise of the Catholic worship was more strictly prohibited; and severe penalties were denounced against the guilt, both of the missionary and the proselyte. By these arts, the faith of the barbarians was preserved, and their zeal was inflamed; they discharged, with devout fury, the office of spies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field, it was the favourite amusement of the march, to defile the churches, and to insult the clergy of the adverse faction.§ IV. The citizens, who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquisite cruelty, to the Moors of the desert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful

Arian tyrant, whom he styles *piissime Rex.* Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum, tom. ix, p. 41. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as exiles in the life of Fulgentius; they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor Tunnunensis and Isidore; but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the *Historia Miscella*, and a short authentic chronicle of the times. See Ruinart, p. 570, 571.

* See the base and insipid epigrams of the Stoic, who could not support exile with more fortitude than Ovid. Corsica might not produce corn, wine, or oil; but it could not be destitute of grass, water, and even fire.

† Si ob gravitatem cœli interissent, *vile* damnum. Tacit. Annal. 2. 85. In this application, Thrasimund would have adopted the reading of some critics, *utile* damnum.

‡ See these preludes of a *general* persecution, in Victor. 2, 3, 4, 7, and the two edicts of Hunneric, l. 2, p. 35; l. 4, p. 64.

§ See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. 1, c. 7, p. 197, 198. A Moorish prince endeavoured to propitiate the God of the Christians, by his diligence to erase the marks of the

crowd of four thousand and ninety-six persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes by the command ot Hunneric. During the night, they were confined, like a herd ot cattle, amidst their own ordure; during the day they pursued their march over the burning sands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded, or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors.* These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish huts, might excite the compassion of a people, whose native humanity was neither improved by reason, nor corrupted by fanaticism; but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to share the distress, of a savage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of persecution previously to reflect, whether they are determined to support it in the last extreme. They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastise the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine, which he is unable or unwilling to discharge, exposes his person to the severity of the law; and his contempt of lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive that the Catholics, more especially under the reign of Hunneric, endured the most cruel and ignominious treatment.† Respectable citizens, noble matrons, and consecrated virgins, were stripped naked, and raised in the air by pulleys, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burnt in the most tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the right hand, was inflicted by the Arians; and although the precise number cannot be defined, it is evident that many persons, among whom a bishop‡ and a proconsul§ may be named, were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The same honour has been as-

Vandal sacrilege.

* See this story in Victor. 2, 8—12, p. 30—34. Victor describes the distress of these confessors as an eye-witness.

† See the fifth book of Victor. His passionate complaints are confirmed by the sober testimony of Procopius, and the public declaration of the emperor Justinian. (Cod. l. 1, tit. 27.)

‡ Victor. 2. 18, p. 41.

§ Victor. 5. 4, p. 74, 75. His name was Victorianus, and he was a wealthy citizen of Adrumetum, who enjoyed the confidence of the king; by whose favour he had obtained the office, or at least the title, of Proconsul of Africa.

cribed to the memory of count Sebastian, who professed the Nicene creed with unshaken constancy; and Genseric might detest, as a heretic, the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he dreaded as a rival.* VI. A new mode of conversion, which might subdue the feeble, and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Arian ministers. They imposed, by fraud or violence, the rites of baptism; and punished the apostacy of the Catholics, if they disclaimed this odious and profane ceremony, which scandalously violated the freedom of the will, and the unity of the sacrament.† The hostile sects had formally allowed the validity of each other's baptism; and the innovation, so fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatists. VII. The Arian clergy surpassed, in religious cruelty, the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the spiritual vineyard, which they were so desirous to possess. A patriarch‡ might seat himself on the throne of Carthage; some bishops, in the principal cities, might usurp the place of their rivals; but the smallness of their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language,§ disqualified the barbarians for the ecclesiastical ministry of a great church; and the Africans, after the loss of their orthodox pastors, were deprived of the public exercise of Christianity. VIII. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homoousian doctrine: and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as Catholics, preferred their lawful sovereignty to the usurpation of the barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendship, Hunneric restored the cathedral of Carthage, at the intercession of Zeno, who reigned in the east, and of Placidia, the daughter and relict of emperors, and the sister of the queen of the

* Victor, l. 6, p. 8, 9. After relating the firm resistance and dexterous reply of count Sebastian, he adds, quare alio generis argumento postea bellicosum virum occidit.

† Victor. 5. 12, 13. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi, p. 609.

‡ *Primate* was more properly the title of the bishop of Carthage; but the name of *patriarch* was given by the sects and nations to their principal ecclesiastic. See Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i, p. 155, 158.

§ The patriarch Cyrila himself publicly declared, that he did not understand Latin (Victor. ii, 13, p. 42): Nescio Latine; and he might converse with tolerable ease, without being capable of disputing or preaching in that language. His Vandal clergy were still more ignorant; and small confidence could be placed

Vandals.* But this decent regard was of short duration; and the haughty tyrant displayed his contempt for the religion of the empire, by studiously arranging the bloody images of persecution, in all the principal streets through which the Roman ambassador must pass in his way to the palace.† An oath was required from the bishops, who were assembled at Carthage, that they would support the succession of his son Hilderic, and that they would renounce all foreign or *transmarine* correspondence. This engagement, consistent as it should seem with their moral and religious duties, was refused by the more sagacious members‡ of the assembly. Their refusal, faintly coloured by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Christian to swear, must provoke the suspicions of a jealous tyrant.

The Catholics, oppressed by royal and military force, were far superior to their adversaries in numbers and learning. With the same weapons which the Greek§ and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controversy, they repeatedly silenced, or vanquished, the fierce and illiterate successors of Ulphilas. The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts and passions of religious warfare. Yet, instead of assuming such honourable pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the assurance of impunity, to compose fictions, which must be stigmatized with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity; the characters of Athanasius and Augustin were awkwardly personated by Vigilius and his disciples,¶ and the famous creed, which so clearly ex-

in the Africans who had conformed.

* Victor. 2, 1, 2, p. 22.

† Victor. 5, 7, p. 77. He appeals to the ambassador himself, whose name was Uranius.

‡ *Astutiores*, Victor. 4, 4, p. 70. He plainly intimates that their quotation of the Gospel, "Non jurabitis in toto," was only meant to elude the obligation of an inconvenient oath. The forty-six bishops who refused were banished to Corsica; the three hundred and two who swore, were distributed through the provinces of Africa.

§ Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspæ, in the Byzacene province, was of a senatorial family, and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to study Latin, his native tongue. (Vit. Fulgent. c. 1.) Many African bishops might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

¶ Compare the two prefaces to the Dialogue of Vigilius of Thapsus (p. 118, 119, edit. Chiflet). He

pounds the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is deduced, with strong probability, from this African school.* Even the Scriptures themselves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which asserts the unity of the *Three* who bear witness in heaven,† is condemned by the universal silence of the orthodox fathers, ancient versions, and authentic manuscripts.‡ It was first alleged by the Catholic bishops whom Hunneric summoned to the conference of Carthage.§ An allegorical interpretation, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries.¶ After the invention of

might amuse his learned reader with an innocent fiction; but the subject was too grave, and the Africans were too ignorant.

* The P. Quesnel started this opinion, which has been favourably received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are *now* universally acknowledged. (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi, p. 516—522. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii, p. 667—671.) 1. St. Athanasius is not the author of the creed, which is so frequently read in our churches. 2. It does not appear to have existed within a century after his death. 3. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently, in the Western provinces. Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, was so much amazed by this extraordinary composition, that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. Petav. Dogmat. Theologica, tom. ii, lib. 7, c. 8. p. 687.

† 1 John, v, 7. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, part 1, c. 18, p. 203—218, and part 2, c. 9, p. 99—121, and the elaborate Prolegomena and Annotations of Dr. Mill and Wetstein to their editions of the Greek Testament. In 1689, the Papist Simon strove to be free; in 1707, the Protestant Mill wished to be a slave; in 1751, the Arminian Wetstein used the liberty of his times, and of his sect.

‡ Of *all* the MSS. now extant, above fourscore in number, some of which are more than twelve hundred years old (Wetstein ad loc.). The *orthodox* copies of the Vatican, of the Complutensian editors, of Robert Stephens, are become invisible; and the *two* MSS. of Dublin and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Emlyn's Works, vol. ii, p. 227—255, 269—299, and M. de Missy's four ingenious letters, in tom. viii and ix, of the Journal Britannique.

§ Or more properly, by the *four* bishops who composed and published the profession of faith in the name of their brethren. They style this text, luce clarius. (Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal. lib. 3, c. 11, p. 54.) It is quoted soon afterwards by the African polemics, Vigilius and Fulgentius.

¶ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Nicolas, cardinal and librarian of the Roman church, secundum orthodoxam fidem. (Wetstein, Prolegom. p. 84, 85.) Not-

printing,* the editors of the Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or to those of the times,† and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of modern Europe.

The example of fraud must excite suspicion; and the specious miracles by which the African Catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause, may be ascribed, with more reason, to their own industry, than to the visible protection of Heaven. Yet the historian, who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye, may condescend to mention *one* preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and surprise the incredulous. Tipasa,‡ a maritime colony of Mauritania, sixteen miles to the east of Cæsarea, had been distinguished in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists,§ they resisted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deserted on the approach of an heretical bishop: most

withstanding these corrections, the passage is still wanting in twenty-five Latin MSS. (Wetstein, ad loc.) the oldest and the fairest; two qualities seldom united, except in manuscripts.

* The art which the Germans had invented was applied in Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the New Testament was published about the same time (A.D. 1514, 1516, 1520) by the industry of Erasmus, and the munificence of cardinal Ximenes. The Complutensian Polyglot cost the cardinal fifty thousand ducats. See Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. ii, p. 2—8, 125—133, and Wetstein, Prolegomena, p. 116—127.

† The three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testaments by the prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors; the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens, in the placing a crotchet; and the deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Beza. [In his edition of the New Testament, in 1539, Robert Stephens made a parenthesis of the passage "in heaven—on earth," to indicate that it was not to be found in the Latin manuscript; but in the edition of 1550, only the words "in heaven" are placed between brackets as suspicious, instead of the whole passage, as it ought to have been.—GERM. EDIT.] [Any further observations on this subject are rendered unnecessary by Porson's Letters to Travis, which completely establish Gibbon's position, that the verse respecting the "three witnesses" was the interpolation of a later age.—ED.]

‡ Plin. Hist. Natural. 5, 1. Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 15. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii, part. 2, p. 127. This Tipasa (which must not be confounded with another in Numidia) was a town of some note, since Vespasian endowed it with the right of Latium.

§ Optatus Milevitanus de Schism. Donatist. lib. 2, p. 38.

of the inhabitants who could procure ships passed over to the coast of Spain; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious, but illegal assemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was dispatched from Carthage to Tipasa: he collected the Catholics in the Forum, and, in the presence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues; and this miracle is attested by Victor, an African bishop, who published a history of the persecution within two years after the event.* "If any one," says Victor, "should doubt of the truth, let him repair to Constantinople, and listen to the clear and perfect language of Restitutus, the sub-deacon, one of these glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress." At Constantinople we are astonished to find a cool, a learned, and unexceptionable witness, without interest, and without passion. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African sufferers. "I saw them myself: I heard them speak; I diligently inquired by what means such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears: I opened their mouth, and saw that the whole tongue had been completely torn away by the roots; an operation which the physicians generally suppose to be mortal."† The testimony of Æneas of Gaza might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of count Marcellinus, in his chronicle of the times; and of pope Gregory I. who had resided at Constantinople, as the minister of the Roman pontiff.‡ They all lived within the

* Victor Vitensis, 5, 6, p. 76. Ruinart, p. 483—487.

† Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 664, 665. He was a Christian, and composed this Dialogue (the Theophrastus) on the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body: besides twenty-five epistles still extant. See Cave (Hist. Litteraria, p. 297) and Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. tom. i, p. 422.)

‡ Justinian, Codex, lib. 1, tit. 27. Marcellin. in Chron. p. 45, in Thesaur. Temporum Scaliger. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. lib. 1, c. 7, p. 196. Gregor. Magnus, Dialog. 3, 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessors, which is fixed at sixty in an old monology (apud Ruinart, p. 486). Two of them lost their speech by fornication; but the miracle is

compass of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in several instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and submitted, during a series of years, to the calm examination of the senses. This supernatural gift of the African confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the assent of those, and of those only, who already believe that their language was pure and orthodox. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by secret, incurable, suspicion; and the Arian, or Socinian, who has seriously rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plausible evidence of an Athanasian miracle.

The Vandals and the Ostrogoths persevered in the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Italy. The barbarians of Gaul submitted to the orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain was restored to the Catholic church by the voluntary conversion of the Visigoths.

This salutary revolution* was hastened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel. Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deserved the respect of his enemies, and the love of his subjects; the Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and his Arian synods attempted, without much success, to reconcile their scruples by abolishing the unpopular rite of a *second* baptism. His eldest son Hermenegild, who was invested by his father with the royal diadem, and the fair principality of Bætica, contracted an honourable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigibert, king of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunechild. The beauteous Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and persecuted, in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious constancy was alternately assaulted with blandishments and violence by Gois-

enhanced by the singular instance of a boy who had *never* spoken before his tongue was cut out.

* See the two general historians of Spain, Mariana (Hist. de Rebus Hispaniæ, tom. i, lib. 5, c. 12—15, p. 182—194) and Ferreras. (French translation, tom. ii, p. 206—247.) Mariana almost forgets that he is a Jesuit, to assume the style and spirit af a Roman classic. Ferreras, an industrious compiler, reviews his facts, and rectifies his chronology.

vintha, the Gothic queen, who abused the double claim of maternal authority.* Incensed by her resistance, Goisvintha seized the Catholic princess by her long hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and at last gave orders that she should be stripped, and thrown into a basin or fish-pond.† Love and honour might excite Hermenegild to resent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually persuaded that Ingundis suffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, archbishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the solemn rites of confirmation.‡ The rash youth, inflamed by zeal and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a son and a subject; and the Catholics of Spain, although they could not complain of persecution, applauded his pious rebellion against an heretical father. The civil war was protracted by the long and obstinate sieges of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had strenuously espoused the party of Hermenegild. He invited the orthodox barbarians, the Suevi, and the Franks, to the destruction of his native land: he solicited the dangerous aid of the Romans, who possessed Africa, and a part of the Spanish coast; and his holy ambassador, the archbishop Leander, effectually negotiated in person with the Byzantine court. But the hopes of the Catholics were crushed by the active diligence of a monarch who commanded the troops and treasures of Spain; and the guilty Hermenegild, after his vain attempts to resist or to escape, was compelled to surrender himself into the hands of an incensed father. Leovigild was still mindful of that sacred character; and the rebel, despoiled of the regal ornaments, was still per-

* Goisvintha successively married two kings of the Visigoths; Athanigild, to whom she bore Brunechild, the mother of Ingundis and Leovigild, whose two sons, Hermenegild and Recared, were the issue of a former marriage.

† Iracundiæ furore succensa, adprehensam per comam capitis puellam in terram conlidit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac sanguine cruentatam, jussit exspoliari, et piscinæ immergi. Greg. Turon. lib. 5, c. 39, in tom. ii, p. 255. Gregory is one of our best originals for this portion of history.

‡ The Catholics who admitted the baptism of heretics, repeated the rite, or, as it was afterwards styled, the sacrament of confirmation, to which they ascribed many mystic and marvellous prerogatives, both

mitted, in a decent exile, to profess the Catholic religion. His repeated and unsuccessful treasons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the sentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was privately executed in the tower of Seville.* The inflexible constancy with which he refused to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his safety, may excuse the honours that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermenegild. His wife and infant son were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity: and this domestic misfortune tarnished the glories of Leovigild, and embittered the last moments of his life.

His son and successor, Recared, the first Catholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of his unfortunate brother, which he supported with more prudence and success. Instead of revolting against his father, Recared patiently expected the hour of his death. Instead of condemning his memory, he piously supposed that the dying monarch had abjured the errors of Arianism, and recommended to his son the conversion of the Gothic nation. To accomplish that salutary end, Recared convened an assembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himself a Catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious pursuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and the monarch discreetly proposed to his illiterate audience two substantial and visible arguments, the testimony of earth and of heaven. The *Earth* had submitted to the Nicene synod: the Romans, the barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths resisted, almost alone, the consent of the Christian world. A superstitious age was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of *Heaven*, the preternatural cures which were performed by the skill or virtue of the Catholic clergy, the baptismal fonts of Osset in Bætica,† which were sponta-

visible and invisible. See Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. i, p. 405—552.

* [Who was most of a barbarian, Leovigild, "the Goth," Constantine, "the Christian emperor," Philip, "the most catholic" of Spain, or Peter "the Great" of Russia? The answer must be given by an impartial age.—ED.]

† Osset, or Julia Constantia, was opposite to Seville, on the northern side of the Bætis

neously replenished each year, on the vigil of Easter;* and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallicia.† The Catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly fomented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts excited a dangerous revolt in the Narbonnese Gaul. But Recared disarmed the conspirators, defeated the rebels, and executed severe justice, which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of persecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their barbaric origin, abjured their errors; and all the books of Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the Catholic communion; the faith, at least of the rising generation, was fervent and sincere; and the devout liberality of the barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son, as well as from the Father; a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches.‡ The royal proselyte immediately saluted and consulted pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was distinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich presents of gold and gems;

(Plin. Hist. Natur. 3, 3); and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours (Hist. Francor. lib. 6, c. 43, p. 288) deserves more credit than the name of Lusitania (de Gloria Martyr. c. 24) which has been eagerly embraced by the vain and superstitious Portuguese. (Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ii, p. 166.)

* This miracle was skilfully performed. An Arian king sealed the doors, and dug a deep trench round the church, without been able to intercept the Easter supply of baptismal water.

† Ferreras (tom. ii, p. 168—175, A.D. 550) has illustrated the difficulties which regard the time and circumstances of the conversion of the Suevi. They had been recently united by Leovigild to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

‡ This addition to the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan creed, was first made in the eighth council of Toledo. A.D. 653, but it was expressive of the popular doctrine. (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi,

they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist; a cross, which enclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter.*

The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. Her devout labours still left room for the industry and success of future missionaries; and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arianism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had derived from the Platonic school, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the final conversion of the Lombards of Italy.†

The first missionaries who preached the gospel to the barbarians, appealed to the evidence of reason, and claimed the benefit of toleration.‡ But no sooner had they established their spiritual dominion, than they exhorted the Christian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or barbaric superstition. The successors of Clovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the peasants who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of sacrificing to the dæmons was punished by the Anglo-Saxon laws, with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wise Alfred adopted, as an indispensable duty, the extreme rigour of the Mosaic institutions.§ But the punishment, and the crime, were gradually abolished among

p. 527, de tribus Symbolis.)

* See Gregor. Magn. lib. 7, epist. 126, apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 599, No. 25, 26.

† Paul Warnefrid (de Gestis Langobard. lib. 4, c. 44, p. 853, edit. Grot.) allows that Arianism still prevailed under the reign of Rotharis (A.D. 636—652). The pious *deacon* does not attempt to mark the precise era of the national conversion, which was accomplished, however, before the end of the seventh century.

‡ Quorum fidei et conversioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianismum . . . . Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribusque suæ salutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere. Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiastic. lib. 1, c. 26, p. 62. edit. Smith. [The English reader may find this memorable passage at p. 39, edit. Bohn.—ED.]

§ See the Historians of France, tom. iv, p. 114, and Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ, p. 11, 31. Si quis sacrificium immolaverit præter

a Christian people: the theological disputes of the schools were suspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit, which could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the persecution of the Jews. That exiled nation had founded some synagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, since the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies.* The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had lost the use, and even the remembrance, of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the seventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of persecution.† Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the sacrament of baptism; the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it seems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated even by the clergy of Spain, who solemnly pronounced an inconsistent sentence: *that* the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but *that* the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honour of the church, to persevere in the external practice of a religion which they disbelieved and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sisebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo published a decree, that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this salutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to dismiss the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of the industrious slaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclesiastical laws, which in the same country have been faithfully

Deo soli morte moriatur.

* The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar; that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. c. 9, p. 240—256.

† Isidore, at that time archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Sisebut. (Chron. Goth. p. 728.) Baronius (A.D. 614, No. 41) assigns the number on the evidence of Aimoin (l. 4, c. 22), but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotation. (Historians of France, tom. iii, p. 127.)

transcribed in the Code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation, the secret or professed enemies of Christianity, still multiplied in servitude and distress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid success of the Arabian conquerors.*

As soon as the barbarians withdrew their powerful support, the unpopular heresy of Arius sank into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their subtle and loquacious disposition: the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions, and new disputes; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a fanatic monk, to violate the peace of the church, and perhaps of the empire. The historian of the empire may overlook those disputes which were confined to the obscurity of schools and synods. The Manichæans, who laboured to reconcile the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster, had secretly introduced themselves into the provinces: but these foreign sectaries were involved in the common disgrace of the Gnostics, and the imperial laws were executed by the public hatred. The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and silently expired in a superstitious age. But the East was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies; which attempted to explain the mystery of the incarnation, and hastened the ruin of Christianity in her native land. These controversies were first agitated under the reign of the younger Theodosius: but their important consequences extend far beyond the limits of the present volume. The metaphysical chain of argument, the contests of ecclesiastical ambition, and their political influence on the decline of the Byzantine empire, may afford an interesting and instructive series of history, from the general councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, to the conquest of the East by the successors of Mahomet.

* Basnage (tom. viii, c. 13, p. 388—400) faithfully represents the state of the Jews; but he might have added from the canons of the Spanish councils, and the laws of the Visigoths, many curious circumstances, essential to his subject, though they are foreign to mine.

CHATER XXXVIII.—REIGN AND CONVERSION OF CLOVIS.—HIS VICTORIES OVER THE ALLEMANNI, BURGUNDIANS, AND VISIGOTHS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY IN GAUL.—LAWS OF THE BARBARIANS.—STATE OF THE ROMANS.—THE VISIGOTHS OF SPAIN.—CONQUEST OF BRITAIN BY THE SAXONS.

THE Gauls,* who impatiently supported the Roman yoke, received a memorable lesson from one of the lieutenants of Vespasian, whose weighty sense has been refined and expressed by the genius of Tacitus.† "The protection of the republic has delivered Gaul from internal discord and foreign invasions. By the loss of national independence, you have acquired the name and privileges of Roman citizens. You enjoy, in common with ourselves, the permanent benefits of civil government; and your remote situation is less exposed to the accidental mischiefs of tyranny. Instead of exercising the rights of conquest, we have been contented to impose such tributes as are requisite for your own preservation. Peace cannot be secured without armies; and armies must be supported at the expense of the people. It is for your sake, not for our own, that we guard the barrier of the Rhine against the ferocious Germans, who have so often attempted, and who will always desire, to exchange the solitude of their woods and morasses for the wealth and fertility of Gaul. The fall of Rome would be fatal to the provinces; and you would be buried in the ruins of that mighty fabric, which has been raised by the valour and wisdom of eight hundred years. Your imaginary freedom would be insulted and oppressed by a savage master; and the expulsion of the Romans would be succeeded by the eternal hostilities of the barbarian conquerors."‡ This salutary advice was accepted,

* In this chapter I shall draw my quotations from the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Paris, 1738—1767, in eleven volumes in folio. By the labour of Dom. Bouquet, and the other Benedictines, all the original testimonies, as far as A.D. 1060, are disposed in chronological order, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might provoke our emulation.

† Tacit. Hist. 4, 73, 74, in tom. i, p. 445. To abridge Tacitus would indeed be presumptuous; but I may select the general ideas which he applies to the present state and future revolutions of Gaul.

‡ Eadem semper causa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias libido atque avaritiæ et mutandæ sedis amor;

and this strange prediction was accomplished. In the space of four hundred years, the hardy Gauls, who had encountered the arms of Cæsar, were imperceptibly melted into the general mass of citizens and subjects; the Western empire was dissolved; and the Germans, who had passed the Rhine, fiercely contended for the possession of Gaul, and excited the contempt, or abhorrence, of its peaceful and polished inhabitants. With that conscious pride which the pre-eminence of knowledge and luxury seldom fails to inspire, they derided the hairy and gigantic savages of the north; their rustic manners, dissonant joy, voracious appetite, and their horrid appearance, equally disgusting to the sight and to the smell. The liberal studies were still cultivated in the schools of Autun and Bordeaux; and the language of Cicero and Virgil was familiar to the Gallic youth. Their ears were astonished by the harsh and unknown sounds of the Germanic dialect, and they ingeniously lamented that the trembling muses fled from the harmony of a Burgundian lyre. The Gauls were endowed with all the advantages of art and nature; but as they wanted courage to defend them, they were justly condemned to obey, and even to flatter, the victorious barbarians, by whose clemency they held their precarious fortunes and their lives.*

As soon as Odoacer had extinguished the Western empire, he sought the friendship of the most powerful of the barbarians. The new sovereign of Italy resigned to Euric, king of the Visigoths, all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps,

ut relictis paludibus et solitudinibus suis, fecundissimum hoc solum vosque ipsos possiderent. . . . . Nam pulsis Romanis quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium existent? [With this passage before them, why have historians brought the invaders of the Roman empire from the shores of the Baltic, from Scandinavia and even from the confines of China? If in the time of Tacitus the Germanic tribes were so eager to break through the barrier which kept them out of Gaul, they were not less animated by the same desire three centuries later, when they attained their object.—ED.]

* Sidonius Apollinaris ridicules, with affected wit and pleasantry, the hardships of his situation. (Carm. 12, in tom. i, p. 811.) [Gaul, when subdued by Cæsar, was almost as rude as its fierce neighbours in the Hercynian forest. Its civilization was the work of the next two hundred years, after which it shared the general retrogression of the empire. So it is that savage tribes yield to the blander influences of education and law. We see, too, the intervention of that artificial check which stopped this natural advance, and unfitted the Gallic provincials even for self-

as far as the Rhine and the ocean:* and the senate might confirm this liberal gift with some ostentation of power, and without any real loss of revenue or dominion. The lawful pretensions of Euric were justified by ambition and success; and the Gothic nation might aspire, under his command, to the monarchy of Spain and Gaul. Arles and Marseilles surrendered to his arms; he oppressed the freedom of Auvergne; and the bishop condescended to purchase his recall from exile by a tribute of just, but reluctant praise. Sidonius waited before the gates of the palace among a crowd of ambassadors and suppliants; and their various business at the court of Bordeaux attested the power and the renown of the king of the Visigoths. The Heruli of the distant ocean, who painted their naked bodies with its cerulean colour, implored his protection; and the Saxons respected the maritime provinces of a prince, who was destitute of any naval force. The tall Burgundians submitted to his authority; nor did he restore the captive Franks, till he had imposed on that fierce nation the terms of an unequal peace. The Vandals of Africa cultivated his useful friendship; and the Ostrogoths of Pannonia were supported by his powerful aid against the oppression of the neighbouring Huns. The North (such are the lofty strains of the poet) was agitated or appeased, by the nod of Euric; the great king of Persia consulted the oracle of the West; and the aged god of the Tiber was protected by the swelling genius of the Garonne.† The fortune of nations has often depended on accidents; and France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king, at a time when his son Alaric was a helpless infant, and his adversary Clovis‡ an ambitious and valiant youth.

defence.—ED.]

* See Procopius de Bello Gothico, lib. 1, c. 12, tom. ii, p. 31. The character of Grotius inclines me to believe, that he has not substituted the *Rhine* for the *Rhone* (Hist. Gothorum, p. 175) without the authority of some MS.

† Sidonius, lib. 8, epist. 3, 9, in tom. i, p. 800. Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 47, p. 680) justifies, in some measure, this portrait of the Gothic hero.

‡ I use the familiar appellation of *Clovis*, from the Latin *Chlodovechus*, or *Chlodovæus*. But the *Ch* expresses only the German aspiration; and the true name is not different from *Ludwin* or *Lewis*. Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx, p. 68.) [The Teutonic *Ch* is the deep *guttural* of all early language, not its *aspirate*. Although still a marked feature of modern German, it seems to have had a more general prevalence of old. The softening process

While Childeric, the father of Clovis, lived an exile in Germany, he was hospitably entertained by the queen, as well as by the king, of the Thuringians. After his restoration, Basina escaped from her husband's bed to the arms of her lover; freely declaring, that if she had known a man wiser, stronger, or more beautiful, than Childeric, that man should have been the object of her preference.* Clovis was the offspring of this voluntary union; and, when he was no more than fifteen years of age, he succeeded, by his father's death, to the command of the Salian tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom† were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras;‡ and at the baptism of Clovis, the number of his warriors could not exceed five thousand. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had seated themselves along the Belgic rivers, the Scheld, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, were governed by their independent kings, of the Merovingian race; the equals, the allies, and sometimes the enemies, of the Salic prince. But the Germans, who obeyed, in peace, the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow the standard of a popular and victorious general; and the superior merit of Clovis attracted the respect and

of articulation may be traced in that language itself, and accounts for the total absence of this hard guttural sound in many later branches of the Gothic dialect. These changes in the name of the king of the Franks are thus exhibited by Clinton (F. R. ii, p. 571):—Chludwig, probably the original form; Chlothovecus, *Acts of the council of Orleans*, A.D. 511; Chlothoicus, *Agathias;* Chlodoveus, *Fredegarius;* Luduin, *Cassiodorus;* Lodoin, *Jornandes;* Fluduicus, *Isidorus:* Ludovicus, *Lat.;* Clovis, *Moderns;* Louis, *modern French.*—ED.]

* Greg. Turon. lib. 2, c. 12, in tom. i, p. 168. Basina speaks the language of nature; the Franks, who had seen her in their youth, might converse with Gregory in their old age; and the bishop of Tours could not wish to defame the mother of the first Christian king. [This anecdote does not accord with the character ascribed to the Thuringians by this same Gregory of Tours, as quoted in this volume (p. 25), nor with the atrocities which they are there said to have so wantonly committed on the Franks, at about this very period.—ED.]

† The abbé Dubos (Hist. Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, tom. i, p. 630—650) has the merit of defining the primitive kingdom of Clovis, and of ascertaining the genuine number of his subjects.

‡ Ecclesiam incultam ac negligentiâ civium paganorum prætermissam, veprium densitate oppletam, &c. (Vit. St. Vedasti, in tom. iii, p. 372.) This description supposes that Arras was possessed by the Pagans many years before the baptism

allegiance of the national confederacy. When he first took the field, he had neither gold and silver in his coffers, nor wine and corn in his magazines;* but he imitated the example of Cæsar, who, in the same country, had acquired wealth by the sword, and purchased soldiers with the fruits of conquest. After each successful battle or expedition, the spoils were accumulated in one common mass; every warrior received his proportionable share, and the royal prerogative submitted to the equal regulations of military law. The untamed spirit of the barbarians was taught to acknowledge the advantages of regular discipline.† At the annual review of the month of March, their arms were diligently inspected; and when they traversed a peaceful territory, they were prohibited from touching a blade of grass. The justice of Clovis was inexorable; and his careless or disobedient soldiers were punished with instant death. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Frank; but the valour of Clovis was directed by cool and consummate prudence.‡ In all his transactions with mankind, he calculated the weight of interest, of passion, and of opinion; and his measures were sometimes adapted to the sanguinary manners of the Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome, and Christianity. He was intercepted in the career of victory, since he died in the forty-fifth year of his age; but he had already accomplished, in a reign of thirty years, the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul.

The first exploit of Clovis was the defeat of Syagrius, the son of Ægidius; and the public quarrel might, on this occasion, be inflamed by private resentment. The glory of the father still insulted the Merovingian race; the power of the son might excite the jealous ambition of the king of the

of Clovis.

* Gregory of Tours (lib. 5, c. 1, in tom. ii, p. 232) contrasts the poverty of Clovis with the wealth of his grandsons. Yet Remigius (in tom. iv, p. 52) mentions his *paternas opes*, as sufficient for the redemption of captives.

† See Gregory (lib. 2, c. 27, 37, in tom. ii, p. 175, 181, 182). The famous story of the vase of Soissons explains both the power and the character of Clovis. As a point of controversy, it has been strangely tortured by Boulainvilliers, Dubos, and the other political antiquarians.

‡ The duke of Nivernois, a noble statesman, who has managed weighty and delicate negotiations, ingeniously illustrates (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xx, p. 147—184) the

Franks. Syagrius inherited, as a patrimonial estate, the city and diocese of Soissons: the desolate remnant of the second Belgic, Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens, would naturally submit to the count or patrician;* and after the dissolution of the Western empire, he might reign with the title, or at least with the authority, of king of the Romans.† As a Roman, he had been educated in the liberal studies of rhetoric and jurisprudence; but he was engaged by accident and policy in the familiar use of the Germanic idiom. The independent barbarians resorted to the tribunal of a stranger, who possessed the singular talent of explaining, in their native tongue, the dictates of reason and equity. The diligence and affability of their judge rendered him popular, the impartial wisdom of his decrees obtained their voluntary obedience, and the reign of Syagrius over the Franks and Burgundians, seemed to revive the original institution of civil society.‡ In the midst of these peaceful occupations, Syagrius received, and boldly accepted, the hostile defiance of Clovis; who challenged his rival in the spirit, and almost in the language, of chivalry, to appoint the day, and the field,§ of battle. In the time of Cæsar,

political system of Clovis.

* M. Biet (in a Dissertation which deserved the prize of the Academy of Soissons, p. 178—226) has accurately defined the nature and extent of the kingdom of Syagrius, and his father; but he too readily allows the slight evidence of Dubos (tom. ii, p. 54—57) to deprive him of Beauvais and Amiens.

† I may observe that Fredegarius, in his Epitome of Gregory of Tours (tom. ii, p. 398), has prudently substituted the name of *Patricius* for the incredible title of *Rex Romanorum*.

‡ Sidonius (lib. 5, epist. 5, in tom. i, p. 794), who styles him the Solon, the Amphion of the barbarians, addresses this imaginary king in the tone of friendship and equality. From such offices of arbitration, the crafty Dejoces had raised himself to throne of the Medes. (Herodot lib. 1, c. 96—100.) [According to Zedler (Lexicon, 41, 527), the wife of Ægidius was a Frank, or belonged to some other Teuton race, and gave to her son the name of Siegreich (the victorious), which was latinized in the form now known to us. She probably imparted to him, in early life, his knowledge of her mother-tongue. The distinction which he thereby acquired proves how, even at that late period and after ages of intercourse, the Romans still generally neglected or disdained to study the languages of barbarians. "Es wurde für was ausserordentliches gehalten, wenn ein Römer Deutsch lernte," are the words of Schmidt (i, 184.)—Ed.]

§ Campum sibi præparari jussit. M. Biet (p. 226—251) has diligently ascertained this field of battle at Nogent, a Benedictine abbey, about ten miles to the north of Soissons. The ground was marked by

Soissons would have poured forth a body of fifty thousand horse; and such an army might have been plentifully supplied with shields, cuirasses, and military engines, from the three arsenals, or manufactures, of the city.* But the courage and numbers of the Gallic youth were long since exhausted; and the loose bands of volunteers, or mercenaries, who marched under the standard of Syagrius, were incapable of contending with the national valour of the Franks. It would be ungenerous, without some more accurate knowledge of his strength and resources, to condemn the rapid flight of Syagrius, who escaped, after the loss of a battle, to the distant court of Thoulouse. The feeble minority of Alaric could not assist, or protect, an unfortunate fugitive; the pusillanimous† Goths were intimidated by the menaces of Clovis; and the Roman *king*, after a short confinement, was delivered into the hands of the executioner. The Belgic cities surrendered to the king of the Franks; and his dominions were enlarged towards the east by the ample diocese of Tongres,‡ which Clovis subdued in the tenth year of his reign.

a circle of Pagan sepulchres; and Clovis bestowed the adjacent lands of Leuilly and Coucy on the church of Rheims.

* See Cæsar, Comment. de Bell. Gallic. 2, 4, in tom. i, p. 220, and the Notitiæ, tom. i, p. 126. The three Fabricæ of Soissons, were *Scutaria*, *Balistaria*, and *Clinabaria*. The last supplied the complete armour of the heavy cuirassiers. [Cæsar does not say that Soissons itself could furnish such a force, but that the people, the Suessiones, who held a territory containing twelve towns (*oppida numero duodecim*) had promised 50,000 men as their contingent to the general levy. They were not, however, very formidable combatants, for they were soon put to flight. Nor is there any sign of such arsenals existing there at that period. They were probably established during the empire, when the chief city where they were formed received the name of Augusta Suessionum. (Cellarius, 1, 316.) The munitions of war prepared in the third of these military workshops are not correctly explained here. The clunabulum was a small sword or dagger (*pugio*), which was suspended from the hip (*ad clunem*) whence it had its name. It was sometimes called *clunaclum*, or *clunaculum*. (Ducange, ii, p. 704.) *Clinabaria* evidently means *clunabaria*, or armouries, where this weapon was made.—Ed.]

† The epithet must be confined to the circumstances; and history cannot justify the French prejudice of Gregory (lib. 2, c. 27, in tom. ii, p. 175), ut Gothorum pavere *mos* est.

‡ Dubos has satisfied me (tom. i, p. 277—286) that Gregory of Tours, his transcribers or his readers, have repeatedly confounded the German kingdom of *Thuringia*, beyond the Rhine, and the Gallic *city of Tongria*, on the Meuse, which was more

The name of the Allemanni has been absurdly derived from their imaginary settlement on the banks of the *Leman* lake.* That fortunate district, from the lake to Avenche and Mount Jura, was occupied by the Burgundians.† The northern parts of Helvetia had indeed been subdued by the ferocious Allemanni, who destroyed with their own hands the fruits of their conquest. A province, improved and adorned by the arts of Rome, was again reduced to a savage wilderness; and some vestige of the stately Vindonissa may still be discovered in the fertile and populous valley of the Aar.‡ From the source of the Rhine to its conflux with the Mein and the Moselle, the formidable swarms of Allemanni commanded either side of the river, by the right of ancient possession or recent victory. They had spread themselves into Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alsace and Lorraine; and their bold invasion of the kingdom of Cologne, summoned the Salic prince to the defence of his Ripuarian allies. Clovis encountered the invaders of Gaul in the plain of Tolbiac,§ about twenty-four miles from Cologne; and the two fiercest nations of Germany were mutually animated by the memory of past exploits, and the prospect of future greatness. The Franks, after an obstinate struggle, gave way; and the Allemanni, raising a shout

anciently the country of the Eburones, and more recently the diocese of Liege.

* Populi habitantes juxta *Lemannum* lacum, *Allemanni* dicuntur. (Servius, ad Virgil. Georgic. 4. 278.) Dom. Bouquet (tom. i, p. 817) has only alleged the more recent and corrupt text of Isidore of Seville.

† Gregory of Tours sends St. Lupicinus inter illa Jurensis deserti secreta, quæ, inter Burgundiam Alamanniamque sita, Aventicæ adjacent civitati, in tom. i, p. 648. M. de Watteville (Hist. de la Confédération Helvétique, tom. i, p. 9, 10) has accurately defined the Helvetian limits of the duchy of Allemannia, and the Transjurane Burgundy. They were commensurate with the dioceses of Constance and Avenche, or Lausanne, and are still discriminated in modern Switzerland, by the use of the German or French language.

‡ See Guilliman de Rebus Helveticis, l. 1, c. 3, p. 11, 12. Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa, the castle of Hapsburg, the abbey of Königsfeld, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquest, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom. If he be truly a philosopher, he will applaud the merit and happiness of his own times.

§ [Now Zülpich. (Cellarius, l. 268.) Mr. Hallam has used the modern, in preference to the ancient, name.—ED.]

of victory, impetuously pressed their retreat. But the battle was restored by the valour, the conduct, and perhaps by the piety of Clovis; and the event of the bloody day decided for ever the alternative of empire or servitude. The last king of the Allemanni was slain in the field, and his people was slaughtered and pursued till they threw down their arms, and yielded to the mercy of the conqueror. Without discipline it was impossible for them to rally; they had contemptuously demolished the walls and fortifications which might have protected their distress; and they were followed into the heart of their forests by an enemy not less active, or intrepid, than themselves. The great Theodoric congratulated the victory of Clovis, whose sister Albofleda the king of Italy had lately married; but he mildly interceded with his brother in favour of the suppliants and fugitives who had implored his protection. The Gallic territories, which were possessed by the Allemanni, became the prize of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible, or rebellious, to the arms of Rome, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciously permitted them to enjoy their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and at length of hereditary, dukes. After the conquest of the Western provinces, the Franks alone maintained their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine. They gradually subdued and civilized the exhausted countries, as far as the Elbe and the mountains of Bohemia; and the peace of Europe was secured by the obedience of Germany.*

Till the thirtieth year of his age, Clovis continued to worship the gods of his ancestors.† His disbelief, or rather disregard, of Christianity, might encourage him to pillage

* Gregory of Tours (l. 2, 30. 37, in tom. ii, p. 176, 177. 182), the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii, p. 551), and the epistle of Theodoric (Cassiodor. Variar. l. 2, c. 41, in tom. iv, p. 4), represent the defeat of the Allemanni. Some of their tribes settled in Rhætia, under the protection of Theodoric; whose successors ceded the colony and their country to the grandson of Clovis. The state of the Allemanni under the Merovingian kings may be seen in Mascou (Hist. of the Ancient Germans, 11. 8, &c. Annotation 36) and Guilliman (De Reb. Helvet. l. 2. c. 10—12, p. 72—80.

† Clotilda, or rather Gregory, supposes that Clovis worshipped the gods of Greece and Rome. The fact is incredible, and the mistake only shows how completely, in less than a century, the national religion of the Franks had been abolished,

with less remorse the churches of a hostile territory; but his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exercise of religious worship; and the bishops entertained a more favourable hope of the idolater than of the heretics. The Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who in the midst of an Arian court, was educated in the profession of the Catholic faith. It was her interest, as well as her duty, to achieve the conversion* of a Pagan husband; and Clovis insensibly listened to the voice of love and religion. He consented (perhaps such terms had been previously stipulated) to the baptism of his eldest son; and though the sudden death of the infant excited some superstitious fears, he was persuaded, a second time, to repeat the dangerous experiment. In the distress of the battle of Tolbiac, Clovis loudly invoked the God of Clotilda and the Christians; and victory disposed him to hear, with respectful gratitude, the eloquent† Remigius,‡ bishop of Rheims, who forcibly displayed the temporal and spiritual advantages of his conversion. The king declared himself satisfied of the truth of the Catholic faith; and the political reasons which might have suspended his public profession were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who showed themselves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader to the field of battle, or to the baptismal font. The important ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Rheims, with every circumstance of magnificence and solem-

and even forgotten. * Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and conversion of Clovis (l. 2, c. 28—31, in tom. ii, p. 175—178.) Even Fredegarius, or the nameless Epitomizer (in tom. ii, p. 398—400), the author of the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii, p. 548—552) and Aimoin himself, (l. 1, c. 13, in tom. iii, p. 37—40) may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important transactions. † A traveller, who returned from Rheims to Auvergne, had stolen a copy of his Declamations from the secretary or bookseller of the modest archbishop. (Sidonius Apollinar. l. 9, epist. 7.) Four epistles of Remigius, which are still extant, (in tom. iv, p. 51—53) do not correspond with the splendid praise of Sidonius. ‡ Hincmar, one of the successors of Remigius, (A.D. 845—882) has composed his life (in tom. iii, p. 373—380.) The authority of ancient MSS. of the church of Rheims might inspire some confidence, which is destroyed, however, by the selfish and audacious fictions of Hincmar. It is remarkable enough, that Remigius, who was consecrated at the age of twenty-two, (A.D. 457) filled the episcopal chair seventy-four years. (Pagi Critica, in Baron.

nity that could impress an awful sense of religion on the minds of its rude proselytes.* The new Constantine was immediately baptized, with three thousand of his warlike subjects; and their example was imitated by the remainder of the gentle barbarians, who, in obedience to the victorious prelate, adored the cross which they had burnt, and burnt the idols which they had formerly adored.† The mind of Clovis was susceptible of transient fervour; he was exasperated by the pathetic tale of the passion and death of Christ; and, instead of weighing the salutary consequences of that mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed, with indiscreet fury—"Had I been present, at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged his injuries."‡ But the savage conqueror of Gaul was incapable of examining the proofs of a religion which depends on the laborious investigation of historic evidence and speculative theology. He was still more incapable of feeling the mild influence of the gospel, which persuades and purifies the heart of a genuine convert. His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Christian duties; his hands were stained with blood, in peace as well as in war; and, as soon as Clovis had dismissed a synod of the Gallican church, he calmly assassinated all the princes of the Merovingian race.§ Yet the king of the Franks might sincerely worship the Christian God, as a being more excellent and powerful than his national deities; and the signal deliverance and

tom. ii, p. 384. 572). * A phial (the *Sainte Ampoulle*) of holy, or rather celestial oil, was brought down by a white dove, for the baptism of Clovis; and it is still used, and renewed, in the coronation of the kings of France. Hincmar (he aspired to the primacy of Gaul) is the first author of this fable (in tom. iii, p. 377) whose slight foundations the abbé de Vertot (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ii, p. 619—633) has undermined, with profound respect, and consummate dexterity. † Mitis depone colla, Sicamber; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti. Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 31, in tom. ii, p. 177. ‡ Si ego ibidem cum Francis meis fuissem, injurias ejus vindicassem. This rash expression, which Gregory has prudently concealed, is celebrated by Fredegarius (Epitom. c. 21, in tom. ii, p. 400), Aimoin (l. 1, c. 16, in tom. iii, p. 40), and the Chroniques de St. Denys (l. 1, c. 20, in tom. iii, p. 171), as an admirable effusion of Christian zeal. § Gregory, (l. 2, c. 40—43, in tom. ii, p. 183—185) after coolly relating the repeated crimes and affected remorse of Clovis, concludes, perhaps undesignedly, with a lesson, which ambition will never hear: "His ita transactis . . . obiit."

victory of Tolbiac encouraged Clovis to confide in the future protection of the Lord of Hosts. Martin, the most popular of the saints, had filled the Western world with the fame of those miracles which were incessantly performed at his holy sepulchre of Tours. His visible or invisible aid promoted the cause of a liberal and orthodox prince; and the profane remark of Clovis himself, that St. Martin was an expensive friend,* need not be interpreted as the symptom of any permanent or rational scepticism. But earth, as well as Heaven, rejoiced in the conversion of the Franks. On the memorable day when Clovis ascended from the baptismal font, he alone, in the Christian world, deserved the name and prerogatives of a Catholic king. The emperor Anastasius entertained some dangerous errors concerning the nature of the divine incarnation; and the barbarians of Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul, were involved in the Arian heresy. The eldest, or rather the only son, of the church, was acknowledged by the clergy as their lawful sovereign, or glorious deliverer; and the arms of Clovis were strenuously supported by the zeal and favour of the Catholic faction.†

Under the Roman empire the wealth and jurisdiction of the bishops, their sacred character, and perpetual office, their numerous dependents, popular eloquence, and provincial assemblies, had rendered them always respectable, and sometimes dangerous.‡ Their influence was augmented

* After the Gothic victory, Clovis made rich offerings to St. Martin of Tours. He wished to redeem his war-horse by the gift of one hundred pieces of gold; but the enchanted steed could not move from the stable till the price of his redemption had been doubled. This *miracle* provoked the king to exclaim: Vere B. Martinus est bonus in auxilio, sed carus in negotio. (Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii, p. 554, 555.)

† See the epistle from pope Anastasius to the royal convert (in tom. iv, p. 50, 51). Avitus, bishop of Vienna, addressed Clovis on the same subject, (p. 49) and many of the Latin bishops would assure him of their joy and attachment.

‡ [Gibbon has here palliated, by smooth words, the truth, which his close study of passing events must have taught him. A hundred bishops, he says, "*reigned*" in the cities of Gaul, and raised whom they pleased to be temporal monarchs of the country. They had made themselves, according to Schmidt, (1. 270) almost independent of secular law. The price which Clovis paid for their assistance, was subservience to their will, credulity for their impostures, and rich gifts to their churches, which even he complained of as exorbitant. They held, in fact, a sovereign power—more absolute and irresistible than the sternest of earth's tyrants ever

with the progress of superstition; and the establishment of the French monarchy may, in some degree, be ascribed to the firm alliance of a hundred prelates, who reigned in the discontented, or independent cities of Gaul. The slight foundations of the Armorican republic had been repeatedly shaken, or overthrown; but the same people still guarded their domestic freedom; asserted the dignity of the Roman name; and bravely resisted the predatory inroads and regular attacks of Clovis, who laboured to extend his conquests from the Seine to the Loire. Their successful opposition introduced an equal and honourable union. The Franks esteemed the valour of the Armoricans,* and the Armoricans were reconciled by the religion of the Franks. The military force which had been stationed for the defence of Gaul, consisted of one hundred different bands of cavalry or infantry; and these troops, while they assumed the title and privileges of Roman soldiers, were renewed by an incessant supply of the barbarian youth. The extreme fortifications and scattered fragments of the empire were still defended by their hopeless courage. But their retreat was intercepted, and their communication was impracticable; they were abandoned by the Greek princes

exercised. How they treated their slaves is shown by a dispassionate and calm historian, who would rather have praised than censured. Mosheim (Inst. Vet. 2, ch. 3, p. 40) thus describes the priesthood of those times. "Those who instructed the people, made it their sole care to imbue their minds more and more with ignorance, superstition, reverence for the clergy, and admiration of empty ceremonies, and to divest them of all sense and knowledge of true piety." In this, subordinates only followed the course and carried out the system prescribed by their superiors. It is by this designed and organized repression of education, that the dark ages were led on. In these facts we see the true character of the prelates of that age. Respectability is often much too negligently awarded to mere station. It requires at least some decent outward observance of the duties which station imposes. Even this hypocritical homage to virtue, with few exceptions, the mitred despots rarely condescended to pay. Open contemners of all sacred obligations, faithless betrayers of holy trusts, can *never* be "respectable;" reckless contenders for power, insatiable coveters of riches, are not only *sometimes*, but *always*, "dangerous."—ED.]

* Instead of the Ἀρβόρυχοι, an unknown people, who now appear in the text of Procopius, Hadrian de Valois has restored the proper name of the Ἀρμόρυχοι; and this easy correction has been almost universally approved. Yet an unprejudiced reader would naturally suppose, that Procopius means to describe a tribe of Germans in the alliance of Rome; and not a confederacy of Gallic cities, which had revolted from

of Constantinople, and they piously disclaimed all connexion with the Arian usurpers of Gaul. They accepted, without shame or reluctance, the generous capitulation which was proposed by a Catholic hero; and this spurious or legitimate progeny of the Roman legions was distinguished in the succeeding age by their arms, their ensigns, and their peculiar dress and institutions. But the national strength was increased by these powerful and voluntary accessions; and the neighbouring kingdoms dreaded the numbers as well as the spirit of the Franks. The reduction of the Northern provinces of Gaul, instead of being decided by the chance of a single battle, appears to have been slowly effected by the gradual operation of war and treaty; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition by such efforts or such concessions as were adequate to its real value. *His* savage character, and the virtues of Henry IV., suggest the most opposite ideas of human nature: yet some resemblance may be found in the situation of two princes who conquered France by their valour, their policy, and the merits of a seasonable conversion.*

The kingdom of the Burgundians, which was defined by the course of two Gallic rivers, the Saone and the Rhone, extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps and the sea of Marseilles.† The sceptre was in the hands of Gundobald. That valiant and ambitious prince had reduced the number of royal candidates by the death of two brothers,

the empire.

* This important digression of Procopius (De Bell. Gothic. l. 1, c. 12, in tom. ii, p. 29—36) illustrates the origin of the French monarchy. Yet I must observe, 1. That the Greek historian betrays an inexcusable ignorance of the geography of the West. 2. That these treaties and privileges, which should leave some lasting traces, are totally invisible in Gregory of Tours, the Salic laws, &c.

† Regnum circa Rhodanum aut Ararim cum provinciâ Massiliensi retinebant. Greg. Turon. l. 2, c. 32, in tom. ii, p. 178. The province of Marseilles, as far as the Durance, was afterwards ceded to the Ostrogoths: and the signatures of twenty-five bishops are supposed to represent the kingdom of Burgundy, A.D. 519. (Concil. Epaon. in tom. iv, p. 104, 105.) Yet I would except Vindonissa. The bishop, who lived under the Pagan Allemanni, would naturally resort to the synods of the next Christian kingdom. Mascou (in his four first annotations) has explained many circumstances relative to the Burgundian monarchy. [In ch. 35 we left the Burgundians almost annihilated by Ætius, when "the remains of the nation humbly accepted a dependent seat in the mountains of Savoy." In little more than fifty years

one of whom was the father of Clotilda,* but his imperfect prudence still permitted Godegesil, the youngest of his brothers, to possess the dependent principality of Geneva. The Arian monarch was justly alarmed by the satisfaction and the hopes which seemed to animate his clergy and people after the conversion of Clovis; and Gundobald convened at Lyons an assembly of his bishops, to reconcile, if it were possible, their religious and political discontents. A vain conference was agitated between the two factions. The Arians upbraided the Catholics with the worship of three gods; the Catholics defended their cause by theological distinctions; and the usual arguments, objections, and replies were reverberated with obstinate clamour; till the king revealed his secret apprehensions, by an abrupt but decisive question, which he addressed to the orthodox bishops. "If you truly profess the Christian religion, why do you not restrain the king of the Franks? He has declared war against me, and forms alliances with my enemies for my destruction. A sanguinary and covetous mind is not the symptom of a sincere conversion: let him show his faith by his works." The answer of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, who spoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel. "We are ignorant of the motives and intentions of the king of the Franks: but we are taught by Scripture, that the kingdoms which abandon the divine law are frequently subverted; and that enemies will arise on every side against those who have made God their enemy. Return with thy people to the law of God, and he will give peace and security to thy dominions." The king of Burgundy, who was not prepared to accept the condition which the Catholics considered as essential to the treaty, delayed and dismissed the ecclesiastical conference; after reproaching his bishops that Clovis,

from that time, they come before us again as a numerous people, occupying a large territory, and so formidable as to maintain a long struggle of more than thirty years with the powerful Clovis and his bold Franks. These incongruities teach us how to estimate the *destructive propensities* of ancient writers.—ED.]

* Mascou, (Hist. of the Germans, 11, 10.) who very reasonably distrusts the testimony of Gregory of Tours, has produced a passage from Avitus, (epist. 5) to prove that Gundobald affected to deplore the tragic event which his subjects affected to applaud.

their friend and proselyte, had privately tempted the allegiance of his brother.*

The allegiance of his brother was already seduced; and the obedience of Godegesil, who joined the royal standard with the troops of Geneva, more effectually promoted the success of the conspiracy. While the Franks and Burgundians contended with equal valour, his seasonable desertion decided the event of the battle; and as Gundobald was faintly supported by the disaffected Gauls, he yielded to the arms of Clovis, and hastily retreated from the field, which appears to have been situate between Langres and Dijon. He distrusted the strength of Dijon, a quadrangular fortress, encompassed by two rivers, and by a wall thirty feet high and fifteen thick, with four gates, and thirty-three towers:† he abandoned to the pursuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienna; and Gundobald still fled with precipitation, till he had reached Avignon, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. A long siege, and an artful negotiation, admonished the king of the Franks of the danger and difficulty of his enterprise. He imposed a tribute on the Burgundian prince, compelled him to pardon and reward his brother's treachery, and proudly returned to his own dominions, with the spoils and captives of the Southern provinces. This splendid triumph was soon clouded by the intelligence, that Gundobald had violated his recent obligations, and that the unfortunate Godegesil, who was left at Vienna, with a garrison of five thousand Franks,‡ had been besieged, surprised, and massacred by his inhuman brother. Such an outrage might have exasperated the patience of the

* See the original conference (in tom. iv, p. 99—102.) Avitus, the principal actor, and probably the secretary of the meeting, was bishop of Vienna. A short account of his person and works may be found in Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. v, p. 5—10).

† Gregory of Tours (l. 3, c. 19, in tom. ii, p. 197) indulges his genius, or rather transcribes some more eloquent writer, in the description of Dijon; a castle which already deserved the title of a city. It depended on the bishops of Langres till the twelfth century, and afterwards became the capital of the dukes of Burgundy. Longuerue, Description de la France, part 1, p. 280.

‡ The epitomizer of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii, p. 401) has supplied this number of Franks; but he rashly supposes that they were cut in pieces by Gundobald. The prudent Burgundian spared the soldiers of Clovis, and sent these captives to the king of the Visigoths, who settled them in the territory of Thoulouse.

most peaceful sovereign; yet the conqueror of Gaul dissembled the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance, and military service of the king of Burgundy. Clovis no longer possessed those advantages which had assured the success of the preceding war; and his rival, instructed by adversity, had found new resources in the affections of his people. The Gauls or Romans applauded the mild and impartial laws of Gundobald, which almost raised them to the same level with their conquerors. The bishops were reconciled and flattered by the hopes, which he artfully suggested, of his approaching conversion: and though he eluded their accomplishment to the last moment of his life, his moderation secured the peace and suspended the ruin of the kingdom of Burgundy.*

I am impatient to pursue the final ruin of that kingdom, which was accomplished under the reign of Sigismond, the son of Gundobald. The Catholic Sigismond has acquired the honours of a saint and martyr,† but the hands of the royal saint were stained with the blood of his innocent son, whom he inhumanly sacrificed to the pride and resentment of a stepmother. He soon discovered his error, and bewailed the irreparable loss. While Sigismond embraced the corpse of the unfortunate youth, he received a severe admonition from one of his attendants:—"It is not his situation, O king! it is thine which deserves pity and lamentation." The reproaches of a guilty conscience were alleviated, however, by his liberal donations to the monastery of Agaunum, or St. Maurice, in Vallais; which he himself had founded in honour of the imaginary martyrs of the Thebæan legion.‡ A full chorus of perpetual psalmody was instituted by the

* In this Burgundian war I have followed Gregory of Tours, (l. 2, c. 32, 33, in tom. ii, p. 178, 179) whose narrative *appears* so incompatible with that of Procopius, (De Bell. Goth. l. 1, c. 12, in tom. ii, p. 31, 32) that some critics have supposed *two* different wars. The abbé Dubos (Hist. Critique, &c. tom. ii, p. 126—162) has distinctly represented the causes and the events.

† See his life or legend (in tom. iii, p. 402). A martyr! how strangely has that word been distorted from its original sense of a common witness. St. Sigismond was remarkable for the cure of fevers.

‡ Before the end of the fifth century, the church of St. Maurice and his Thebæan legion, had rendered Agaunum a place of devout pilgrimage. A promiscuous community of both sexes had introduced some deeds of darkness, which were abolished (A.D. 515) by the regular monastery of St. Sigismond. Within fifty years his *angels of light* made a nocturnal sally to murder their bishop and his clergy. See

pious king: he assiduously practised the austere devotion of the monks; and it was his humble prayer, that Heaven would inflict in this world the punishment of his sins. His prayer was heard; the avengers were at hand; and the provinces of Burgundy were overwhelmed by an army of victorious Franks. After the event of an unsuccessful battle, Sigismond, who wished to protract his life that he might prolong his penance, concealed himself in the desert in a religious habit, till he was discovered and betrayed by his subjects, who solicited the favour of their new masters. The captive monarch, with his wife and two children, was transported to Orleans, and buried alive in a deep well, by the stern command of the sons of Clovis; whose cruelty might derive some excuse from the maxims and examples of their barbarous age. Their ambition, which urged them to achieve the conquest of Burgundy, was inflamed or disguised by filial piety; and Clotilda, whose sanctity did not consist in the forgiveness of injuries, pressed them to revenge her father's death on the family of his assassin. The rebellious Burgundians, for they attempted to break their chains, were still permitted to enjoy their national laws under the obligation of a tribute and military service; and the Merovingian princes peaceably reigned over a kingdom, whose glory and greatness had been first overthrown by the arms of Clovis.*

The first victory of Clovis had insulted the honour of the Goths. They viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and terror; and the youthful fame of Alaric was oppressed by the more potent genius of his rival. Some disputes inevitably arose on the edge of their contiguous dominions; and after the delays of fruitless negotiation, a personal interview of the two kings was proposed and accepted. This conference of Clovis and Alaric was held in a small island of the Loire, near Amboise. They embraced, familiarly conversed, and feasted together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace and brotherly love. But their apparent confidence concealed a dark suspicion of hostile and treacherous designs; and their mutual complaints solicited, eluded,

in the Bibliothèque Raisonnée (tom. xxxvi, p. 435—438) the curious remark of a learned librarian of Geneva.

* Marius, bishop of Avenche, (Chron. in tom. ii, p. 15) has marked the authentic dates, and Gregory of Tours (l. 3, c. 5, 6, in tom. ii, p. 188, 189) has expressed the principal facts of the life of Sigismond and the conquest of Burgundy. Procopius, (in tom. ii, p. 34) and Agathias, (in tom. ii, p. 49) show their remote and imperfect knowledge.

and disclaimed a final arbitration. At Paris, which he already considered as his royal seat, Clovis declared to an assembly of the princes and warriors, the pretence, and the motive, of a Gothic war. "It grieves me to see that the Arians still possess the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march against them with the aid of God; and, having vanquished the heretics, we will possess and divide their fertile provinces."* The Franks, who were inspired by hereditary valour and recent zeal, applauded the generous design of their monarch; expressed their resolution to conquer or die, since death and conquest would be equally profitable; and solemnly protested that they would never shave their beards, till victory should absolve them from that inconvenient vow. The enterprise was promoted by the public, or private, exhortations of Clotilda. She reminded her husband, how effectually some pious foundation would propitiate the Deity, and his servants: and the Christian hero, darting his battle-axe with a skilful and nervous hand—"There," said he, "on that spot where my *Francisca*† shall fall, will I erect a church in honour of the holy apostles." This ostentatious piety confirmed and justified the attachment of the Catholics, with whom he secretly corresponded; and their devout wishes were gradually ripened into a formidable conspiracy. The people of Aquitain was alarmed by the indiscreet reproaches of their Gothic tyrants, who justly accused them of preferring the dominion of the Franks; and their zealous adherent, Quintianus, bishop of Rodez,‡ preached more

* Gregory of Tours (l. 2, c. 37, in tom. ii, p. 181) inserts the short but persuasive speech of Clovis. Valde moleste fero, quod hi Ariani partem teneant Galliarum, (the author of the Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 553, adds the precious epithet of *optimam*); eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et, superatis eis, redigamus terram in ditionem nostram.

† Tunc rex projecit a sè in directum bipennem suam quod est *Francisca*, &c. (Gesta. Franc. in tom. ii, p. 554.) The form and use of this weapon are clearly described by Procopius (in tom. ii, p. 37). Examples of its *national* appellation in Latin and French may be found in the Glossary of Ducange, and the large Dictionnaire de Trevoux. [Horace, recording a fact, rather than indulging the figurative license of a poet, described the Vindelici defending themselves with a like weapon against Drusus, in the Rhætian Alps.

> ——— ——— Vindelici, quibus
> Mos unde deductus per omne
> Tempus Amazonia securi
> Dextras obarmat, quærere distuli. Carm. 4. 4.—ED.]

‡ It is singular enough that some important and authentic

forcibly in his exile than in his diocese. To resist these foreign and domestic enemies, who were fortified by the alliance of the Burgundians, Alaric collected his troops, far more numerous than the military powers of Clovis. The Visigoths resumed the exercise of arms, which they had neglected in a long and luxurious peace: * a select hand of valiant and robust slaves attended their masters to the field;† and the cities of Gaul were compelled to furnish their doubtful and reluctant aid. Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who reigned in Italy, had laboured to maintain the tranquillity of Gaul; and he assumed, or affected for that purpose, the impartial character of a mediator. But the sagacious monarch dreaded the rising empire of Clovis, and he was firmly engaged to support the national and religious cause of the Goths.

The accidental or artificial prodigies, which adorned the expedition of Clovis, were accepted by a superstitious age, as the manifest declaration of the Divine favour. He marched from Paris, and as he proceeded with decent reverence through the holy diocese of Tours, his anxiety tempted him to consult the shrine of St. Martin, the sanctuary, and the oracle of Gaul. His messengers were instructed to remark the words of the Psalm, which should happen to be chaunted at the precise moment when they entered the church. Those words most fortunately expressed the valour and victory of the champions of heaven, and the application was easily transferred to the new Joshua, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord.‡

facts should be found in a life of Quintianus, composed in rhyme, in the old *patois* of Rouergue. (Dubos, Hist. Critique, &c. tom. ii, p. 179.)

* Quamvis fortitudini vestræ confidentiam tribuat parentum vestrorum innumerabilis multitudo; quamvis Attilam potentem reminiscamini Visigotharum viribus inclinatum; tamen quia populorum ferocia corda longâ pace mollescunt, cavete subito in aleam mittere, quos constat, tantis temporibus exercitia non habere. Such was the salutary, but fruitless advice of peace, of reason, and of Theodoric. (Cassiodor. l. 3, ep. 2.)

† Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 15, c. 14) mentions and approves the law of the Visigoths, (l. 9, tit. 2, in tom. iv, p. 425) which obliged all masters to arm, and send, or lead into the field, a tenth of their slaves.

‡ This mode of divination, by accepting as an omen the first sacred words which in particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or ear, was derived from the Pagans; and the Psalter, or Bible, was substituted to the poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth

Orleans secured to the Franks a bridge on the Loire; but, at the distance of forty miles from Poitiers, their progress was intercepted by an extraordinary swell of the river Vigenna, or Vienne; and the opposite banks were covered by the encampment of the Visigoths. Delay must be always dangerous to barbarians, who consume the country through which they march; and had Clovis possessed leisure and materials, it might have been impracticable to construct a bridge, or to force a passage, in the face of a superior enemy. But the affectionate peasants, who were impatient to welcome their deliverer, could easily betray some unknown or unguarded ford; the merit of the discovery was enhanced by the useful interposition of fraud or fiction; and a white hart of singular size and beauty, appeared to guide and animate the march of the Catholic army. The councils of the Visigoths were irresolute and distracted. A crowd of impatient warriors, presumptuous in their strength, and disdaining to fly before the robbers of Germany, excited Alaric to assert in arms the name and blood of the conqueror of Rome. The advice of the graver chieftains pressed him to elude the first ardour of the Franks; and to expect, in the southern provinces of Gaul, the veteran and victorious Ostrogoths, whom the king of Italy had already sent to his assistance. The decisive moments were wasted in idle deliberation; the Goths too hastily abandoned, perhaps, an advantageous post; and the opportunity of a secure retreat was lost by their slow and disorderly motions. After Clovis had passed the ford, as it is still named, of the *Hart*, he advanced with bold and hasty steps to prevent the escape of the enemy. His nocturnal march was directed by a flaming meteor, suspended in the air above the cathedral of Poitiers; and this signal, which might be previously concerted with the orthodox successor of St. Hilary, was compared to the column of fire that guided the Israelites in the desert. At the third hour of the day, about ten miles beyond Poitiers, Clovis overtook, and instantly attacked the Gothic army; whose defeat was already prepared by terror and confusion. Yet they rallied in their extreme distress, and the martial youths who had clamorously demanded the battle, refused to survive

to the fourteenth century, these *sortes sanctorum*, as they are styled, were repeatedly condemned by the decrees of councils, and repeatedly practised by kings, bishops, and saints. See a curious dissertation of the abbé du Resnel, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xix, p. 287—310.

the ignominy of flight. The two kings encountered each other in single combat. Alaric fell by the hand of his rival; and the victorious Frank was saved by the goodness of his cuirass, and the vigour of his horse, from the spears of two desperate Goths, who furiously rode against him to revenge the death of their sovereign. The vague expression of a mountain of the slain, serves to indicate a cruel, though indefinite, slaughter; but Gregory has carefully observed, that his valiant countryman Apollinaris, the son of Sidonius, lost his life at the head of the nobles of Auvergne. Perhaps these suspected Catholics had been maliciously exposed to the blind assault of the enemy; and perhaps the influence of religion was superseded by personal attachment, or military honour.*

Such is the empire of Fortune (if we may still disguise our ignorance under that popular name), that it is almost equally difficult to foresee the events of war, or to explain their various consequences. A bloody and complete victory has sometimes yielded no more than the possession of the field; and the loss of ten thousand men has sometimes been sufficient to destroy, in a single day, the work of ages. The decisive battle of Poitiers was followed by the conquest of Aquitain. Alaric had left behind him an infant son, a bastard competitor, factious nobles, and a disloyal people; and the remaining forces of the Goths were oppressed by the general consternation, or opposed to each other in civil discord. The victorious king of the Franks proceeded without delay to the siege of Angoulême. At the sound of his trumpets the walls of the city imitated the example of Jericho, and instantly fell to the ground; a splendid miracle, which may be reduced to the supposition, that some clerical engineers had secretly undermined the foundations of the rampart.† At Bordeaux, which had submitted

* After correcting the text, or excusing the mistake of Procopius, who places the defeat of Alaric near Carcassone, we may conclude from the evidence of Gregory, Fortunatus, and the author of the Gesta Francorum, that the battle was fought *in campo Vocladensi*, on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the south of Poitiers. Clovis overtook and attacked the Visigoths near Vivonne, and the victory was decided near a village still named Champagné St. Hilare. See the Dissertations of the abbé le Bœuf, tom. i, p. 304—331.

† Angoulême is in the road from Poitiers to Bordeaux; and although Gregory delays the siege, I can more readily believe that he

without resistance, Clovis established his winter quarters; and his prudent economy transported from Thoulouse the royal treasures, which were deposited in the capital of the monarchy. The conqueror penetrated as far as the confines of Spain;* restored the honours of the Catholic church; fixed in Aquitain a colony of Franks;† and delegated to his lieutenants the easy task of subduing, or extirpating, the nation of the Visigoths. But the Visigoths were protected by the wise and powerful monarch of Italy. While the balance was still equal, Theodoric had perhaps delayed the march of the Ostrogoths; but their strenuous efforts successfully resisted the ambition of Clovis; and the army of the Franks and their Burgundian allies, was compelled to raise the siege of Arles, with the loss, as it is said, of thirty thousand men. These vicissitudes inclined the fierce spirit of Clovis to acquiesce in an advantageous treaty of peace. The Visigoths were suffered to retain the possession of Septimania, a narrow tract of sea-coast, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees; but the ample province of Aquitain, from those mountains to the Loire, was indissolubly united to the kingdom of France.‡

confounded the order of history, than that Clovis neglected the rules of war. * Pyrenæos montes usque Perpinianum subjecit, is the expression of Rorico, which betrays his recent date; since Perpignan did not exist before the tenth century. (Marca Hispanica, p. 458.) This florid and fabulous writer (perhaps a monk of Amiens; see the abbé le Bœuf, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xvii, p. 228—245) relates, in the *allegorical* character of a shepherd, the general history of his countrymen the Franks; but his narrative ends with the death of Clovis. † The author of the Gesta Francorum positively affirms, that Clovis fixed a body of Franks in the Saintonge and Bourdelois; and he is not injudiciously followed by Rorico, electos milites atque fortissimos, cum parvulis atque mulieribus. Yet it should seem that they soon mingled with the Romans of Aquitain, till Charlemagne introduced a more numerous and powerful colony. (Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. ii, p. 215.) ‡ In the composition of the Gothic war, I have used the following materials, with due regard to their unequal value. Four epistles from Theodoric king of Italy (Cassiodor. lib. 3, epist. 1—4, in tom. iv, p. 3—5), Procopius (De Bell. Goth. l. 1, c. 12, in tom. ii, p. 32, 33), Gregory of Tours (l. 2, c. 35—37, in tom. ii, p. 181—183), Jornandes (De Reb. Geticis, c. 58, in tom. ii, p. 28) Fortunatus (in Vit. St. Hilarii, in tom. iii, p. 380), Isidore (in Chron. Goth. in tom. ii, p. 702), the Epitome of Gregory of Tours, (in tom. ii, p. 401), the author of the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii, p. 553—555), the Fragments of Fredegarius (in tom. ii, p. 463), Aimoin (l. 1, c. 20, in tom. iii, p. 41, 42), and Rorico (l. 4, in tom. iii, p. 14—19).

After the success of the Gothic war, Clovis accepted the honours of the Roman consulship. The emperor Anastasius ambitiously bestowed on the most powerful rival of Theodoric, the title and ensigns of that eminent dignity; yet, from some unknown cause, the name of Clovis has not been inscribed in the *Fasti* either of the East or West.* On the solemn day, the monarch of Gaul, placing a diadem on his head, was invested in the church of St. Martin, with a purple tunic and mantle. From thence he proceeded on horseback to the cathedral of Tours; and, as he passed through the streets, profusely scattered, with his own hand, a donative of gold and silver to the joyful multitude, who incessantly repeated their acclamations of *Consul* and *Augustus*. The actual or legal authority of Clovis could not receive any new accessions from the consular dignity. It was a name, a shadow, an empty pageant; and if the conqueror had been instructed to claim the ancient prerogatives of that high office, they must have expired with the period of its annual duration. But the Romans were disposed to revere, in the person of their master, that antique title which the emperors condescended to assume: the barbarian himself seemed to contract a sacred obligation to respect the majesty of the republic; and the successors of Theodosius, by soliciting his friendship, tacitly forgave, and almost ratified, the usurpation of Gaul.

Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis, this important concession was more formally declared, in a treaty between his sons and the emperor Justinian. The Ostrogoths of Italy, unable to defend their distant acquisitions, had resigned to the Franks the cities of Arles and Marseilles: of Arles, still adorned with the seat of a prætorian prefect, and of Marseilles, enriched by the advantages of trade and navigation.† This transaction was confirmed by the im-

* The *Fasti* of Italy would naturally reject a consul, the enemy of their sovereign; but any ingenious hypothesis, that might explain the silence of Constantinople and Egypt (the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Paschal), is overturned by the similar silence of Marius bishop of Avenche, who composed his *Fasti* in the kingdom of Burgundy. If, the evidence of Gregory of Tours were less weighty and positive (l. 2 c. 38, in tom. ii, p. 183), I could believe that Clovis, like Odoacer' received the lasting title and honours of *Patrician*. (Pagi Critica' tom. ii. p. 474. 492.)

† Under the Merovingian kings' Marseilles still imported from the East, paper, wine, oil, linen, silk precious stones, spices, &c. The Gauls, or Franks, traded to Syria

perial authority; and Justinian, generously yielding to the Franks the sovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps, which they already possessed, absolved the provincials from their allegiance; and established on a more lawful though not more solid, foundation, the throne of the Merovingians.* From that era, they enjoyed the right of celebrating at Arles the games of the circus; and by a singular privilege, which was denied even to the Persian monarch, the *gold* coin, impressed with their name and image, obtained a legal currency in the empire.† A Greek historian of that age has praised the private and public virtues of the Franks, with a partial enthusiasm, which cannot be sufficiently

and the Syrians were established in Gaul. See M. de Guignes, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxxvii, p. 471—475.

* Οὐ γάρ ποτε, ᾧοντο Γαλλίας ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκτῆσθαι Φράγγοι, μὴ τοῦ αὐτοκρατορος τὸ ἔργον ἐπισφαγίσαντος τοῦτό γε. This strong declaration of Procopius (De Bell. Gothic. l. 3, cap. 33, in tom. ii, p. 41) would almost suffice to justify the abbé Dubos. [Mr. Hallam takes a different view of this subject, on which he says: "The theory of Dubos, who considers Clovis as a sort of lieutenant of the emperors, and as governing the Roman part of his subjects by no other title, has justly seemed extravagant to later critical inquirers into the history of France. But it may nevertheless be true, that the connection between him and the empire, and the emblems of Roman magistracy which he bore, reconciled the conquered to their new masters. This is judiciously stated by the duc de Nivernois, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. tom. xx, p. 174." (Europe in the Mid. Ages, vol. i, p. 3, note.) The ready submission of the conquered is better accounted for in a subsequent part of this chapter, by their improved condition under their new masters.—Ed.]

† The Franks, who probably used the mints of Treves, Lyons, and Arles, imitated the coinage of the Roman emperors of seventy-two *solidi*, or pieces, to the pound of gold. But as the Franks established only a decuple proportion of gold and silver, ten shillings will be a sufficient valuation of their solidus of gold. It was the common standard of the barbaric fines, and contained forty *denarii*, or silver threepences. Twelve of these denarii made a *solidus* or shilling, the twentieth part of the ponderal and numeral *livre*, or pound of silver, which has been so strangely reduced in modern France. See Le Blanc, Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France, p. 37—43, &c. [Amalarich issued gold money in Spain at the same time. The "aureæ monetæ" of Ermenigild, during his rebellion (A.D. 580) are mentioned by Mariana (l. 5, c. 12). This coinage, both in Spain and Gaul, consisted chiefly of *trientes*, which form an interesting series. The *triens* was equal to one-third of the Byzantine *solidus* (long known in later times as a *Bezant*) and had generally a small, not ill-executed head of the king, with his name, though sometimes the name was that of the moneyer. On the reverse was a cross, with the name of the city where the coin was minted. Humphreys' Manual

justified by their domestic annals.* He celebrates their politeness and urbanity, their regular government and orthodox religion; and boldly asserts, that these barbarians could be distinguished only by their dress and language from the subjects of Rome. Perhaps the Franks already displayed the social disposition and lively graces which in every age have disguised their vices, and sometimes concealed their intrinsic merit. Perhaps Agathias and the Greeks were dazzled by the rapid progress of their arms, and the splendour of their empire. Since the conquest of Burgundy, Gaul, except the Gothic province of Septimania, was subject, in its whole extent, to the sons of Clovis. They had extinguished the German kingdom of Thuringia, and their vague dominion penetrated beyond the Rhine, into the heart of their native forests. The Allemanni and Bavarians, who had occupied the Roman provinces of Rhætia and Noricum to the south of the Danube, confessed themselves the humble vassals of the Franks; and the feeble barrier of the Alps was incapable of resisting their ambition. When the last survivor of the sons of Clovis united the inheritance and conquests of the Merovingians, his kingdom extended far beyond the limits of modern France. Yet modern France, such has been the progress of arts and policy, far surpasses in wealth, populousness, and power, the spacious but savage realms of Clotaire or Dagobert.†

The Franks, or French, are the only people of Europe who can deduce a perpetual succession from the conquerors of the Western empire. But their conquest of Gaul was followed by ten centuries of anarchy and ignorance. On the revival of learning, the students, who had been formed in the schools of Athens and Rome, disdained their barbarian ancestors; and a long period elapsed before patient labour could provide the requisite materials to satisfy, or rather to

of Coins, edit. Bohn, p. 517. 531.—ED.]

* Agathias, in tom. ii, p. 47. Gregory of Tours exhibits a very different picture. Perhaps it would not be easy within the same historical space, to find more vice and less virtue. We are continually shocked by the union of savage and corrupt manners. [In a continuation of the just quoted note, Mr. Hallam observes, that "In the sixth century, the Greeks appear to have been nearly ignorant of Clovis's countrymen. Nothing can be made out of a passage in Procopius; and Agathias gives a strangely romantic account of the Franks—one would almost believe him ironical."—ED.]

† M. de Foncemagne has traced in a correct and elegant dissertation (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. viii, p. 505—528) the extent and limits of

excite, the curiosity of more enlightened times.* At length the eye of criticism and philosophy was directed to the antiquities of France; but even philosophers have been tainted by the contagion of prejudice and passion. The most extreme and exclusive systems of the personal servitude of the Gauls, or of their voluntary and equal alliance with the Franks, have been rashly conceived, and obstinately defended: and the intemperate disputants have accused each other of conspiring against the prerogative of the crown, the dignity of the nobles, or the freedom of the people. Yet the sharp conflict has usefully exercised the adverse powers of learning and genius; and each antagonist, alternately vanquished and victorious, has extirpated some ancient errors, and established some interesting truths. An impartial stranger, instructed by their discoveries, their disputes, and even their faults, may describe, from the same original materials, the state of the Roman provincials, after Gaul had submitted to the arms and laws of the Merovingian kings.†

the French monarchy.

* The abbé Dubos (Histoire Critique, tom. i, p. 29—36) has truly and agreeably represented the slow progress of these studies; and he observes, that Gregory of Tours was only once printed before the year 1560. According to the complaint of Heineccius, (Opera, tom. iii, Sylloge 3, p. 248, &c.) Germany received with indifference and contempt the codes of barbaric laws, which were published by Heroldus, Lindenbrogius, &c. At present those laws (as far as they relate to Gaul), the history of Gregory of Tours, and all the monuments of the Merovingian race, appear in a pure and perfect state in the first four volumes of the Historians of France. ["Ten centuries of anarchy and ignorance!" What a prospect to open before the student of history entering on this part of his course! Yet nothing better can be looked for in ages when the *instructors* of the world taught none to read or write but their own order, and not even all of these. In such times we cannot expect to find faithful records or works of genius. We, who have emerged from the darkness, can now perceive that progress is the natural, the essential attribute of mind. But while we exult in the vigour of liberated intellect, we feel conscious that we are far below the point which we might have reached. Had the human mind been allowed to continue unchecked and unrestrained, the advance which it had accomplished during the eighteen hundred years before the age of Augustus, how much more elevated might now have been its position, how much wider its perceptions, how much more vivid its enjoyments and its happiness!—ED.]

† In the space of thirty-years, (1728—1765) this interesting subject has been agitated by the free spirit of the count de Boulainvilliers, (Mémoires Historiques sur l'Etat de la France, particularly tom. i, p. 15—49), the learned ingenuity of the abbé Dubos (Histoire Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, two vols.

The rudest, or the most servile, condition of human society, is regulated, however, by some fixed and general rules. When Tacitus surveyed the primitive simplicity of the Germans, he discovered some permanent maxims, or customs, of public and private life, which were preserved by faithful tradition, till the introduction of the art of writing, and of the Latin tongue.* Before the election of the Merovingian kings, the most powerful tribe, or nation, of the Franks, appointed four venerable chieftains to compose the *Salic* laws;† and their labours were examined and approved in three successive assemblies of the people. After the baptism of Clovis, he reformed several articles that appeared incompatible with Christianity: the Salic law was again amended by his sons; and at length, under the reign of Dagobert, the code was revised and promulgated in its actual form, one hundred years after the establishment of the French monarchy. Within the same period, the customs of the *Ripuarians* were transcribed and published; and Charlemagne himself, the legislator of his age and country, had accurately studied the *two* national laws, which still prevailed among the Franks.‡ The same care was extended to

in 4to.), the comprehensive genius of the president de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, particularly l. 28. 30, 31), and the good sense and diligence of the Abbé de Mably (Observations sur l'Histoire de France, 2 vols. 12mo.)

* I have derived much instruction from two learned works of Heineccius, the *History* and the *Elements* of the Germanic law. In a judicious preface to the Elements, he considers, and tries to excuse, the defects of that barbarous jurisprudence.

† Latin appears to have been the original language of the Salic law. It was probably composed in the beginning of the fifth century, before the era (A.D. 421) of the real or fabulous Pharamond. The preface mentions the four cantons which produced the four legislators; and many provinces, Franconia, Saxony, Hanover, Brabant, &c. have claimed them as their own. See an excellent Dissertation of Heineccius, de Lege Salicâ, tom. iii, Sylloge 3, p. 247—267.

‡ Eginhard, in Vit. Caroli Magni, c. 29, in tom. v, p. 100. By these two laws, most critics understand the Salic and the Ripuarian. The former extended from the Carbonarian forest to the Loire (tom. iv, p. 151); and the latter might be obeyed from the same forest to the Rhine (tom. iv, p. 222). [It may be doubted whether the high antiquity claimed by Gibbon for the Salic laws, can be conceded. Such a code can scarcely have been "preserved by ancient tradition till the introduction of the art of writing and of the Latin tongue." Some customs that had the force of laws, were probably so transmitted; but their digested form having been originally Latin, Mr. Hallam's opinion seems to be more correct, that they "appear to have been framed by a Christian prince, and after the conquest of Gaul. They are, therefore,

their vassals; and the rude institutions of the *Allemanni* and *Bavarians* were diligently compiled and ratified by the supreme authority of the Merovingian kings. The *Visigoths* and *Burgundians*, whose conquests in Gaul preceded those of the Franks, showed less impatience to attain one of the principal benefits of civilized society. Euric was the first of the Gothic princes who expressed in writing the manners and customs of his people; and the composition of the Burgundian laws was a measure of policy rather than of justice; to alleviate the yoke, and regain the affections, of their Gallic subjects.* Thus, by a singular coincidence, the Germans framed their artless institutions, at a time when the elaborate system of Roman jurisprudence was finally consummated. In the Salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may compare the first rudiments, and the full maturity, of civil wisdom; and whatever prejudices may be suggested in favour of barbarism, our calmer reflections will ascribe to the Romans the superior advantages, not only of science and reason, but of humanity and justice. Yet the laws of the barbarians were adapted to their wants and desires, their occupations and their capacity; and they all contributed to preserve the peace, and promote the improvements of the society for whose use they were originally established. The Merovingians, instead of imposing a uniform rule of conduct on their various subjects, permitted each people, and each family of their empire, freely to enjoy their domestic institutions;† nor were the Romans excluded

not older than Clovis. Nor can they be much later, since they were altered by one of his sons." The Ripuarian law is called by the same writer "the code of a tribe of Franks settled upon the banks of the Rhine, and differing rather in words than in substance from the Salic law, which it serves to illustrate." Middle Ages, 1. 145.—ED.]

* Consult the ancient and modern prefaces of the several codes in the fourth volume of the Historians of France. The original prologue to the Salic law, expresses (though in a foreign dialect) the genuine spirit of the Franks more forcibly than the ten books of Gregory of Tours.

† The Ripuarian law declares, and defines, this indulgence in favour of the plaintiff (tit. 31, in tom. iv, p. 240); and the same toleration is understood, or expressed, in all the codes, except that of the Visigoths of Spain. Tanta diversitas legum, (says Agobard, in the ninth century) quanta non solum in regionibus, aut civitatibus, sed etiam in multis domibus habetur. Nam plerumque contingit ut simul eant aut sedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum communem legem cum altero habeat (in tom. vi, p. 356). He foolishly proposes to introduce a uniformity of law as well as of faith.

from the common benefits of this legal toleration.* The children embraced the *law* of their parents, the wife that of her husband, the freedman that of his patron; and, in all causes, where the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or accuser, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant, who may always plead a judicial presumption of right or innocence. A more ample latitude was allowed, if every citizen, in the presence of the judge, might declare the law under which he desired to live, and the national society to which he chose to belong. Such an indulgence would abolish the partial distinctions of victory; and the Roman provincials might patiently acquiesce in the hardships of their condition; since it depended on themselves to assume the privilege, if they dared to assert the character, of free and warlike barbarians.†

When justice inexorably requires the death of a murderer, each private citizen is fortified by the assurance, that the laws, the magistrate, and the whole community, are the guardians of his personal safety. But in the loose society of the Germans, revenge was always honourable, and often meritorious; the independent warrior chastised, or vindicated, with his own hand, the injuries which he had offered or received; and he had only to dread the resentment of the sons and kinsmen of the enemy, whom he had sacrificed to his selfish or angry passions. The magistrate, conscious of his weakness, interposed, not to punish, but to reconcile; and he was satisfied if he could persuade or compel the contending parties to pay, and to accept, the moderate fine

* Inter Romanos negotia causarum Romanis legibus præcipimus terminari. Such are the words of a general constitution promulgated by Clotaire the son of Clovis, and sole monarch of the Franks, (in tom. iv, p. 116) about the year 560. † This liberty of choice has been aptly deduced (Esprit des Loix, l. 28. 2) from a constitution of Lothaire I. (Leg. Langobard. l. 2, tit. 57, in Codex Lindenbrog. p. 664) though the example is too recent and partial. From a various reading in the Salic law (tit. 44, not 45) the abbé de Mably (tom. i, p. 290--293) has conjectured, that, at first, a *barbarian* only, and afterwards any *man* (consequently a Roman), might live according to the law of the Franks. I am sorry to offend this ingenious conjecture by observing, that the stricter sense (*barbarum*) is expressed in the reformed copy of Charlemagne; which is confirmed by the Royal and Wolfenbuttle MSS. The looser interpretation (*hominem*) is authorised only by the MS. of Fulda, from whence Heroldus published his edition. See the four original texts of the Salic law, in tom. iv. p. 147.

which had been ascertained as the price of blood.* The fierce spirit of the Franks would have opposed a more rigorous sentence; the same fierceness despised these ineffectual restraints: and when their simple manners had been corrupted by the wealth of Gaul, the public peace was continually violated by acts of hasty or deliberate guilt. In every just government, the same penalty is inflicted, or at least is imposed, for the murder of a peasant or a prince. But the national inequality, established by the Franks in their criminal proceedings, was the last insult and abuse of

173. 196. 220. [Montesquieu's inference from Lothaire's law, which Gibbon doubts, Mr. Hallam accepts. The words which he quotes, are as explicit as could be used. "Volumus, ut cunctus populus Romanus interrogetur, quali lege vult vivere, ut tali, quali professi fuerint vivere velle, vivant." (It is our will that all Romans should be asked what law they wish to live under, and that they should live under that which they choose.) Though the date be 824, it is very improbable that any change should have been introduced at that period, but that an old custom was confirmed. The conquerors, who had never from the first imposed their laws on their new subjects, but left them free to enjoy their own, would not have denied them the lesser liberty of submitting themselves, if they wished it, to the code of their rulers. By degrees the latter prevailed, especially to the north of the Loire, where the feudal customs of succession and the pecuniary atonements for crime "contributed to extirpate the Roman jurisprudence." In the south of France the distinction was much longer maintained. Hallam, i. 149.—ED.]

* In the heroic times of Greece, the guilt of murder was expiated by a pecuniary satisfaction to the family of the deceased. (Feithius, Antiquitat. Homeric. l. 2, c. 8.) Heineccius, in his preface to the Elements of Germanic Law, favourably suggests, that at Rome and Athens homicide was only punished with exile. It is true: but exile was a *capital* punishment for a citizen of Rome or Athens. [The Roman law on this subject is clearly explained by Niebuhr (Lectures, i, p. 316.) who says: "It is a generally received opinion, that every Roman citizen had the right of saving himself from the punishment of death by exile. If such had been the case, it might well be wondered why capital punishments, of which the old Roman laws have so many, were instituted at all. The deposition of witnesses to a *delictum*, was sufficient to have the accused instantly arrested and dragged before the magistrate. If it was no *delictum manifestum*, and he was a plebeian, he applied to the tribune and gave bail. Should he thus manage to get free, he might leave his sureties in the lurch and go into exile. But if he had been caught in a *delictum manifestum in flagranti*, and the *testes tocupletes* asserted that they had been present, thereby identifying his person, no trial was allowed, but he was, *obtorto collo*, with his toga drawn over his head, conducted before the magistrate, who then at once gave judgment. The passages which prove this, are to be found in Livy and Cicero."—ED.]

conquest.* In the calm moments of legislation, they solemnly pronounced that the life of a Roman was of smaller value than that of a barbarian. The *Antrustion*,† a name expressive of the most illustrious birth or dignity among the Franks, was appreciated at the sum of six hundred pieces of

* This proportion is fixed by the Salic (tit. 44, in tom. iv, p. 147) and the Ripuarian (tit. 7. 11. 36, in tom. iv, p. 237. 241) laws: but the latter does not distinguish any difference of Romans. Yet the orders of the clergy are placed above the Franks themselves, and the Burgundians and Allemanni between the Franks and the Romans. [Gibbon ought to have added here what he afterwards states, that the *weregild* of a priest was equal to that of an Antrustion, six hundred pieces of gold, but that of a bishop *nine hundred*. The relative places of individuals in the social scale, and their respective degrees of influence, cannot be more lucidly marked. It should also be remembered, that almost all the bishops and clergy were Romans, to whom in any other capacity, the very lowest rank would have been assigned. Hallam, vol. i, p. 147, and note.—ED.]

† The *Antrustiones, qui in truste dominica sunt, leudi, fideles*, undoubtedly represent the first order of Franks; but it is a question whether their rank was personal or hereditary. The abbé de Mably (tom. i, p. 334—347) is not displeased to mortify the pride of birth, (Esprit, l. 30, c. 25) by dating the origin of French nobility from the reign of Clotaire II. (A.D. 615.) [The rude, half-settled form of government, in those days, was no more, as Schmidt justly observes, than the sapling, which was to grow up into the oak of after ages; and by this he endeavoured to reconcile the praises of Grotius with the censures of Leibnitz, on the earliest laws of their Gothic progenitors. (Geschichte der Deutschen, l. 199.) Vanity alone would seek there for an hereditary nobility. This, Mr. Hallam considers on good grounds (vol. i, p. 157) to have been unknown among the Franks, till long after their settlement in Gaul. The *Antrustion*, undoubtedly then their highest title, was clearly a personal distinction, and has not left even such traces of perpetuated rank, as *Dux* and *Comes* subsequently introduced. Ducange (l. 539) gives it the meaning of "*fidelis domino*," and derives it from *Trustis*. This (6. 1325) he makes equivalent with *fides* or *fiducia*, and the latinized form of the German *Trost*. Here Adelung steps in and tells us (4. 1073) that, though the German word now denotes only *consolation*, in ancient times it expressed *Zuversicht, Vertrauen*, (*confidence*) and it is pleasant to follow him through the etymological windings, by which (p. 1032 1054) he discovers its root in the adjective *treu* (our *true* or *faithful*) which Ulphilas used in the uncouth shape of *triggwa*. The *Antrustion* was, therefore, the *trusted*, the *confidant*, from whom his king sought advice on important occasions, and may be considered to be now represented by our *privy councillor*, or *cabinet councillor*. It was, therefore, a *right honourable* designation, but so far from being hereditary, it was most probably resumable whenever the sovereign's displeasure declared the holder of it be *untrustworthy*. How nearly the ancient term and

gold; while the noble provincial, who was admitted to the king's table, might be legally murdered at the expense of three hundred pieces. Two hundred were deemed sufficient for a Frank of ordinary condition; but the meaner Romans were exposed to disgrace and danger by a trifling compensation of one hundred, or even fifty pieces of gold. Had these laws been regulated by any principle of equity or reason, the public protection should have supplied in just proportion the want of personal strength. But the legislator had weighed in the scale, not of justice, but of policy, the loss of a soldier against that of a slave; the head of an insolent and rapacious barbarian was guarded by a heavy fine; and the slightest aid was afforded to the most defenceless subjects. Time insensibly abated the pride of the conquerors, and the patience of the vanquished; and the boldest citizen was taught by experience, that he might suffer more injuries than he could inflict. As the manners of the Franks became less ferocious, their laws were rendered more severe; and the Merovingian kings attempted to imitate the impartial rigour of the Visigoths and Burgundians.* Under the empire of Charlemagne, murder was universally punished with death; and the use of capital punishments has been liberally multiplied in the jurisprudence of modern Europe.†

The civil and military professions, which had been separated by Constantine, were again united by the barbarians. The harsh sound of the Teutonic appellations was mollified into the Latin titles of duke, of count, or of prefect; and the same officer assumed, within his district, the command

its sense are seen combined in our English phrase "*A trusty one.*"—ED.] * See the Burgundian laws (tit. 2, in tom. iv, p. 257), the Code of the Visigoths (l. 6, tit. 5, in tom. iv, p. 384), and the constitution of *Childebert*, not of Paris, but most evidently of Austrasia (in tom. iv, p. 112). Their premature severity was sometimes rash and excessive. Childebert condemned not only murderers but robbers: quomodo sine lege involavit, sine lege moriatur; and even the negligent judge was involved in the same sentence. The Visigoths abandoned an unsuccessful surgeon to the family of his deceased patient, ut quod de eo facere voluerint habeant potestatem (l. 11, tit. 1, in tom. iv, p. 435). † See in the sixth volume of the works of Heineccius, the Elementa Juris Germanici, l. 2, p. 2, No. 261, 262. 280—283. Yet some vestiges of these pecuniary compositions for murder have been traced in Germany, as late as the sixteenth century.

of the troops, and the administration of justice.* But the fierce and illiterate chieftain was seldom qualified to discharge the duties of a judge, which require all the faculties of a philosophic mind, laboriously cultivated by experience and study; and his rude ignorance was compelled to embrace some simple and visible methods of ascertaining the cause of justice. In every religion, the Deity has been invoked to confirm the truth, or to punish the falsehood, of human testimony; but this powerful instrument was misapplied and abused, by the simplicity of the German legislators. The party accused might justify his innocence, by producing before their tribunal a number of friendly witnesses, who solemnly declared their belief, or assurance, that he was not guilty. According to the weight of the charge this legal number of *compurgators* was multiplied; seventy-two voices were required to absolve an incendiary, or assassin; and when the chastity of a queen of France was suspected, three hundred gallant nobles swore, without hesitation, that the infant prince had been actually begotten by her deceased husband.† The sin and scandal of manifest and frequent perjuries engaged the magistrates to remove these dangerous temptations; and to supply the defects of human testimony, by the famous experiments of fire and water. These extraordinary trials were so capriciously contrived, that, in some cases, guilt, and innocence in others, could not be proved without the interposition of a miracle. Such miracles were readily provided by fraud and credulity; the most intricate causes were determined by this easy and infallible method; and the turbulent barbarians, who might have disdained the sentence of the magistrate, submissively acquiesced in the judgment of God.‡

* The whole subject of the Germanic judges and their jurisdiction, is copiously treated by Heineccius. (Element. Jur. Germ. l. 3, No. 1—72.) I cannot find any proof that, under the Merovingian race, the *scabini*, or assessors, were chosen by the people.

† Gregor. Turon. l. 8, c. 9, in tom. ii, p. 316. Montesquieu observes, (Esprit des Loix, l. 28, c. 13) that the Salic law did not admit these *negative proofs* so universally established in the barbaric codes. Yet this obscure concubine (Fredegundis), who became the wife of the grandson of Clovis, must have followed the Salic law.

‡ Muratori, in the Antiquities of Italy, has given two Dissertations (38, 39) on the *judgments of God*. It was expected that *fire* would not burn the innocent; and that the pure element of *water* would not

But the trials by single combat gradually obtained superior credit and authority among a warlike people, who could not believe that a brave man deserved to suffer, or that a coward deserved to live.* Both in civil and criminal proceedings, the plaintiff, or accuser, the defendant, or even the witness, were exposed to mortal challenge from the antagonist who was destitute of legal proofs; and it was incumbent on them either to desert their cause, or publicly to maintain their honour in the lists of battle. They fought either on foot or on horseback, according to the custom of their nation;† and the decision of the sword or lance was ratified by the sanction of Heaven, of the judge, and of the people. This sanguinary law was introduced into Gaul by the Burgundians; and their legislator, Gundobald,‡ condescended to answer the complaints and objections of his subject Avitus. "Is it not true (said the king of Burgundy to the bishop) that the event of national wars and private combats is directed by the judgment of God; and that his providence awards the victory to the juster cause?" By such prevailing arguments, the absurd and cruel practice of judicial duels, which had been peculiar to some tribes of Germany, was propagated and established in all the monarchies of Europe from Sicily to the Baltic. At the end of ten centuries, the reign of legal violence was not totally extinguished; and the ineffectual censures of saints, of popes, and of synods, may seem to prove, that the influence of superstition is weakened by its unnatural

allow the guilty to sink into its bosom. * Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 28, c. 17) has condescended to explain and excuse "la manière de penser de nos pères," on the subject of judicial combats. He follows this strange institution from the age of Gundobald to that of St. Louis; and the philosopher is sometimes lost in the legal antiquarian. † In a memorable duel at Aix-la-Chapelle, (A.D. 820) before the emperor Louis the Pious, his biographer observes, secundum legem propriam, utpote quia uterque Gothus erat, equestri pugnâ congressus est (Vit. Lud. Pii, c. 33, in tom. vi, p. 103.) Ermoldus Nigellus, (l. 3, 543—628, in tom. vi, p. 48—50) who describes the duel, admires the *ars nova* of fighting on horseback, which was unknown to the Franks. ‡ In his original edict published at Lyons, (A.D. 501,) Gundobald establishes and justifies the use of judicial combat. (Leg. Burgund. tit 45, in tom. ii, p. 267, 268.) Three hundred years afterwards, Agobard, bishop of Lyons, solicited Louis the Pious to abolish the law of an Arian tyrant (in tom. vi, p. 356—358). He relates the conversation of Gundobald and Avitus.

alliance with reason and humanity. The tribunals were stained with the blood, perhaps, of innocent and respectable citizens; the law which now favours the rich, then yielded to the strong; and the old, the feeble, and the infirm were condemned, either to renounce their fairest claims and possessions, to sustain the dangers of an unequal conflict,* or to trust the doubtful aid of a mercenary champion. This oppressive jurisprudence was imposed on the provincials of Gaul, who complained of any injuries in their persons and property. Whatever might be the strength or courage of individuals, the victorious barbarians excelled in the love and exercise of arms; and the vanquished Roman was unjustly summoned to repeat in his own person the bloody contest which had been already decided against his country.†

A devouring host of one hundred and twenty thousand Germans had formerly passed the Rhine under the command of Ariovistus. One-third part of the fertile lands of the Sequani was appropriated to their use; and the conqueror soon repeated his oppressive demand of another third, for the accommodation of a new colony of twenty-four thousand barbarians, whom he had invited to share the rich harvest of Gaul.‡ At the distance of five hundred years, the Visigoths and Burgundians, who revenged the defeat of Ariovistus, usurped the same unequal proportion of *two-thirds* of the subject lands. But this distribution, instead of spreading over the province, may be reasonably confined to the peculiar districts where the victorious people had been planted by their own choice, or by the policy of their

* "Accidit (says Agobard) ut non solum valentes viribus, sed etiam infirmi et senes lacessantur ad pugnam, etiam pro vilissimis rebus. Quibus foralibus certaminibus contingunt homicidia injusta; et crudeles ac perversi eventus judiciorum." Like a prudent rhetorician, he suppresses the legal privilege of hiring champions.

† Montesquieu, (Esprit des Loix, 28, c. 14,) who understands *why* the judicial combat was admitted by the Burgundians, Ripuarians, Allemanni, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Frisons, and Saxons, is satisfied (and Agobard seems to countenance the assertion) that it was not allowed by the Salic law. Yet the same custom, at least in cases of treason, is mentioned by Ermoldus Nigellus, (l. 3, 543, in tom. vi, p. 48,) and the anonymous biographer of Louis the Pious, (c. 46, in tom. vi, p. 112,) as the "mos antiquus Francorum, more Francis solito." &c., expressions too general to exclude the noblest of their tribes.

‡ Cæsar de Bell. Gall. l. 1, c. 31, in tom. i, p. 213.

leader. In these districts, each barbarian was connected by the ties of hospitality with some Roman provincial. To this unwelcome guest, the proprietor was compelled to abandon two-thirds of his patrimony: but the German, a shepherd and a hunter, might sometimes content himself with a spacious range of wood and pasture, and resign the smallest, though most valuable, portion to the toil of the industrious husbandman.* The silence of ancient and authentic testimony has encouraged an opinion, that the rapine of the Franks was not moderated or disguised by the forms of a legal division; that they dispersed themselves over the provinces of Gaul without order or control; and that each victorious robber, according to his wants, his avarice, and his strength, measured with his sword the extent of his new inheritance. At a distance from their sovereign, the barbarians might indeed be tempted to exercise such arbitrary depredation; but the firm and artful policy of Clovis must curb a licentious spirit, which would aggravate the misery of the vanquished, whilst it corrupted the union and discipline of the conquerors. The memorable vase of Soissons is a monument and a pledge of the regular distribution of the Gallic spoils. It was the duty and the interest of Clovis to provide rewards for a successful army, and settlements for a numerous people; without inflicting any wanton or superfluous injuries on the loyal Catholics of Gaul. The ample fund, which he might lawfully acquire of the imperial patrimony, vacant lands, and Gothic usurpations, would diminish the cruel necessity of seizure and confiscation; and the humble provincials would more

* The obscure hints of a division of lands occasionally scattered in the laws of the Burgundians (tit. liv. No. 1, 2, in tom. iv, p. 271, 272,) and Visigoths, (l. 10, tit. 1, No. 8. 9, 16, in tom. iv, p. 428—430,) are skilfully explained by the president Montesquieu. (Esprit des Loix, l. 30, c. 7—9.) I shall only add, that, among the Goths, the division seems to have been ascertained by the judgment of the neighbourhood; that the barbarians frequently usurped the remaining *third*, and that the Romans might recover their right, unless they were barred by a prescription of fifty years. [The Franks, who took possession of Gaul, appear to have been, for the most part, an army of adventurous young men; not a colony followed by families and dependents. (Schmidt, 1. 192.) This idea has been taken up by Sismondi (Hist. des François, 1. p. 197), who deduced from it many consequences. It must be borne in mind, for it will account for much that was peculiar in their laws, in their more matured institutions,

patiently acquiesce in the equal and regular distribution of their loss.*

The wealth of the Merovingian princes consisted in their extensive domain. After the conquest of Gaul, they still delighted in the rustic simplicity of their ancestors; the cities were abandoned to solitude and decay; and their coins, their charters, and their synods are still inscribed with the names of the villas, or rural palaces, in which they successively resided. One hundred and sixty of these *palaces*, a title which need not excite any unseasonable ideas of art or luxury, were scattered through the provinces of their kingdom; and if some might claim the honours of a fortress, the far greater part could be esteemed only in the light of profitable farms. The mansion of the long-haired kings was surrounded with convenient yards and stables for the cattle and the poultry; the garden was planted with useful vegetables; the various trades, the labours of agriculture, and even the arts of hunting and fishing, were exercised by servile hands, for the emolument of the sovereign; his magazines were filled with corn and wine, either for sale or consumption; and the whole administration was conducted by the strictest maxims of private economy.† This ample patrimony was appro-

and in the general character subsequently appertaining to the people of France.—Ed.] * It is singular enough, that the president de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 30, c. 7), and the Abbé de Mably, (Observations, tom. i, p. 21, 22), agree in this strange supposition of arbitrary and private rapine. The count de Boulainvilliers, (Etat de la France, tom. i, p. 22, 23,) shews a strong understanding, through a cloud of ignorance and prejudice. † See the rustic edict, or rather code, of Charlemagne, which contains seventy distinct and minute regulations of that great monarch (in tom. v, p. 652—657). He requires an account of the horns and skins of the goats; allows his fish to be sold; and carefully directs, that the larger villas (*Capitanere*) shall maintain one hundred hens and thirty geese; and the smaller (*Mansionales*) fifty hens and twelve geese. Mabillon (de Re Diplomatica) has investigated the names, the number, and the situation of the Merovingian villas. [A ruined wall now shows where one of these stood, in the depths of a forest, a few miles to the west of the University of Marburg, in Hesse Cassel. It still bears the name of Dagobertshaus. When the writer visited the spot, there was also an aged oak, which is said to be mentioned in some ancient chronicle, as having sheltered the building in the days of its royal owner. The hollow trunk was so capacious, that it was used as a shed for his cattle, by a peasant who lived near. There is no villa in Mabillon's long list

priated to supply the hospitable plenty of Clovis and his successors; and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions, who, both in peace and war, were devoted to their personal service. Instead of a horse, or a suit of armour, each companion, according to his rank, or merit, or favour, was invested with a benefice, the primitive name, and most simple form of the feudal possessions. These gifts might be resumed at the pleasure of the sovereign; and his feeble prerogative derived some support from the influence of his liberality. But this dependent tenure was gradually abolished* by the independent and rapacious nobles of France, who established the perpetual property and hereditary succession of their benefices; a revolution salutary to the earth, which had been injured or neglected by its precarious masters.† Besides these royal and beneficiary estates, a large proportion had been assigned, in the division of Gaul, of allodial and Salic lands: they were exempt from tribute, and the Salic lands were equally shared among the male descendants of the Franks.‡

that answers to this. It was probably an outlying hunting-lodge, for he says (p. 273) that every royal seat had many dependencies and was always situated (p. 254) in the neighbourhood of an extensive forest, where the monarch might pursue the pleasures of the chase. Dagobertshaus might be such an appendage either to the villa at Frankfort on the Maine (p. 293,) or to that at Wasal, Wesel, or St. Goar, (p. 356.) —Ed.]

* From a passage of the Burgundian law, (tit. 1, No. 4, in tom. iv, p. 257,) it is evident, that a deserving son might expect to hold the lands which his father had received from the royal bounty of Gundobald. The Burgundians would firmly maintain their privilege, and their example might encourage the beneficiaries of France.

† The revolutions of the benefices and fiefs are clearly fixed by the Abbé de Mably. His accurate distinction of *times* gives him a merit to which even Montesquieu is a stranger.

‡ See the Salic law (Tit. 62, in tom. iv, p. 156.) The origin and nature of these Salic lands, which in times of ignorance were perfectly understood, now perplex our most learned and sagacious critics. [The explanation of the disputed terms, *benefices*, *allodial* and *salic* lands, given by Mr. Hallam (vol. i, p. 144—166,) is the most satisfactory and consonant to the course taken by the new occupants. "A people not very numerous," he says, "spread over the spacious provinces of Gaul, wherever lands were assigned to or seized by them;" and he refers to a passage, in which Du Bos maintains that there were not more than three or four thousand Franks in the army of Clovis. Still every soldier, of whatever tribe, had for his reward a considerable estate; and these allotments to the *leuden* or *people*, were called *allodial*, to distinguish them from the *fiscal* lands, appropriated to the king. They were independent freeholds, to which

In the bloody discord and silent decay of the Merovingian line a new order of tyrants arose in the provinces, who, under the appellations of *Seniors*, or Lords, usurped a right to govern, and a licence to oppress, the subjects of their peculiar territory. Their ambition might be checked by the hostile resistance of an equal; but the laws were extinguished; and the sacrilegious barbarians, who dared to provoke the vengeance of a saint or bishop,* would seldom respect the landmarks of a profane and defenceless neighbour. The common or public rights of nature, such as they had always been deemed by the Roman jurisprudence,† were severely restrained by the German conquerors, whose amusement, or rather passion, was the exercise of hunting. The vague dominion which MAN has assumed over the wild inhabitants of the earth, the air, and the waters, was confined to some fortunate individuals of the human species. Gaul was again overspread with woods; and the animals, who were reserved for the use or pleasure of the lord, might ravage with impunity the fields of his industrious vassals. The chase was the sacred privilege of the nobles and their domestic servants. Plebeian transgressors were legally chastised with stripes and imprisonment;‡ but in an age which admitted a slight composition

the owner had an indefeasible right. But "to secure the military service of every proprietor," females were prohibited from inheriting these lands. Few of the Franks having then families, for whom they were interested, this law was adopted by general consent; but it did not extend to any additional properties, which by any means they subsequently acquired. These were also called *allodial*, and the original grants, in consequence of the rule of descent to which they were subject, received the name of *Salic*. The *benefices* were portions of the fiscal lands, distributed at will by the sovereign, as stated by Gibbon, and were the first commencement of the feudal system. But Mr. Hallam (p. 161) shows them to have been hereditary on certain conditions, and only resumable "when some delinquency could be imputed to the vassal."—ED.]

* Many of the two hundred and six miracles of St. Martin (Greg. Turon. in Maximâ Bibliothecâ Patrum, tom. xi, p. 896—932,) were repeatedly performed to punish sacrilege. Audite hæc omnes (exclaims the bishop of Tours) potestatem habentes, after relating how some horses ran mad, that had been turned into a sacred meadow.

† Heinec. Element. Jur. Germ. l. 2, p. 1, No. 8.

‡ Jonas, bishop of Orleans (A.D. 821—826. Cave, Hist. Literaria, p. 443,) censures the *legal* tyranny of the nobles. Pro feris, quas cura hominum non aluit, sed Deus in commune mortalibus ad utendum concessit, pauperes a potentioribus spoliantur, flagellantur, ergastulis

for the life of a citizen, it was a capital crime to destroy a stag or a wild bull within the precincts of the royal forests.*

According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful master of the enemy whom he had subdued and spared;† and the fruitful cause of personal slavery, which had been almost suppressed by the peaceful sovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by the perpetual hostilities of the independent barbarians. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a successful expedition, dragged after him a long train of sheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the same brutal contempt. The youths of an elegant form and ingenuous aspect were set apart for the domestic service; a doubtful situation, which alternately exposed them to the favourable or cruel impulse of passion. The useful mechanics and servants (smiths, carpenters, tailors, shoemakers, cooks, gardeners, dyers, and workmen in gold and silver, &c.) employed their skill for the use or profit of their master. But the Roman captives, who were destitute of art, but capable of labour, were condemned, without regard to their former rank, to tend the cattle and cultivate the lands of the barbarians. The number of the hereditary bondsmen who were attached to the Gallic estates, was continually increased by new supplies; and the servile people, according to the situation and temper of their lords, was sometimes raised by precarious indulgence, and more frequently depressed by capricious despotism.‡ An abso-

detruduntur, et multa alia patiuntur. Hoc enim qui faciunt, *lege mundi* se facere juste posse contendant. De Institutione Laicorum, l. 2, c. 23, apud Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii, p. 1348.

* On a mere suspicion, Chundo, a chamberlain of Gontran, king of Burgundy, was stoned to death. (Greg. Turon. l. 10, c. 10. in tom. ii, p. 369.) John of Salisbury (Polycrat. l. 1, c. 4,) asserts the rights of nature, and exposes the cruel practice of the twelfth century. See Heineccius, Elem. Jur. Germ. l. 2, p. 1, No. 51—57.

† The custom of enslaving prisoners of war was totally extinguished in the thirteenth century, by the prevailing influence of Christianity; but it might be proved, from frequent passages of Gregory of Tours, &c., that it was practised without censure, under the Merovingian race; and even Grotius himself (de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. 3, c. 7,) as well as his commentator Barbeyrac, have laboured to reconcile it with the laws of nature and reason.

‡ The state, professions, &c., of the German, Italian, and Gallic slaves, during the middle ages, are explained by Heineccius, (Element. Jur. Germ. l. 1, No. 28—47);

lute power of life and death was exercised by these lords; and when they married their daughters, a train of useful servants, chained on the wagons to prevent their escape, was sent as a nuptial present into a distant country.* The majesty of the Roman laws protected the liberty of each citizen against the rash effects of his own distress or despair. But the subjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their personal freedom; and this act of legal suicide, which was familiarly practised, is expressed in terms most disgraceful and afflicting to the dignity of human nature.† The example of the poor, who purchased life by the sacrifice of all that can render life desirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public disorder, pusillanimously crowded to shelter themselves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the shrine of a popular saint. Their submission was accepted by these temporal or spiritual patrons; and the hasty transaction irrecoverably fixed their own condition, and that of their latest posterity. From the reign of Clovis, during five successive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase, and to confirm the duration, of personal servitude. Time and violence almost obliterated the intermediate ranks of society; and left an obscure and narrow interval between the noble and the slave. This arbitrary and recent division has been transformed by pride and prejudice into a national distinction, universally established by the arms and the laws of the Merovingians. The nobles, who claimed their genuine or fabulous descent from the independent and victorious Franks, have asserted and abused the indefeasible right of conquest over a prostrate crowd of slaves and

Muratori (Dissert. 14, 15); Ducange (Gloss. sub. voce *Servi*); and the Abbé de Mably (Observations, tom. ii, p. 3, &c., p. 237, &c.)

* Gregory of Tours (l. 6, c. 45, in tom. ii, p. 289) relates a memorable example, in which Chilperic only abused the private rights of a master. Many families which belonged to his *domus fiscales* in the neighbourhood of Paris, were forcibly sent away into Spain.

† Licentiam habeatis mihi qualemcunque voluerítis disciplinam ponere: vel venumdare, aut quod vobis placuerit de me facere. Marculf. Formul. l. 2, 28, in tom. iv, p. 497. The *Formula* of Lindenbrogius (p. 559), and that of Anjou (p. 565), are to the same effect. Gregory of Tours (l. 7, c. 45, in tom. ii, p. 311), speaks of many persons, who sold themselves for bread, in a great famine.

plebeians, to whom they imputed the imaginary disgrace of a Gallic or Roman extraction.

The general state and revolutions of *France*, a name which was imposed by the conquerors, may be illustrated by the particular example of a province, a diocese, or a senatorial family. Auvergne had formerly maintained a just pre-eminence among the independent states and cities of Gaul. The brave and numerous inhabitants displayed a singular trophy; the sword of Cæsar himself, which he had lost when he was repulsed before the walls of Gergovia.* As the common offspring of Troy, they claimed a fraternal alliance with the Romans;† and if each province had imitated the courage and loyalty of Auvergne, the fall of the Western empire might have been prevented or delayed. They firmly maintained the fidelity which they had reluctantly sworn to the Visigoths; but when their bravest nobles had fallen in the battle of Poitiers, they accepted without resistance a victorious and Catholic sovereign. This easy and valuable conquest was achieved and possessed by Theodoric, the eldest son of Clovis: but the remote province was separated from his Austrasian dominions by the intermediate kingdoms of Soissons, Paris, and Orleans, which formed, after their father's death, the inheritance of his three brothers. The king of Paris, Childebert, was tempted by the neighbourhood and beauty of Auvergne.‡ The Upper country, which rises towards the south into the mountains of the Cevennes, presented a rich and various prospect of woods and pastures; the sides of the hills were clothed with vines, and each eminence was crowned with

* When Cæsar saw it, he laughed (Plutarch. in Cæsar. in tom. i, p. 409); yet he relates his unsuccessful siege of Gergovia with less frankness than we might expect from a great man to whom victory was familiar. He acknowledges, however, that in one attack he lost forty-six centurions and seven hundred men. (De Bell. Gallico, l. 6, c. 44—53, in tom. i, p. 270—272.)

† Audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere, et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare. (Sidon. Apollinar. l. 7, epist. 7, in tom. i, p. 799.) I am not informed of the degrees and circumstances of this fabulous pedigree.

‡ Either the first, or second, partition among the sons of Clovis, had given Berry to Childebert. (Greg. Turon. l. 3, c. 12, in tom. ii, p. 192.) Velim (said he) Arvernam *Lemanem*, quæ tantâ jocunditatis gratiâ refulgere dicitur, oculis cernere. (l. 3, c. 9, p. 191.) The face of the country was concealed by a thick fog, when the king of Paris made

a villa or castle. In the lower Auvergne the river Allier flows through the fair and spacious plain of Limagne; and the inexhaustible fertility of the soil supplied, and still supplies, without any interval of repose, the constant repetition of the same harvests.* On the false report that their lawful sovereign had been slain in Germany, the city and diocese of Auvergne were betrayed by the grandson of Sidonius Apollinaris. Childebert enjoyed this clandestine victory; and the free subjects of Theodoric threatened to desert his standard if he indulged his private resentment while the nation was engaged in the Burgundian war. But the Franks of Austrasia soon yielded to the persuasive eloquence of their king. "Follow me," said Theodoric "into Auvergne: I will lead you into a province where you may acquire gold, silver, slaves, cattle, and precious apparel, to the full extent of your wishes. I repeat my promise; I give you the people, and their wealth, as your prey; and you may transport them at pleasure into your own country." By the execution of this promise, Theodoric justly forfeited the allegiance of a people whom he devoted to destruction. His troops, reinforced by the fiercest barbarians of Germany,† spread desolation over the fruitful face of Auvergne; and two places only, a strong castle and a holy shrine, were saved, or redeemed, from their licentious fury. The castle of Meroliac ‡ was seated on a lofty rock, which rose a hundred feet above the surface of the plain; and a large reservoir of fresh water was enclosed, with some arable lands, within the circle of its fortifications. The Franks beheld with envy and despair this impregnable

his entry into Clermont.

* For the description of Auvergne, see Sidonius (l. 4, epist. 21, in tom. i, p. 793), with the notes of Savaron and Sirmond (p. 279, and 51, of their respective editions). Boulainvilliers (Etat de la France, tom. ii, p. 242—268), and the Abbé de la Longuerue (Description de la France, part 1, p. 132—139).

† Furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte venerant, superare non poterat, (Greg. Turon. l. 4, c. 50, in tom. ii, 229,) was the excuse of another king of Austrasia, (A.D. 574,) for the ravages which his troops committed in the neighbourhood of Paris.

‡ From the name and situation, the Benedictine editors of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii, p. 192) have fixed this fortress at a place named *Castel Merliac*, two miles from Mauriac in the upper Auvergne. In this description, I translate *infra* as if I read *intra*; the two prepositions are perpetually confounded by Gregory or his transcribers;

fortress: but they surprised a party of fifty stragglers; and, as they were oppressed by the number of their captives, they fixed, at a trifling ransom, the alternative of life or death for these wretched victims, whom the cruel barbarians were prepared to massacre on the refusal of the garrison. Another detachment penetrated as far as Brivas, or Brioude, where the inhabitants, with their valuable effects, had taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Julian. The doors of the church resisted the assault, but a daring soldier entered through a window of the choir and opened a passage to his companions. The clergy and people, the sacred and the profane spoils, were rudely torn from the altar; and the sacrilegious division was made at a small distance from the town of Brioude. But this act of impiety was severely chastised by the devout son of Clovis. He punished with death the most atrocious offenders; left their secret accomplices to the vengeance of St. Julian; released the captives; restored the plunder; and extended the rights of sanctuary five miles round the sepulchre of the holy martyr.*

Before the Austrasian army retreated from Auvergne, Theodoric exacted some pledges of the future loyalty of a people, whose just hatred could be restrained only by their fear. A select band of noble youths, the sons of the principal senators, was delivered to the conqueror, as the hostages of the faith of Childebert, and of their countrymen. On the first rumour of war or conspiracy, these guiltless youths were reduced to a state of servitude; and one of them, Attalus,† whose adventures are more particularly related,

and the sense must always decide. * See these revolutions and wars of Auvergne in Gregory of Tours (l. 2, c. 37, in tom. ii, p. 183, and l. 3, c. 9. 12, 13, p. 191, 192, de Miraculis St. Julian. c. 13, in tom. ii, p. 466.) He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to his native country. [Of all the miracles fabricated in that age, so prolific of such wonders, there is not one, which had not the obvious design of either protecting or increasing the wealth of the church. —Ed.] † The story of Attalus is related by Gregory of Tours (l. 3, c. 16, in tom. ii, p. 193—195.) His editor, the P. Ruinart, confounds this Attalus, who was a youth (*puer*) in the year 532, with a friend of Sidonius of the same name, who was count of Autun fifty or sixty years before. Such an error, which cannot be imputed to ignorance, is excused, in some degree, by its own magnitude. [If this unfortunate land had been so depopulated, deprived of all means of resistance, and all its inhabitants given up to be transported by the conquerors to their own country, how could there have been found

kept his master's horses in the diocese of Treves. After a painful search he was discovered, in this unworthy occupation, by the emissaries of his grandfather, Gregory, bishop of Langres; but his offers of ransom were sternly rejected by the avarice of the barbarian, who required an exorbitant sum of ten pounds of gold for the freedom of his noble captive. His deliverance was effected by the hardy stratagem of Leo, a slave belonging to the kitchens of the bishop of Langres.* An unknown agent easily introduced him into the same family. The barbarian purchased Leo for the price of twelve pieces of gold; and was pleased to learn, that he was deeply skilled in the luxury of an episcopal table. "Next Sunday (said the Frank) I shall invite my neighbours and kinsmen. Exert thy art, and force them to confess, that they have never seen or tasted such an entertainment, even in the king's house." Leo assured him, that if he would provide a sufficient quantity of poultry, his wishes should be satisfied. The master, who already aspired to the merit of elegant hospitality, assumed as his own, the praise which the voracious guests unanimously bestowed on his cook; and the dexterous Leo insensibly acquired the trust and management of his household. After the patient expectation of a whole year, he cautiously whispered his design to Attalus, and exhorted him to prepare for flight in the ensuing night. At the hour of midnight, the intemperate guests retired from table; and the Frank's son-in-law, whom Leo attended to his apartment with a nocturnal potation, condescended to jest on the facility with which he might betray his trust. The intrepid slave, after sustaining this dangerous raillery, entered his master's bedchamber; removed his spear and

"a select band of noble youths, the sons of the principal senators," to be delivered to Theodoric as hostages? The story of Attalus must be a fiction, or the devastation of Auvergne grossly exaggerated.—ED.]

* This Gregory, the great grandfather of Gregory of Tours, (in tom. ii, p. 197. 490) lived ninety-two years; of which he passed forty as count of Autun, and thirty-two as bishop of Langres. According to the poet Fortunatus, he displayed equal merit in these different stations.

Nobilis antiquâ decurrens prole parentum,
Nobilior gestis, nunc super astra manet.
Arbiter ante ferox, dein pius ipse sacerdos,
Quos domuit judex fovit amore patris.

shield; silently drew the fleetest horses from the stable; unbarred the ponderous gates; and excited Attalus to save his life and liberty by incessant diligence. Their apprehensions urged them to leave their horses on the banks of the Meuse;* they swam the river, wandered three days in the adjacent forest, and subsisted only by the accidental discovery of a wild plum-tree. As they lay concealed in a dark thicket, they heard the noise of horses; they were terrified by the angry countenance of their master, and they anxiously listened to his declaration, that, if he could seize the guilty fugitives, one of them he would cut in pieces with his sword, and would expose the other on a gibbet. At length Attalus and his faithful Leo reached the friendly habitation of a presbyter of Rheims, who recruited their fainting strength with bread and wine, concealed them from the search of their enemy, and safely conducted them, beyond the limits of the Austrasian kingdom, to the episcopal palace of Langres. Gregory embraced his grandson with tears of joy, gratefully delivered Leo, with his whole family, from the yoke of servitude, and bestowed on him the property of a farm, where he might end his days in happiness and freedom. Perhaps this singular adventure, which is marked with so many circumstances of truth and nature, was related by Attalus himself to his cousin or nephew, the first historian of the Franks. Gregory of Tours† was born about sixty years after the death of Sidonius Apollinaris; and their situation was almost similar, since each of them was a native of Auvergne, a senator, and a bishop. The difference of their style and sentiments may, therefore, express the decay of Gaul; and clearly ascertain how much, in so short a space, the human mind had lost of its energy and refinement.‡

* As M. de Valois, and the P. Ruinart, are determined to change the *Mosella* of the text into *Mosa*, it becomes me to acquiesce in the alteration. Yet after some examination of the topography, I could defend the common reading.

† The parents of Gregory (Gregorius Florentius Georgius) were of noble extraction (*natalibus . . . . illustres*), and they possessed large estates (*latifundia*) both in Auvergne and Burgundy. He was born in the year 539, was consecrated bishop of Tours in 573, and died in 593, or 595, soon after he had terminated his history. See his life by Odo, abbot of Clugny, (in tom. ii, p. 129—135,) and a new life in the Mémoires de l'Académie, &c., tom. xxvi, p. 598—637.

‡ Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium cultura literarum, &c., (in præfat. in

We are now qualified to despise the opposite, and perhaps artful, misrepresentations, which have softened or exaggerated the oppression of the Romans of Gaul under the reign of the Merovingians. The conquerors never promulgated any *universal* edict of servitude or confiscation: but a degenerate people, who excused their weakness by the specious names of politeness and peace, was exposed to the arms and laws of the ferocious barbarians, who contemptuously insulted their possessions, their freedom, and their safety. Their personal injuries were partial and irregular; but the great body of the Romans survived the revolution, and still preserved the property and privileges of citizens. A large portion of their lands was exacted for the use of the Franks; but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute;* and the same irresistible violence which swept

tom. ii, p. 137,) is the complaint of Gregory himself, which he fully verifies by his own work. His style is equally devoid of elegance and simplicity. In a conspicuous station he still remained a stranger to his own age and country; and in a prolix work (the five last books contain ten years) he has omitted almost everything that posterity desires to learn. I have tediously acquired, by a painful perusal, the right of pronouncing this unfavourable sentence. [Gaul, in its decay, was a specimen of the whole empire. One uniform scene presents itself through all its bounds, with this remarkable attendant circumstance, that the progress of decline was the same in young and vigorous communities, not long civilized, as in old countries, which had commenced their course twelve or fifteen centuries before. No caducity of age then brought on a change so universal, nor was it the consequence of barbarian sway. Schmidt speaks the language of all history, when he says (l. 184), "Das Wahre und Schöne gewinnt nach und nach die Herrschaft, auch über die rauhesten Gemüther;" (the true and the beautiful gain an ascendancy, by degrees, even over the roughest natures); and he then goes on to show, that this did not take place with the conquerors of the Roman empire, because on their entrance into it, they found none who took delight themselves in the cultivation of the mind, or could inspire a love for it in others. As an evidence of the depraved taste of the age he cites the same Sidonius Apollinaris, from whom Gibbon traces during the next sixty years, the farther course of debasement, down to the weaker and more insipid writings of Gregory of Tours.—Ed.]

* The Abbé de Mably (tom. i, p. 247—267) has diligently confirmed this opinion of the president de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 30, c. 13). [We have already seen the condition of Spain improved under Gothic dominion (c. 31,) and here we find the same in Gaul. Schmidt (l. 192) shows how the old inhabitants were relieved from their former burdens, and the proof afforded of their happier state, by the fact, that though so superior in numbers to their new masters, they never in any instance evinced any disposition

away the arts and manufactures of Gaul, destroyed the elaborate and expensive system of imperial despotism. The provincials must frequently deplore the savage jurisprudence of the Salic or Ripuarian laws; but their private life, in the important concerns of marriage, testaments, or inheritance, was still regulated by the Theodosian Code; and a discontented Roman might freely aspire or descend to the title and character of a barbarian. The honours of the state were accessible to his ambition: the education and temper of the Romans more peculiarly qualified them for the offices of civil government; and, as soon as emulation had rekindled their military ardour, they were permitted to march in the ranks, or even at the head of the victorious Germans. I shall not attempt to enumerate the generals and magistrates, whose names * attest the liberal policy of the Merovingians. The supreme command of Burgundy, with the title of Patrician, was successively intrusted to three Romans; and the last and most powerful, Mummolus,† who alternately saved and disturbed the monarchy, had supplanted his father in the station of count of Autun, and left a treasure of thirty talents of gold, and two hundred and fifty talents of silver. The fierce and illiterate barbarians were excluded, during several generations, from the dignities, and even from the orders, of the church.‡ The clergy of Gaul consisted almost entirely of native provincials: the haughty Franks fell prostrate at the feet of their subjects, who were dignified with the episcopal character; and the power and riches, which had been lost in war, were insensibly recovered by superstition.§ In all temporal

to rebel or resist.—ED.]

* See Dubos, Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. ii, l. 6, c. 9, 10. The French antiquarians establish as a *principle*, that the Romans and barbarians may be distinguished by their names. Their names undoubtedly form a reasonable *presumption*; yet in reading Gregory of Tours, I have observed Gondulphus, of senatorial or Roman extraction (l. 6, c. 11, in tom. ii, p. 273), and Claudius, a barbarian (l. 7, c. 29, p. 303).

† Eunius Mummolus is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth (c. 42, p. 224) to the seventh (c. 40, p. 310), book. The computation by talents is singular enough; but if Gregory attached any meaning to that obsolete word, the treasures of Mummolus must have exceeded one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

‡ See Fleury, discours 3, sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

§ The bishop of Tours himself has recorded the complaint of Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis. Ecce pauper remansit Fiscus noster.

affairs, the Theodosian Code was the universal law of the clergy; but the barbaric jurisprudence had liberally provided for their personal safety: a subdeacon was equivalent to two Franks; the *antrustion*, and priest, were held in similar estimation; and the life of a bishop was appreciated far above the common standard, at the price of nine hundred pieces of gold.* The Romans communicated to their conquerors the use of the Christian religion and Latin language,† but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the simple purity of the Augustan and apostolic age. The progress of superstition and barbarism was rapid and universal; the worship of the saints concealed from vulgar eyes the God of the Christians; and the rustic dialect of peasants and soldiers was corrupted by a Teutonic idiom and pronunciation. Yet such intercourse of sacred

ecce divitiæ nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatæ: nulli penitus nisi soli episcopi regnant. (l. 6, c. 46, in tom. ii, p. 291.) [The services of the Church continued to be invariably conducted in Latin. (Schmidt, 1. 185.) Barbarians were therefore incompetent to enter the priesthood, unless they acquired a knowledge of that language, which none were encouraged or assisted to undertake and few willingly attempted. The Franks, suddenly elevated to be possessors of wide domains, abandoned themselves to the enjoyments, which these afforded, particularly hunting, or prepared themselves for military duties, if called upon. They were taught nothing, but that the ceremonies of religion and gifts to the altar purchased eternal salvation. Satisfied to acquiesce in this, they listened with awe to words which they did not understand; and the less they knew, the more they wondered and believed. The field was therefore left open to the bishops, who boldly seized whatever ambition or interest coveted, and attained the greatness of which Chilperic complained. There is scarcely an historian who does not notice the vast increase of their power at this period; but there is not one, not even Gibbon, who points out, with sufficient emphasis, the prostration of the general mind, by effecting which they from the first acquired their power, and then extended and maintained it.—Ed.]

* See the Ripuarian Code, (tit 36, in tom. iv, p. 241.) The Salic law does not provide for the safety of the clergy, and we might suppose, on the behalf of the more civilized tribe, that they had not foreseen such an impious act as the murder of a priest. Yet Prætextatus, archbishop of Rouen, was assassinated by the order of Queen Fredegundis before the altar. (Greg. Turon. l. 8, c. 31, in tom. ii, p. 326)

† M. Bonamy (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxiv, p. 582—670) has ascertained the *Lingua Romana Rustica*, which, through the medium of the *Romance*, has gradually been polished into the actual form of the French language. Under the Carlovingian race, the kings and nobles of France still understood the dialect of their German ancestors.

and social communion eradicated the distinctions of birth and victory; and the nations of Gaul were gradually confounded under the name and government of the Franks.

The Franks, after they mingled with their Gallic subjects, might have imparted the most valuable of human gifts—a spirit and system of constitutional liberty. Under a king hereditary but limited, the chiefs and counsellors might have debated, at Paris, in the palace of the Cæsars: the adjacent field, where the emperors reviewed their mercenary legions, would have admitted the legislative assembly of freemen and warriors; and the rude model, which had been sketched in the woods of Germany,* might have been polished and improved by the civil wisdom of the Romans. But the careless barbarians, secure of their personal independence, disdained the labour of government: the annual assemblies of the month of March were silently abolished; and the nation was separated, and almost dissolved, by the conquest of Gaul.† The monarchy was left without any

* Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. 11, c. 6. † See the Abbé de Mably, Observations, &c., tom. i, p. 34—56. It should seem, that the institution of national assemblies, which are coeval with the French nation, have never been congenial to its temper. [Accurate observation of the past, and sage prescience of the future, are combined in this note. If Gibbon had witnessed all that has occurred in France during the last sixty-four years, he could not, in so few words, have described it more correctly. This defect in national character, as compared with the people of some other countries, may be traced to the circumstances under which the conquest of Gaul was achieved by the Franks. The physiological and psychological distinctions of different races are shown in Mr. Blackwell's judicious observations on Bishop Percy's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities (Bohn's edition). Of the Gothic mind the most marked features are energy in contending with difficulties, and an insuperable desire of mental freedom. In the Celtic the prevailing characteristics are excitability, an alert promptness in yielding to the impulse of the moment, without any clearly perceived and definite aim, or perseverance for its attainment. There is not a country in Europe, in which the character of the people has not been formed by the proportion, in which the Gothic mind was introduced among them. The band of Franks carried a very small infusion of it into the Gallic population whom they subdued. Where there is a large preponderance of the Gothic, with a small stimulating admixture of the Celtic, the best national character is formed. It is by the reverse of this, that instability and versatility have become the reproach of France; that ardour in the first movements of pursuit, and ferociousness in the first paroxysm of irritation, have evaporated in

regular establishment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The successors of Clovis wanted resolution to assume, or strength to exercise, the legislative and executive powers, which the people had abdicated: the royal prerogative was distinguished only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love of freedom, so often invigorated and disgraced by private ambition, was reduced, among the licentious Franks, to the contempt of order, and the desire of impunity. Seventy-five years after the death of Clovis, his grandson, Gontran, king of Burgundy, sent an army to invade the Gothic possessions of Septimania, or Languedoc. The troops of Burgundy, Berry, Auvergne, and the adjacent territories, were excited by the hopes of spoil. They marched without discipline, under the banners of German, or Gallic counts; their attack was feeble and unsuccessful; but the friendly and hostile provinces were desolated with indiscriminate rage. The corn-fields, the villages, the churches themselves, were consumed by fire; the inhabitants were massacred or dragged into captivity; and, in the disorderly retreat, five thousand of these inhuman savages were destroyed by hunger or intestine discord. When the pious Gontran reproached the guilt, or neglect, of their leaders, and threatened to inflict not a legal sentence, but instant and arbitrary execution, they accused the universal and incurable corruption of the people. "No one," they said, "any longer fears or respects his king, his duke, or his count. Each man loves to do evil, and freely indulges his criminal inclinations. The most gentle correction provokes an immediate tumult; and the rash magistrate, who presumes to censure or restrain his seditious subjects, seldom escapes alive from their revenge.* It has been reserved for the same nation to expose, by their intemperate vices, the most odious abuse of freedom; and to

fruitless efforts; that "national assemblies have never been congenial to its temper;" and that the evanescence of some score of ready-made abortions has never yet taught the patient abiding of events, out of which "a Constitution grows."—ED.]

* Gregory of Tours (l. 8, c. 30, in tom. ii, p. 325, 326) relates, with much indifference, the crimes, the reproof, and the apology. Nullus regem metuit, nullus ducem, nullus comitem reveretur; et si fortassis alicui ista displicent, et ea pro longævitate vitæ vestræ, emendare conatur, statim seditio in populo, statim tumultus exoritur, et in tantum unusquisque contra seniorem sævâ intentione grassatur, ut vix se credat evadere, si tandem

supply its loss by the spirit of honour and humanity, which now alleviates and dignifies their obedience to an absolute sovereign.*

The Visigoths had resigned to Clovis the greatest part of their Gallic possessions; but their loss was amply compensated by the easy conquest, and secure enjoyment, of the provinces of Spain. From the monarchy of the Goths, which soon involved the Suevic kingdom of Gallicia, the modern Spaniards still derive some national vanity: but the historian of the Roman Empire is neither invited, nor compelled, to pursue the obscure and barren series of their annals.† The Goths of Spain were separated from the rest of mankind by the lofty ridge of the Pyrenean mountains: their manners and institutions, as far as they were common to the Germanic tribes, have been already explained. I have anticipated, in the preceding chapter, the most important of their ecclesiastical events, the fall of Arianism, and the persecution of the Jews; and it only remains to observe some interesting circumstances, which relate to the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of the Spanish kingdom.

After their conversion from idolatry or heresy, the Franks and the Visigoths were disposed to embrace, with equal submission, the inherent evils, and the accidental benefits, of superstition. But the prelates of France, long before the extinction of the Merovingian race, had degenerated into fighting and hunting barbarians. They disdained the use of synods; forgot the laws of temperance and chastity; and preferred the indulgence of private ambition and luxury, to the general interest of the sacerdotal profes-

silere nequiverit. * [In this passage, written and published some ten years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, we may discern the germs of the sentiments with which Gibbon regarded that event. It accords with all that he afterwards avowed in the "Memoirs of his Life and Writings," (p. 269) and in many of his letters. (p. 304, &c.)—ED.] † Spain, in these dark ages, has been peculiarly unfortunate. The Franks had a Gregory of Tours; the Saxons or Angles, a Bede; the Lombards, a Paul Warnefrid, &c. But the history of the Visigoths is contained in the short and imperfect chronicles of Isidore of Seville, and John of Biclar. [When few can read, few will write. No demand, no supply. The little that was written in those ages, was adapted, too, to the capacities, credulities, and views of the sacerdotal and monastic orders. No authentic materials for history existed. Some loosely scattered facts may have been gleaned from charters, deeds of gift, and such documents. But

sion.* The bishops of Spain respected themselves, and were respected by the public: their indissoluble union disguised their vices, and confirmed their authority: and the regular discipline of the church introduced peace, order, and stability, into the government of the state. From the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king, to that of Witiza, the immediate predecessor of the unfortunate Roderic, sixteen national councils were successively convened. The six metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, presided according to their respective seniority; the assembly was composed of their suffragan bishops, who appeared in person or by their proxies; and a place was assigned to the most holy or opulent of the Spanish abbots. During the first three days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and discipline, the profane laity was excluded from their debates; which were conducted, however, with decent solemnity. But on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the Gothic nobles; and the decrees of Heaven were ratified by the consent of the people. The same rules were observed in the provincial assemblies, the annual synods which were empowered to hear complaints, and to redress grievances; and a legal government was supported by the prevailing influence of the Spanish clergy. The bishops, who in each revolution were prepared to flatter the victorious, and to insult the prostrate, laboured with diligence and success to kindle the flames of persecution, and to exalt the mitre above the crown. Yet the national

the general fund was furnished by rumour, hearsay, the lamentations of despoiled fugitives, the narratives of superstitious pilgrims, the tales of itinerant merchants and the like untrustworthy informants. From them the writers selected only what suited their purpose, and freely invented whatever more they wanted. John Biclar was so called from his having founded the Biclarensian monastery at the foot of the Pyrenees. He had afterwards the name of Gerundensis, when he became bishop of Gerunda (Girona). Mariana, de Rebus Hisp., l. 5, p. 201. His Chronicle extends from A.D. 566 to 590.—ED.]

* Such are the complaints of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and the reformer of Gaul, in tom. iv, p. 94. The fourscore years, which he deplores, of licence and corruption, would seem to insinuate that the barbarians were admitted into the clergy about the year 660. [The first English archbishop of Canterbury was Berthwald,

councils of Toledo, in which the free spirit of the barbarians was tempered and guided by episcopal policy, have established some prudent laws for the common benefit of the king and people. The vacancy of the throne was supplied by the choice of the bishops and palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Alaric, the regal dignity was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The clergy, who anointed their lawful prince, always recommended, and sometimes practised, the duty of allegiance; and the spiritual censures were denounced on the heads of the impious subjects, who should resist his authority, conspire against his life, or violate, by an indecent union, the chastity even of his widow. But the monarch himself, when he ascended the throne, was bound, by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important trust. The real or imaginary faults of his administration were subject to the control of a powerful aristocracy: and the bishops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege, that they should not be degraded, imprisoned, tortured, nor punished with death, exile, or confiscation, unless by the free and public judgment of their peers.*

A.D. 690: all his predecessors had been supplied from Rome. He had been previously abbot of Reculver. (Chron. Sax. p. 331, edit. Bohn.) Some Saxon names occur among the bishops, of an earlier date.—ED.]

* The acts of the councils of Toledo are still the most authentic records of the church and constitution of Spain. The following passages are particularly important. (3. 17, 18; 4. 75; 5. 2—5. 8; 6. 11—14. 17, 18; 7. 1; 13. 2, 3. 6.) I have found Mascou (Hist. of the Ancient Germans, 15. 29, and Annotations, 26. 33) and Ferreras (Hist. Générale de l'Espagne, tom. ii) very useful and accurate guides. [The Visigoths carried into Spain a much larger infusion of the Gothic mind than Gaul had received from the Franks. This may be perceived in all their first institutions. But this earlier settlement of their polity afforded opportunities for a more regular organization of the hierarchy, which gave "the prelates a still more commanding influence in temporal government." (Hallam, 2. 2.) To this the spirit of the people succumbed, as it did in all other countries; and before it could recover its elastic energy, the conquests of the Saracens repressed it by an additional yoke. The heroic stand made by the remnant of the Goths in their Asturian fastnesses, exhibits all the characteristics of their race. Cooped up for ages in that mountainous tract, when their persevering valour regained possession of the whole land, they bore a very small proportion to the population which had in the mean time grown up there. Their language proves that they were fundamentally Celtic-Roman, but Saracens and Jews had intermingled largely with them. The Gothic portion had for the most

One of these legislative councils of Toledo examined and ratified the code of laws which had been compiled by a succession of Gothic kings, from the fierce Euric to the devout Egica. As long as the Visigoths themselves were satisfied with the rude customs of their ancestors, they indulged their subjects of Aquitain and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them to imitate and to supersede these foreign institutions; and to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence for the use of a great and united people. The same obligations, and the same privileges, were communicated to the nations of the Spanish monarchy; and the conquerors, insensibly renouncing the Teutonic idiom, submitted to the restraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The merit of this impartial policy was enhanced by the situation of Spain under the reign of the Visigoths. The provincials were long separated from their Arian masters by the irreconcilable difference of religion. After the conversion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the Catholics, the coasts, both of the ocean and Mediterranean, were still possessed by the Eastern emperors; who secretly excited a discontented people to reject the yoke of the barbarians, and to assert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. The allegiance of doubtful subjects is indeed most effectually secured by their own persuasion, that they hazard more in a revolt, than they can hope to obtain by revolution; but it has appeared so natural to oppress those whom we hate and fear, that the contrary system well deserves the praise of wisdom and moderation.*

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Visigoths were established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the con-

part fled or been suppressed. The splendours of Cordova and Granada gleamed only over popular servility; and with the restoration of Christianity, the priesthood resumed a more absolute and coercive power. Even in the days of Spain's brief pre-eminence among European States, she was not exalted by an intelligent, active people, but by the stern resolution of a few iron-handed despots, urged to exhaustive efforts for the sole object of maintaining ecclesiastical oppression.—ED.]

* The Code of the Visigoths, regularly divided into twelve books, has been correctly published by Dom. Bouquet, in tom. iv, p. 273—460. It has been treated by the president de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. 28, c. 1,) with excessive severity. I dislike the style; I detest the superstition; but I shall presume to think, that the civil juris-

quest of Britain, the third great diocese of the prefecture of the West. Since Britain was already separated from the Roman empire, I might, without reproach, decline a story familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned, of my readers. The Saxons, who excelled in the use of the oar, or the battle-axe,* were ignorant of the art which could alone perpetuate the fame of their exploits: the provincials, relapsing into barbarism, neglected to describe the ruin of their country; and the doubtful tradition was almost extinguished, before the missionaries of Rome restored the light of science and Christianity. The declamations of Gildas, the fragments, or fables, of Nennius, the obscure hints of the Saxon laws and chronicles, and the ecclesiastical tales of the venerable Bede,† have been illustrated by the diligence, and sometimes embellished by the fancy, of succeeding writers, whose works I am not ambitious either to censure or to transcribe.‡ Yet the historian of the empire may be tempted to pursue the revolutions of a Roman province, till it vanishes from his sight; and an Englishman may curiously trace the establishment of the barbarians, from whom he derives his name, his laws, and perhaps his origin.

About forty years after the dissolution of the Roman government, Vortigern appears to have obtained the supreme, though precarious, command of the princes and cities of Britain. That unfortunate monarch has been almost unanimously condemned for the weak and mischievous policy of

prudence displays a more civilized and enlightened state of society, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.

* [This was not the Saxon weapon. A few pages forward, Gibbon describes the battle of Beranbirig, near Marlborough, as fought by the invaders, with their own national and characteristic "short swords."—ED.]

† See Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, c. 11—25, p. 4—9, edit. Gale; Nennius, Hist. Britonum, c. 28. 35—65, p. 105—115, edit. Gale; Bede, Hist. Ecclesiast. Gentis Anglorum, l. 1, c. 12—16, p. 49—53; c. 22, p. 58, edit. Smith: Chron. Saxonicum, p. 11—23, &c., edit. Gibson. The Anglo-Saxon laws were published by Wilkins, London, 1731, in folio; and the Leges Wallicæ, by Wotton and Clarke, London, 1730, in folio.

‡ The laborious Mr. Carte, and the ingenious Mr. Whitaker, are the two modern writers to whom I am principally indebted. The particular historian of Manchester embraces, under that obscure title, a subject almost as extensive as the general history of England. [Since Gibbon's time, we have Ingram's edition of the Saxon Chronicle, and Bohn's English version of the same, as well as of Gildas, Nennius, and Bede's History, with many instructive notes. We have, also, Lingard's and Turner's Histories, Sir F. Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, Lappen-

inviting* a formidable stranger, to repel the vexatious inroads of a domestic foe. His ambassadors are dispatched, by the gravest historians, to the coast of Germany; they address a pathetic oration to the general assembly of the Saxons, and those warlike barbarians resolve to assist with a fleet and army the suppliants of a distant and unknown island. If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the pirates of Germany: the independent and divided states were exposed to their attacks; and the Saxons might sometimes join the Scots and the Picts, in a tacit, or express, confederacy of rapine and destruction. Vortigern could only balance the various perils which assaulted on every side his throne and his people; and his policy may deserve either praise or excuse, if he preferred the alliance of *those* barbarians, whose naval power rendered them the most dangerous enemies, and the most serviceable allies. Hengist and Horsa, as they ranged along the Eastern coast with three ships, were engaged, by the promise of an ample stipend, to embrace the defence of Britain; and their intrepid valour soon delivered the country from the Caledonian invaders. The isle of Thanet, a secure and fertile district, was allotted for the residence of these German auxiliaries, and they were supplied, according to the treaty, with a plentiful allowance of clothing and provisions. This favour-

berg's Anglo-Saxon Kings, translated by Thorpe, and many useful notices of our Saxon ancestors in Dr. Latham's Germania of Tacitus, the Transactions of the Archæological Society, and other works.—Ed.]

* This *invitation*, which may derive some countenance from the loose expressions of Gildas and Bede, is framed into a regular story by Witikind, a Saxon monk of the tenth century. (See Cousin, Hist. de l'Empire d'Occident, tom. ii, p. 356.) Rapin, and even Hume, have too freely used this suspicious evidence, without regarding the precise and probable testimony of Nennius: Interea venerunt tres Chiulæ a Germaniâ *in exilio pulsæ*, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist. [The first settlement of our Saxon ancestors in this island, is in itself sufficiently important, to need no embellishment of fable or romance. The whole range of history furnishes no other event pregnant with such world-influencing consequences. In the twenty-fifth and some succeeding chapters, we have seen their piratical expeditions infesting the shores of Britain, as other tribes were annoying the continental provinces of the empire. When the intelligence reached them of the successful inroads made by their southern cognates, they were of course stimulated to acquire for them-

able reception encouraged five thousand warriors to embark with their families in seventeen vessels, and the infant power of Hengist was fortified by this strong and seasonable reinforcement. The crafty barbarian suggested to Vortigern the obvious advantage of fixing, in the neighbourhood of the Picts, a colony of faithful allies: a third fleet of forty ships, under the command of his son and nephew, sailed from Germany, ravaged the Orkneys, and disembarked a new army on the coast of Northumberland, or Lothian, at the opposite extremity of the devoted land. It was easy to foresee, but it was impossible to prevent, the impending evils. The two nations were soon divided and exasperated by mutual jealousies. The Saxons magnified all that they had done and suffered in the cause of an ungrateful people; while the Britons regretted the liberal rewards which could not satisfy the avarice of those haughty mercenaries. The causes of fear and hatred were inflamed into an irreconcilable quarrel. The Saxons flew to arms: and if they perpetrated a treacherous massacre during the security of a feast, they destroyed the reciprocal confidence which sustains the intercourse of peace and war.*

Hengist, who boldly aspired to the conquest of Britain, exhorted his countrymen to embrace the glorious opportunity: he painted in lively colours the fertility of the soil, the wealth of the cities, the pusillanimous temper of the natives, and the convenient situation of a spacious solitary island, accessible on all sides to the Saxon fleets. The successive colonies which issued, in the period of a century, from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, were principally composed of three valiant tribes or nations of Germany; the *Jutes*, the *old Saxons*, and the *Angles*.† The Jutes, who fought under the peculiar banner of Hengist,

selves similar advantages, in the better cultivated regions, of which they had before vainly attempted to obtain possession. No invitations from the original inhabitants, no exile from their own homes, were required to urge them to the attack; these are all gratuitous, unproved assertions, quite out of the natural course of events.—ED.]

* Nennius imputes to the Saxons the murder of three hundred British chiefs; a crime not unsuitable to their savage manners. But we are not obliged to believe (See Jeffrey of Monmouth, l. 8, c. 9—12,) that Stonehenge is their monument, which the giants had formerly transported from Africa to Ireland, and which was removed to Britain by the order of Ambrosius, and the art of Merlin.

† [Bede alone (Ecc. Hist. p. 24, Bohn's edit.) makes the followers of Hengist to be Jutes, in which Gibbon, Turner, and other historians

assumed the merit of leading their countrymen in the paths of glory, and of erecting in Kent, the first independent kingdom. The fame of the enterprise was attributed to the primitive Saxons; and the common laws and language of the conquerors are described by the national appellation of a people, which, at the end of four hundred years, produced the first monarchs of South Britain. The Angles were distinguished by their numbers and their success; and they claimed the honour of fixing a perpetual name on the country, of which they occupied the most ample portion. The barbarians, who followed the hopes of rapine, either on the land or sea, were insensibly blended with this triple confederacy; the *Frisians*, who had been tempted by their vicinity to the British shores, might balance, during a short space, the strength and reputation of the native Saxons; the *Danes*, the *Prussians*, the *Rugians*, are faintly described; and some adventurous *Huns*, who had wandered as far as the Baltic, might embark on board the German vessels, for the conquest

have too blindly trusted to him. He did not write till two hundred and fifty years after the event; and probably mistook the traditional generic term, *Gothen* or *Guten*, for its corrupted provincial form of *Juten*. He also contradicts himself, for he says, in the beginning of the same chapter (book 1, ch. 15), that the invitation was given to "the nation of the Angles or Saxons;" and he afterwards marks the order of their arrival in these words: "those who came over were three of the most powerful nations of Germany—Saxons, Angles, and Jutes." The Saxon Chronicle (Bohn, p. 309) says, that the Saxons gave the names of Sussex and Wessex to the next kingdoms that were founded, and that they "sent to the Angles." It cannot be doubted that these first Saxons were fellow-countrymen of their Kentish forerunners, by whose success they were animated to follow their example. The intelligence of Roman weakness, which first set them in motion, of course reached the banks of the Weser, the Elbe, and the Eyder, long before it could penetrate to Jutland. It is thus from the mouths of those rivers, that the first Saxon invaders of Britain issued. Their reported good-fortune drew after them their more northern neighbours, the Angles, from the "narrow-land," and then the Jutes from the remotest extremity of the long peninsula. It is highly improbable, that there should have been coalesced with them any distinct body of Huns, who had never been addicted to sea-roaming habits. Of the Frisians, on the contrary, from the marsh-lands of the Ems, there may have been many. At the present day, the language of the Vrieslanders approaches very nearly to some provincial dialects in England. At a subsequent period, numerous hosts of Danes came to claim a share in the spoil. Then the Norwegians, or Northmen, were stimulated to seek like adventures, and from their settlements in France, came at last to swell the tide of Gothic mind, that had been poured into our island. This, taking into itself such portions of the

of a new world.* But this arduous achievement was not prepared or executed by the union of national powers. Each intrepid chieftain, according to the measure of his fame and fortunes, assembled his followers; equipped a fleet of three, or perhaps of sixty, vessels; chose the place of the attack; and conducted his subsequent operations according to the events of the war, and the dictates of his private interest. In the invasion of Britain many heroes vanquished and fell; but only seven victorious leaders assumed, or at least maintained, the title of kings. Seven independent thrones, the Saxon heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors, and seven families, one of which has been continued, by female succession, to our present sovereign, derived their equal and sacred lineage from Woden, the god of war. It has been pretended that this republic of kings was moderated by a general council and a supreme magistrate. But such an artificial scheme of policy is repugnant to the rude and turbulent spirit of the Saxons: their laws are silent; and their imperfect annals afford only a dark and bloody prospect of intestine discord.†

A monk, who, in the profound ignorance of human life, has presumed to exercise the office of historian, strangely disfigures the state of Britain at the time of its separation from the Western empire. Gildas‡ describes in florid lan-

Celtic, as had not retreated into the northern, western, and south-western highlands, formed the national character and founded the national institutions, so eloquently described by Mr. Hallam, in the introductory passages to his chapter on "the Constitutional History of England." To watch the working of this element in England and Germany, is a study, with which are associated the highest interests of our nature and the fairest hopes of our race.—ED.]

* All these tribes are expressly enumerated by Bede (l. 1, c. 15, p. 52; l. 5, c. 9, p. 190); and though I have considered Mr. Whitaker's remarks (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii, p. 538—543), I do not perceive the absurdity of supposing that the Frisians, &c., were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.

† Bede has enumerated seven kings, two Saxons, a Jute, and four Angles, who successively acquired in the heptarchy an indefinite supremacy of power and renown. But their reign was the effect not of law, but of conquest; and he observes, in similar terms, that one of them subdued the isles of Man and Anglesey; and that another imposed a tribute on the Scots and Picts (Hist. Eccles. l. 2, c. 5, p. 83). [The *Bretwalda* (Wielder of Britain) appears to have had no authority beyond the influence of personal character. The first who is said to have been thus distinguished, was Ælla, king of Sussex, the smallest and weakest of the Saxon kingdoms.—ED.]

‡ See Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, c. 1, p. 1, edit. Gale.

guage the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which flowed with every tide into the Thames and the Severn, the solid and lofty construction of public and private edifices: he accuses the sinful luxury of the British people; of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts, and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stone, or weapons of iron, for the defence of their native land.* Under the long dominion of the emperors, Britain had been insensibly moulded into the elegant and servile form of a Roman province, whose safety was intrusted to a foreign power. The subjects of Honorius contemplated their new freedom with surprise and terror; they were left destitute of any civil or military constitution; and their uncertain rulers wanted either skill, or courage, or authority, to direct the public force against the common enemy. The introduction of the Saxons betrayed their internal weakness, and degraded the character both of the prince and people. Their consternation magnified the danger; the want of union diminished their resources; and the madness of civil factions was more solicitous to accuse, than to remedy the evils, which they imputed to the misconduct of their adversaries. Yet the Britons were not ignorant, they could not be ignorant, of the manufacture or the use of arms: the successive and disorderly attacks of the Saxons, allowed them to recover from their amazement, and the prosperous or adverse events of the war added discipline and experience to their native valour.

While the continent of Europe and Africa yielded without resistance to the barbarians, the British island, alone and unaided, maintained a long, a vigorous, though an unsuccessful struggle, against the formidable pirates, who, almost at the same instant, assaulted the northern, the eastern, and the southern coasts. The cities which had been fortified with skill, were defended with resolution; the advantages of ground, hills, forests, and morasses, were diligently improved by the inhabitants; the conquest of each district was purchased with blood; and the defeats of the Saxons are strongly attested by the discreet silence of their annalist. Hengist might hope to achieve the conquest of Britain; but

* Mr. Whitaker (History of Manchester, vol. ii, p. 503. 516) has smartly exposed this glaring absurdity, which had passed unnoticed by the general historians, as they were hastening to more interesting and important events.

his ambition, in an active reign of thirty-five years, was confined to the possession of Kent; and the numerous colony which he had planted in the north, was extirpated by the sword of the Britons. The monarchy of the West-Saxons was laboriously founded by the persevering efforts of three martial generations. The life of Cerdic, one of the bravest of the children of Woden, was consumed in the conquest of Hampshire, and the isle of Wight;* and the loss which he sustained in the battle of mount Badon, reduced him to a state of inglorious repose. Kenric, his valiant son, advanced into Wiltshire; besieged Salisbury, at the time seated on a commanding eminence; and vanquished an army which advanced to the relief of the city. In the subsequent battle of Marlborough,† his British enemies displayed their military science. Their troops were formed in three lines; each line consisted of three distinct bodies; and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, were distributed according to the principles of Roman tactics. The Saxons charged in one weighty column, boldly encountered with their short swords the long lances of the Britons, and maintained an equal conflict till the approach of night. Two decisive victories, the death of three British kings, and the reduction of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, established the fame and power of Ceaulin, the grandson of Cerdic, who carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Severn.

After a war of a hundred years, the independent Britons still occupied the whole extent of the western coast, from

* [Dorsetshire, not Hampshire, was the first territory of which Kerdic made himself master. He landed and afterwards received his reinforcements at Charmouth, now the small haven of the river Char, whose alluvial valley was formerly a sheltered harbour. (De Luc's Geological Travels in England, vol. ii, p. 87) Cernemuth, the original Saxon name of this place, as seen in the Doomsday Book, was confounded by some ignorant monk with Gernemuth, now Yarmouth, at the mouth of the Norfolk Yare, and following him, a long line of ancient chroniclers and later topographers, antiquarians, and historians, from Robert of Gloucester to Fabian, Holinshed, Spelman, Gale, Camden, Gibson, even Gough, and, with some hesitation, Mr. Turner himself, have fixed on our eastern coast the Kerdicksore of the Saxon Chronicle (Bohn's edition, p. 311), where, in 495, Kerdic disembarked the crews of his first five ships, and in 514, his nephews, Stuffa and Wihtgar, brought three "shipfuls" more, to found the kingdom of Wessex. The absurdity of the prevaling notion, and the origin of the error, are shown in some Geological and Historical Observations on the Eastern Valleys of Norfolk, published at Norwich, in 1827.—Ed.]

† At Beran-birig, or Barbury castle, near Marlborough. The Saxon

the wall of Antoninus to the extreme promontory of Cornwall; and the principal cities of the inland country still opposed the arms of the barbarians. Resistance became more languid, as the number and boldness of the assailants continually increased. Winning their way by slow and painful efforts, the Saxons, the Angles, and their various confederates, advanced from the north, from the east, and from the south, till their victorious banners were united in the centre of the island. Beyond the Severn, the Britons still asserted their national freedom, which survived the heptarchy, and even the monarchy of the Saxons. The bravest warriors, who preferred exile to slavery, found a secure refuge in the mountains of Wales: the reluctant submission of Cornwall was delayed for some ages;* and a band of fugitives acquired a settlement in Gaul, by their own valour, or the liberality of the Merovingan kings.† The

Chronicle assigns the name and date. Camden (Britannia, vol. i, p. 128) ascertains the place; and Henry of Huntingdon (Scriptores post Bedam, p. 314) relates the circumstances of this battle. They are probable and characteristic; and the historians of the twelfth century might consult some materials that no longer exist.

* Cornwall was finally subdued by Athelstan (A.D. 927—941), who planted an English colony at Exeter, and confined the Britons beyond the river Tamar. See William of Malmsbury, lib. 2, in the Scriptores post Bedam, p. 50. The spirit of the Cornish knights was degraded by servitude; and it should seem from the romance of Sir Tristram, that their cowardice was almost proverbial.

† The establishment of the Britons in Gaul is proved in the sixth century, by Procopius, Gregory of Tours, the second council of Tours, (A.D. 567) and the least suspicious of their chronicles and lives of saints. The subscription of a bishop of the Britons to the first council of Tours (A.D. 461, or rather 481), the army of Riothamus, and the loose declamation of Gildas (alii transmarinas petebant regiones, c. 25, p. 8) may countenance an emigration as early as the middle of the fifth century. Beyond that era, the Britons of Armorica can be found only in romance; and I am surprised that Mr. Whitaker (Genuine History of the Britons, p. 214—221) should so faithfully transcribe the gross ignorance of Carte, whose venial errors he has so rigorously chastised. [Gibbon seems to have forgotten here, that in ch. 27, he had repeated, after archbishop Usher, the story of Armorica having been peopled in 383, by "the emigration of a considerable portion of the British nation," under Maximus; and that in ch. 36 he had represented the army of Riothamus as "destroyed or dispersed by the arms of the Visigoths." The false ideas entertained on this subject have been fully noticed on both those occasions, and again in ch. 31. Gibbon here refers to other authorities which prove nothing more than that there were Britones in Armorica. That they derived their origin, their name, and language from the island of Great.

western angle of Armorica acquired the new appellations of *Cornwall* and the *Lesser Britain;* and the vacant lands of the Osismii were filled by a strange people, who, under the authority of their counts and bishops, preserved the laws and language of their ancestors. To the feeble descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, the Britons of Armorica refused the customary tribute, subdued the neighbouring dioceses of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes, and formed a powerful, though vassal state, which has been united to the crown of France.*

In a century of perpetual, or at least implacable, war, much courage, and some skill, must have been exerted for the defence of Britain. Yet, if the memory of its champions is almost buried in oblivion, we need not repine; since every age, however destitute of science or virtue, sufficiently abounds with acts of blood and military renown. The tomb of Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the sea-shore, as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished in the fields of Kent. Ambrosius

Britain, is supported by no substantial evidence whatever. Mr. Sharon Turner, in his History (vol. i, p. 161) after rejecting the emigration under Maximus as "unfounded," has expressed his belief in that of a later date, for which he found his authority in a chronicle of the abbey of Mont St. Michel in Bretagne. It is there said: "A.D. 513 venerunt transmarini Britanni in Armoricam, id est minorem Britanniam." Admitting all that is contained in this passage, we can only collect from it, that in that year some fugitives arrived; but that they came in large numbers to colonize the country, is not asserted, nor is it in the least degree probable. The Britons still possessed at that period nearly the whole of their island, and for fifty years afterwards put forth all their strength "with a national magnitude," as Mr. Turner expresses it (ib. 270), to maintain their independence. It is not to be supposed that they sent away those whose assistance they wanted. In the quoted passage, the phrase "Armoricam, id est minorem Britanniam," proves also, that the name existed before and was not brought over with them by the new comers. Armorica from the first had always a Celtic population, among whom were the Britones; it was a secluded, nearly insulated tract, and afforded a convenient refuge for those who withdrew or fled from submission to the Franks. That they should long preserve their national and idiomatic distinctions is quite natural, and requires not to be accounted for by any strange or unusual event.—ED.]

* The antiquities of *Bretagne*, which have been the subject even of political controversy, are illustrated by Hadrian Valesius (Notitia Galliarum, sub voce *Britannia Cismarina*, p. 98—100), M. D'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul, *Corisopiti, Curiosolites Osismii, Vorganium*, p. 248, 258, 508, 720, and Etats de l'Europe, p. 76—80), Longuerue

Aurelian was descended from a noble family of Romans;* his modesty was equal to his valour, and his valour, till the last fatal action,† was crowned with splendid success. But every British name is effaced by the illustrious name of ARTHUR,‡ the hereditary prince of the Silures in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the most rational account, he defeated, in twelve successive battles, the Angles of the north, and the Saxons of the west; but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude and domestic misfortunes. The events of his life are less interesting than the singular revolutions of his fame. During a period of five hundred years, the tradition of his exploits was preserved and rudely embellished by the obscure bards of Wales and Armorica, who were odious to the Saxons, and unknown to the rest of mankind. The pride and curiosity of the Norman conquerors prompted them to inquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments, which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy, of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tiber to the Thames, was easily engrafted on the fable of the Æneid; and the royal ancestors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with captive provinces and

(Description de la France, tom. i, p. 84—94), and the Abbé de Vertot (Hist. Critique de l'Etablissement des Bretons dans les Gaules, 2 vols. in 12mo., Paris, 1720). I may assume the merit of examining the original evidence which they have produced.

* Bede, who, in his chronicle (p. 28) places Ambrosius under the reign of Zeno (A.D. 474—491), observes, that his parents had been "purpurâ induti;" which he explains in his ecclesiastical history, by "regium nomen et insigne ferentibus" (lib. 1, c. 16, p. 53). The expression of Nennius (c. 44, p. 110, edit. Gale) is still more singular, "Unus de *consulibus* gentis Romanicæ est pater meus."

† By the unanimous, though doubtful conjecture of our antiquarians, Ambrosius is confounded with Natanleod, who (A.D. 508) lost his own life, and five thousand of his subjects, in a battle against Cerdic, the West Saxon. (Chron. Saxon. p, 17, 18.)

‡ As I am a

imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. The gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feasts and tournaments, and the memorable institution of his knights of the Round Table, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry, and the fabulous exploits of Uther's son appear less incredible than the adventures which were achieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage and the holy wars introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies and giants, flying dragons, and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the west; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions, of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table: their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was rekindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity of the present age is inclined to question the *existence* of Arthur.*

Resistance, if it cannot avert, must increase, the miseries of conquest; and conquest has never appeared more dreadful and destructive than in the hands of the Saxons; who hated the valour of their enemies, disdained the faith of treaties, and violated, without remorse, the most sacred objects of the Christian worship. The fields of battle might be traced, almost in every district, by monuments of bones; the fragments of falling towers were stained with blood; the last of the Britons, without distinction of age or sex, were massacred†

stranger to the Welsh bards, Myrdhin, Llomarch, and Taliessin, my faith in the existence and exploits of Arthur principally rests on the simple and circumstantial testimony of Nennius. (Hist. Brit. c. 62, 63, p. 114.) Mr. Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester. vol. ii, p. 31—71) has framed an interesting, and even probable, narrative of the wars of Arthur; though it is impossible to allow the reality of the Round Table.

* The progress of romance, and the state of learning in the middle ages, are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Wharton, with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned dissertations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry.

† Hoc anno (490) Ælla et Cissa obsederunt Andredes-Ceaster; et

in the ruins of Anderida;* and the repetition of such calamities was frequent and familiar under the Saxon heptarchy. The arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors. After the destruction of the principal churches, the bishops, who had declined the crown of martyrdom, retired with the holy relics into Wales and Armorica; the remains of their flocks were left destitute of any spiritual food; the practice, and even the remembrance, of Christianity were abolished; and the British clergy might obtain some comfort from the damnation of the idolatrous strangers. The kings of France maintained the privileges of their Roman subjects; but the ferocious Saxons trampled on the laws of Rome and of the emperors. The proceedings of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the titles of honour, the forms of office, the ranks of

interfecerunt omnes qui id incoluerunt; adeo ut ne unus Brito ibi superstes fuerit (Chron. Saxon. p. 15); an expression more dreadful in its simplicity than all the vague and tedious lamentations of the British Jeremiah. [Such meagre and partial records as we have of these atrocities, are not sufficient authorities for believing them. The Anglo-Saxons had none to give a faithful version of their proceedings. All that has been transmitted to us is the work of after times, when monkish chroniclers would not be unwilling to repeat any calumny against Pagans, even though they were their progenitors. Britain does not appear to have advanced, under Roman dominion, much beyond a state of improved tillage and cattle rearing. Some luxuries and refinements may have been introduced into the colonies and the most important military stations. But of general wealth or individual magnificence there are no signs. Disappointed of richer spoils, the Saxon conquerors may perhaps sometimes have exercised great cruelties, when they hoped by such means to discover hidden treasures. The land appears also to have been far from fully peopled. We seldom hear of villages, and the present names of almost all our rural parishes indicate their Anglo-Saxon origin. The cattle-owners probably drove their herds away as the strangers advanced, and the cultivators, abandoning their farms, congregated with the defeated warriors in new settlements among mountains, hitherto thinly tenanted. Some of the ancient inhabitants undoubtedly remained in their homes, and that they were not all condemned to servitude may be deduced from our Waltons, (*towns* of the *Gauls* or *Welsh*, of which Adams's Index Villaris, p. 370, enumerates forty-seven) Walshams, (*homes* of the same) and other places, the names of which evidently denote that Celts were their occupants or owners in the Anglo-Saxon times. The successful invaders took possession of the vacated abodes, sent for their families to join them, employed themselves in raising the produce of their acquired territories, multiplied, and by degrees overspread the land.—ED.]

* Andredes-Ceaster, or Anderida, is placed by Camden (Britannia,

society, and even the domestic rights of marriage, testament, and inheritance, were finally suppressed; and the indiscriminate crowd of noble and plebeian slaves was governed by the traditionary customs which had been coarsely framed for the shepherds and pirates of Germany. The language of science, of business, and of conversation, which had been introduced by the Romans, was lost in the general desolation. A sufficient number of Latin or Celtic words might be assumed by the Germans to express their new wants and ideas, * but those *illiterate* pagans preserved and established the use of their national dialect.† Almost every name,

vol. i, p. 258) at Newenden, in the marshy grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest (Anderida), which overspread so large a portion of Hampshire and Sussex.

* Dr. Johnson affirms that *few* English words are of British extraction. Mr. Whitaker, who understands the British language, has discovered more than *three thousand*, and actually produces a long and various catalogue (vol. ii. p. 235—329). It is possible, indeed, that many of these words may have been imported from the Latin or Saxon into the native idiom of Britain. [The classic predilections of Dr. Johnson's age educated his mind. He was but imperfectly acquainted with the Celtic and Gothic dialects.—ED.] † In the beginning of the seventh century, the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons mutually understood each other's language, which was derived from the same Teutonic root. (Bede, l. 1, c. 25, p. 60.) [Gibbon here makes a remarkable fact of what every one now understands. Since his time, the Gothic dialects are better known, and etymology has been more sensibly studied. The extent of what we have derived from our British predecessors is much overrated by Whitaker, as it is also by Baxter and others. Yet it is certain that we owe to them many of our now current words; and the largest proportion of these is found in our geography, where Gibbon most erroneously says that there are none. Our island is still Great Britain. Our Thames, Severn, Avons, Yares, Nars, Dees, Tees, and many other rivers, still bear, in modified forms, the Celtic names by which they were first distinguished. The division of our island into counties was the work of a wise Saxon prince, who of course gave them their denominations, which are characteristically Anglo-Saxon. Yet in many of them the fundamental distinction is taken from some Celtic root—as in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Kent, Berkshire, and others. It is the same with our most ancient cities and towns. The Venta of the Belgæ is preserved in Winchester, Glevum in Gloucester, Regulbium in Reculver; and in many an obscure place its situation at a "meeting of waters" is denoted by some corrupted form of the British word *Kymmer*. Most of our lakes and mountains continued to be held by the ancient inhabitants, and may not therefore be referred to. Still the genius of our language is essentially Anglo-Saxon, and attests the spirit

conspicuous either in the church or state, reveals its Teutonic origin;* and the geography of *England* was universally inscribed with foreign characters and appellations. The example of a revolution, so rapid and so complete, may not easily be found; but it will excite a probable suspicion, that the arts of Rome were less deeply rooted in Britain than in Gaul or Spain; and that the native rudeness of the country and its inhabitants, was covered by a thin varnish of Italian manners.

This strange alteration has persuaded historians, and even philosophers, that the provincials of Britain were totally exterminated; and that the vacant land was again peopled by the perpetual influx, and rapid increase, of the German colonies. Three hundred thousand Saxons are *said* to have obeyed the summons of Hengist;† the entire emigration of the Angles was attested, in the age of Bede, by the solitude of their native country;‡ and our experience has shown the free propagation of the human race, if they are cast on a

of which we are chiefly made. Its weakest and most unmeaning parts are those which have come into it from Latin through French.—ED.]

* After the first generation of Italian, or Scottish, missionaries, the dignities of the church were filled with Saxon proselytes.

† Carte's History of England, vol. i, p. 195. He quotes the British historians; but I much fear that Jeffrey of Monmouth (lib. 6, c. 15) is his only witness. [Our authorities for the history of that period are so vague and untrustworthy, that we can only believe what is consistent and probable. That many additional Saxon colonists came over after the conquest was achieved, to share its advantages, is very credible; but that they left their native country a "solitude," accords neither with reason nor with fact. The power of the Saxons, who within the next two hundred years so long defied the efforts of Charlemagne, proves the contrary.; and the "Engeland" and Jutland, still retaining their names to the present day, afford presumptive evidence, that they were perpetuated by a remaining population.—ED.]

‡ Bede, Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 1, c. 15, p. 52. The fact is probable and well-attested; yet such was the loose intermixture of the German tribes, that we find, in a subsequent period, the law of the Angli and Warini of Germany. (Lindenbrog. Codex, p. 479—486.) ["*Hoc est Thuringorum*," is the explanation given in the original copy of this code. It was reduced to writing by order of Charlemagne (Leibnitz, Introd. ad Script. Bruns.), and found in the abbey of Fulda. Wolfgang, the prince abbot, authorized its publication in 1557, by Basilius John Herold, in his "Originum et Germanicarum Antiquitatum Libri." Gibbon was misled by Lindenbrog, who omitted, or overlooked, this addition to the title. For farther particulars respecting it see the "Belgicum Romanum" of Bucherius (lib. 13, c. 1), the "Antiquitates

fruitful wilderness, where their steps are unconfined, and their subsistence is plentiful. The Saxon kingdoms displayed the face of recent discovery and cultivation: the towns were small, the villages were distant; the husbandry was languid and unskilful; four sheep were equivalent to an acre of the best land:* an ample space of wood and morass was resigned to the vague dominion of nature; and the modern bishopric of Durham, the whole territory from the Tyne to the Tees, had returned to its primitive state of a savage and solitary forest.† Such imperfect population might have been supplied, in some generations, by the English colonies; but neither reason nor facts can justify the unnatural supposition that the Saxons of Britain re-

Regni Thuringici" of Caspar Sagittarius (lib. 1, c. 4, p. 95), in the same volume (p. 336), the "Specimen Historiæ Thuringorum novæ," by Peter Albinus, and Leibnitz (Script. Bruns. vol. i, p. 83). The Varini and Angli were two Thuringian tribes, and the latter were so called from inhabiting an *Engeland*, or narrow strip of country, between the rivers Unstrutt and Wippen and the Hartz mountains. There, too, their names have been preserved, and it is wrong to confound these *Engeländer* or *Anglen* with those who had passed over to Britain and with whom they had no connection. Tacitus, who knew of no Saxons, heard of these two contiguous tribes in an inland country, among rivers and forests (Germ. 40), and they were, no doubt, the Pharodenoi and Suevian Angeiloi of Ptolemy (2, 2) who assigned to the latter a situation in the interior, half-way up the Elbe. Ignorant of these early notices, Adam of Bremen (lib. 1) could account for the Thuringian *Anglen* only by supposing, that when the tribe of that name left the north, part of them emigrated in that direction, and the rest to Britain; while Wittikind of Corvey still more absurdly brought them from our island into the heart of Germany. Dr. Latham (Germania of Tacitus, Epileg. p. 107) discovered the fact, that these Angli were Thuringians; but did not perceive its true bearings nor apply it to correct prevailing errors. What a host of conjectures and theories, delusions of the ignorant and bewilderments of the erudite, are dispelled by the simple fact of there having been from the earliest times, a separate tribe of "*Mediterranean Angles!*" It will be cited again in ch. 55 and 56.—ED.]

* See Dr. Henry's useful and laborious History of Great Britain, vol. ii, p. 388.

† Quicquid (says John of Tinemouth) inter Tynam et Tesam fluvios extitit sola eremi vastitudo tunc temporis fuit, et idcirco nullius ditioni servivit, eo quod sola indomitorum et sylvestrium animalium spelunca et habitatio fuit (apud Carte, vol. i, p. 195). From Bishop Nicholson (English Historical Library, p. 65. 98), I understand, that fair copies of John of Tinemouth's ample collections are preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Lambeth, &c. [This was after the ravages of the Danes. See William of Malmesbury, i, c. 3. The early monasteries founded in this district are proofs that it had not been laid waste by the Anglo-Saxons. It was there that

mained alone in the desert which they had subdued. After the sanguinary barbarians had secured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their interest to preserve the peasants, as well as the cattle, of the unresisting country. In each successive revolution, the patient herd becomes the property of its new masters; and the salutary compact of food and labour is silently ratified by their mutual necessities. Wilfrid, the apostle of Sussex,* accepted from his royal convert the gift of the peninsula of Selsey, near Chichester, with the persons and properties of its inhabitants, who then amounted to eighty-seven families. He released them at once from spiritual and temporal bondage; and two hundred and fifty slaves of both sexes were baptized by their indulgent master. The kingdom of Sussex, which spread from the sea to the Thames, contained seven thousand families: twelve hundred were ascribed to the Isle of Wight; and, if we multiply this vague computation, it may seem probable that England was cultivated by a million of servants, or *villains*, who were attached to the estates of their arbitrary landlords. The indigent barbarians were often tempted to sell their children or themselves into perpetual, and even foreign, bondage;† yet the special exemptions, which were granted to *national* slaves,‡ sufficiently declare, that they were much less numerous than the strangers and captives, who had lost their liberty or changed their masters, by the accidents of war. When time and religion had mitigated the fierce spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, the laws encouraged the frequent practice of manumission; and their subjects, of Welch or Cambrian extraction, assume the respectable station of inferior freemen, possessed of lands, and entitled to the rights of civil society.§ Such gentle

Bede lived and wrote.—ED.]

* See the mission of Wilfrid, &c., in Bede, Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c, 13. 16. p. 155, 156. 159.

† From the concurrent testimony of Bede (l. 2, c. 1, p. 78) and William of Malmesbury (l. 3, p. 102), it appears that the Anglo-Saxons, from the first to the last age, persisted in this unnatural practice. Their youths were publicly sold in the market of Rome.

‡ According to the laws of Ina, they could not be lawfully sold beyond the seas.

§ The life of a *Wallus*, or *Cambricus, homo*, who possessed a hyde of land, is fixed at 120*s.* by the same laws, (of Ina, tit. 32, in Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 20) which allowed 200*s.* for a free Saxon, and 1,200*s.* for a Thane (see likewise Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 71). We may observe, that these legislators, the West Saxons and Mercians, continued their British conquests after they became Christians. The

treatment might secure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently subdued on the confines of Wales and Cornwall. The sage Ina, the legislator of Wessex, united the two nations in the bands of domestic alliance; and four British lords of Somersetshire may be honourably distinguished in the court of a Saxon monarch.*

The independent Britons appear to have relapsed into the state of original barbarism, from whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Separated by their enemies from the rest of mankind, they soon became an object of scandal and abhorrence to the Catholic world.† Christianity was still professed in the mountains of Wales; but the rude schismatics, in the *form* of the clerical tonsure, and in the *day* of the celebration of Easter, obstinately resisted the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiffs. The use of the Latin language was insensibly abolished, and the Britons were deprived of the arts and learning which Italy communicated to her Saxon proselytes. In Wales and Armorica, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom of the West, was preserved and propagated; and the *Bards*, who had been the companions of the Druids, were still protected, in the sixteenth century, by the laws of Elizabeth. Their chief, a respectable officer of the courts of Pengwern, or Aberfraw, or Caermarthen, accompanied the king's servants to war; the monarchy of the Britons, which he sang in the front of battle, excited their courage, and justified their depredations; and the songster claimed for his legitimate prize the fairest heifer of the spoil. His subordinate ministers, the masters and disciples of vocal and instrumental music, visited, in their respective circuits, the royal, the noble, and the plebeian houses; and the public poverty, almost exhausted by the clergy, was oppressed by the importunate demands of the Bards. Their rank and merit were ascertained by solemn trials, and the strong belief of supernatural inspiration exalted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience.‡ The last retreats of Celtic freedom, the

laws of the four kings of Kent do not condescend to notice the existence of any subject Britons.

* See Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i, p. 278.

† At the conclusion of his history, (A.D. 731) Bede describes the ecclesiastical state of the island, and censures the implacable, though impotent, hatred of the Britons, against the English nation and the Catholic church (l. 5, c. 23, p. 219).

‡ Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales (p. 426—449) has furnished me with

extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were less adapted to agriculture than to pasturage: the wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and bread was sometimes esteemed or rejected as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the morasses of Armorica; but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives and perhaps fifty children.* Their disposition was rash and choleric: they were bold in action and in speech;† and as they were ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry of Armorica, the spearmen of Gwent, and the archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable; but their poverty could seldom procure either shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight would have retarded the speed and agility of their desultory operations. One of the greatest of the English monarchs was requested to satisfy the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain: and Henry II. could assert, from his personal experience, that Wales was inhabited by a race of naked warriors, who encountered, without fear, the defensive armour of their enemies.‡

By the revolution of Britain, the limits of science as well as of empire were contracted. The dark cloud, which had been cleared by the Phœnician discoveries, and finally dispelled by the arms of Cæsar, again settled on the shores of

a curious and interesting account of the Welsh bards. In the year 1568, a session was held at Caerwys by the special command of queen Elizabeth, and regular degrees in vocal and instrumental music were conferred on fifty-five minstrels. The prize (a silver harp) was adjudged by the Mostyn family.

* Regio longe lateque diffusa, milite, magis quam credibile sit, referta. Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, sortitus more barbaro denas aut amplius uxores. This reproach of William of Poitiers (in the Historians of France, tom. xi, p. 88) is disclaimed by the Benedictine editors.

† Giraldus Cambrensis confines this gift of bold and ready eloquence to the Romans, the French, and the Britons. The malicious Welshman insinuates that the English taciturnity might possibly be the effect of their servitude under the Normans.

‡ The picture of Welsh and Armorican manners is drawn from Giraldus (Descript. Cambriæ, c. 6—15, inter Script. Camden. p. 886—891), and the authors quoted by the Abbé de Vertot. (Hist. Critique, tom. ii. p. 259—266.)

the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again lost among the fabulous islands of the ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the gravest historian of the times * describes the wonders of a remote isle, whose eastern and western parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and death, or more properly of truth and fiction. The east is a fair country, inhabited by a civilized people: the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the west, beyond the wall, the air is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with serpents; and this dreary solitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of fishermen, the subjects of the Franks, are excused from tribute in consideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these Charons of the ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the ghosts; he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown but irresistible power. After this dream of fancy, we read with astonishment that the name of this island is *Brittia;* that it lies in the ocean, against the mouth of the Rhine, and less than thirty miles from the continent; that it is possessed by three nations, the Frisians, the Angles, and the Britons; and that some Angles had appeared at Constantinople in the train of the French ambassadors. From these ambassadors Procopius might be informed of a singular, though an improbable, adventure, which announces the spirit, rather than the delicacy, of an English heroine. She had been betrothed to Radiger, king of the Varni, a tribe of Germans who touched the ocean and the Rhine; but the perfidious lover was tempted, by motives of policy, to prefer his father's widow, the sister of Theodebert, king of the Franks.† The forsaken princess of the Angles, instead of bewailing, revenged her disgrace. Her warlike subjects are *said* to have been ignorant of the use, and even of the

* See Procopius de Bell. Gothic. l. 4, c. 20, p. 620—625. The Greek historian is himself so confounded by the wonders which he relates, that he weakly attempts to distinguish the islands of *Brittia* and *Britain*, which he has identified by so many inseparable circumstances.

† Theodebert, grandson of Clovis, and king of Austrasia, was the most powerful and warlike prince of the age; and this remarkable adventure may be placed between the years 534 and 547, the extreme

form, of a horse; but she boldly sailed from Britain to the mouth of the Rhine, with a fleet of four hundred ships, and an army of one hundred thousand men. After the loss of a battle, the captive Radiger implored the mercy of his victorious bride, who generously pardoned his offence, dismissed her rival, and compelled the king of the Varni to discharge with honour and fidelity the duties of a husband.* This gallant exploit appears to be the last naval enterprise of the Anglo-Saxons. The arts of navigation, by which they had acquired the empire of Britain and of the sea, were soon neglected by the indolent barbarians, who supinely renounced all the commercial advantages of their insular situation. Seven independent kingdoms were agitated by perpetual discord; and the *British world* was seldom connected, either in peace or war, with the nations of the continent.†

I have now accomplished the laborious narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the West, about five centuries after the Christian era. At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain; Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians: Africa was exposed to the cruel persecutions of the Vandals, and the savage insults of the

terms of his reign. His sister Theudechildis retired to Sens, where she founded monasteries, and distributed alms (see the notes of the Benedictine editors, in tom. ii, p. 216). If we may credit the praises of Fortunatus (l. 6, carm. 5, in tom. ii, p. 507) Radiger was deprived of a most valuable wife.

* Perhaps she was the sister of one of the princes or chiefs of the Angles, who landed in 527, and the following years, between the Humber and the Thames, and gradually founded the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia. The English writers are ignorant of her name and existence: but Procopius may have suggested to Mr. Rowe the character and situation of Rodugune in the tragedy of the Royal Convert. [In the days of Procopius there were no Angles in Britain to furnish either a princess, a fleet, or an army, such as he describes. The fable confirms what has been said (p. 181) of the ignorance of the Greek writers, respecting the Western nations.—Ed.]

† In the copious history of Gregory of Tours, we cannot find any traces of hostile or friendly intercourse between France and England, except in the marriage of the daughter of Caribert, king of Paris, quam regis *cujusdam* in Cantia filius matrimonio copulavit (l. 9, c. 26, in tom. ii, p. 348.) The bishop of Tours ended his history and his life almost immediately

Moors: Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of barbarian mercenaries, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. All the subjects of the empire, who, by the use of the Latin language, more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the disgrace and calamities of foreign conquest; and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe. The majesty of Rome was faintly represented by the princes of Constantinople, the feeble and imaginary successors of Augustus. Yet they continued to reign over the East from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were subverted by the arms of Justinian; and the history of the *Greek* emperors may still afford a long series of instructive lessons and interesting revolutions.

General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

THE Greeks, after their country had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the FORTUNE of the republic. The inconstant goddess, who so blindly distributes and resumes her favours, had *now* consented (such was the language of envious flattery) to resign her wings, to descend from her globe, and to fix her firm and immutable throne on the banks of the Tiber.* A wiser Greek, who has composed, with a philosophic spirit, the memorable history of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and delusive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the great-

before the conversion of Kent. [This daughter of Caribert was Etheibert's queen, Bertha. Bede, Hist. Ecc. p. 37. edit. Bohn.—ED.]

* Such are the figurative expressions of Plutarch, (Opera, tom. ii, p. 318, edit. Wechel) to whom, on the faith of his son Lamprias (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii, p. 341), I shall boldly impute the malicious declamation περὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων τύχης. The same opinions had prevailed among the Greeks two hundred and fifty years before Plutarch: and to confute them, is the professed intention of Polybius. (Hist. l. 1, p. 90, edit. Gronov. Amstel. 1670.)

ness of Rome.* The fidelity of the citizens to each other, and to the state, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principle of the republic; the ambitious citizens laboured to deserve the solemn glories of a triumph: and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors.† The temperate struggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally established the firm and equal balance of the constitution; which united the freedom of popular assemblies with the authority and wisdom of a senate, and the executive powers of a regal magistrate. When the consul displayed the standard of the republic, each citizen bound himself, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his sword in the cause of his country, till he had discharged the sacred duty by a military service of ten years. This wise institution continually poured into the field the rising generations of freemen and soldiers; and their numbers were reinforced by the warlike and populous states of Italy, who, after a brave resistance, had yielded to the valour, and embraced the alliance of the Romans. The sage historian, who excited the virtue of the younger Scipio, and beheld the ruin of Carthage,‡ has accurately described their military system; their levies, arms, exercises, subordination, marches, encampments; and the invincible legion, superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From these institutions of peace and war Polybius has deduced the spirit and success of a people, incapable of fear and impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquest, which might have been defeated by the seasonable conspiracy of mankind, was

* See the inestimable remains of the sixth book of Polybius, and many other parts of his general history, particularly a digression in the seventeenth book, in which he compares the phalanx and the legion. † Sallust, de Bell. Jugurthin. c. 4. Such were the generous professions of P. Scipio and Q. Maximus. The Latin historian had read, and most probably transcribed, Polybius, their contemporary and friend. ‡ While Carthage was in flames, Scipio repeated two lines of the Iliad, which express the destruction of Troy, acknowledging to Polybius, his friend and preceptor, (Polyb. in Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. tom ii, p. 1455—1465) that while he recollected the vicissitudes of human affairs, he inwardly applied them to the future calamities of Rome. (Appian, in Libycis, p. 136, edit. Toll.)

attempted and achieved; and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage. The arms of the republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the *iron* monarchy of Rome.*

The rise of a city, which swelled into an empire, may deserve, as a singular prodigy, the reflection of a philosophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest; and as soon as time or accident had removed the artificial supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious; and instead of inquiring *why* the Roman empire was destroyed, we should rather be surprised that it had subsisted so long. The victorious legions, who, in distant wars, acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the purple. The emperors, anxious for their personal safety and the public peace, were reduced to the base expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered them alike formidable to their sovereign and to the enemy; the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally dissolved, by the partial institutions of Constantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of barbarians.

The decay of Rome has been frequently ascribed to the translation of the seat of empire; but this history has already shown, that the powers of government were *divided*, rather than *removed*. The throne of Constantinople was erected in the East; while the West was still possessed by a series of emperors who held their residence in Italy, and

* See Daniel ii, 31—40. "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as *iron*: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things." The remainder of the prophecy (the mixture of iron and *clay*) was accomplished, according to St. Jerome, in his own time. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano Imperio fortius et durius, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius; quum et in bellis civilibus et adversus diversas nationes, aliarum gentium barbararum auxilio indigemus. (Opera, tom. v, p. 572.)

claimed their equal inheritance of the legions and provinces. This dangerous novelty impaired the strength and fomented the vices of a double reign: the instruments of an oppressive and arbitrary system were multiplied; and a vain emulation of luxury, not of merit, was introduced and supported between the degenerate successors of Theodosius. Extreme distress, which unites the virtue of a free people, embitters the factions of a declining monarchy. The hostile favourites of Arcadius and Honorius betrayed the republic to its common enemies; and the Byzantine court beheld with indifference, perhaps with pleasure, the disgrace of Rome, the misfortunes of Italy, and the loss of the West. Under the succeeding reigns, the alliance of the two empires was restored; but the aid of the Oriental Romans was tardy, doubtful, and ineffectual; and the national schism of the Greeks and Latins was enlarged by the perpetual difference of language and manners, of interest, and even of religion. Yet the salutary event approved in some measure the judgment of Constantine. During a long period of decay, his impregnable city repelled the victorious armies of barbarians, protected the wealth of Asia, and commanded, both in peace and war, the important straits which connect the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. The foundation of Constantinople more essentially contributed to the preservation of the East, than to the ruin of the West.

As the happiness of a *future* life is the great object of religion, we may hear without surprise or scandal, that the introduction, or at least the abuse, of Christianity, had some influence on the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The clergy successfully preached the doctrines of patience and pusillanimity; the active virtues of society were discouraged; and the last remains of military spirit were buried in the cloister; a large portion of public and private wealth was consecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion; and the soldiers' pay was lavished on the useless multitude of both sexes, who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. Faith, zeal, curiosity, and the more earthly passions of malice and ambition, kindled the flame of theological discord; the church, and even the state, were distracted by religious factions, whose conflicts were sometimes bloody, and always implacable;

the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to synods; the Roman world was oppressed by a new species of tyranny; and the persecuted sects became the secret enemies of their country. Yet party-spirit, however pernicious or absurd, is a principle of union as well as of dissension. The bishops, from eighteen hundred pulpits, inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a lawful and orthodox sovereign; their frequent assemblies, and perpetual correspondence, maintained the communion of distant churches; and the benevolent temper of the gospel was strengthened, though confined, by the spiritual alliance of the Catholics. The sacred indolence of the monks was devoutly embraced by a servile and effeminate age; but if superstition had not afforded a decent retreat, the same vices would have tempted the unworthy Romans to desert, from baser motives, the standard of the republic. Religious precepts are easily obeyed, which indulge and sanctify the natural inclinations of their votaries; but the pure and genuine influence of Christianity may be traced in its beneficial, though imperfect, effects on the barbarian proselytes of the north. If the decline of the Roman empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

This awful revolution may be usefully applied to the instruction of the present age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclusive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to consider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own, or the neighbouring, kingdoms may be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot essentially injure our general state of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners, which so advantageously distinguish above the rest of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilized society; and we may inquire with anxious curiosity, whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities, which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome. Perhaps the

same reflections will illustrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

I. The Romans were ignorant of the extent of their danger, and the number of their enemies. Beyond the Rhine and Danube, the Northern countries of Europe and Asia were filled with innumerable tribes of hunters and shepherds, poor, voracious, and turbulent; bold in arms, and impatient to ravish the fruits of industry. The barbarian world was agitated by the rapid impulse of war; and the peace of Gaul or Italy was shaken by the distant revolutions of China. The Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their march towards the West: and the torrent was swelled by the gradual accession of captives and allies. The flying tribes who yielded to the Huns, assumed in *their* turn the spirit of conquest; the endless column of barbarians pressed on the Roman empire with accumulated weight; and, if the foremost were destroyed, the vacant space was instantly replenished by new assailants. Such formidable emigrations can no longer issue from the north; and the long repose, which has been imputed to the decrease of population, is the happy consequence of the progress of arts and agriculture. Instead of some rude villages, thinly scattered among its woods and morasses, Germany now produces a list of two thousand three hundred walled towns; the Christian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland, have been successively established; and the Hanse merchants, with the Teutonic knights, have extended their colonies along the coast of the Baltic, as far as the Gulf of Finland. From the Gulf of Finland to the Eastern ocean, Russia now assumes the form of a powerful and civilized empire. The plough, the loom, and the forge, are introduced on the banks of the Volga, the Oby, and the Lena; and the fiercest of the Tartar hordes have been taught to tremble and obey. The reign of independent barbarism is now contracted to a narrow span; and the remnant of Calmucks or Uzbecks, whose forces may be almost numbered, cannot seriously excite the apprehensions of the great republic of Europe.* Yet this apparent security

* The French and English editors of the Genealogical History of the Tartars, have subjoined a curious, though imperfect, description of their present state. We might question the independence of the Calmucks, or Eluths, since they have been recently vanquished by the

should not tempt us to forget that new enemies and unknown dangers may *possibly* arise from some obscure people, scarcely visible in the map of the world. The Arabs, or Saracens, who spread their conquests from India to Spain, had languished in poverty and contempt, till Mahomet breathed into those savage bodies the soul of enthusiasm.

II. The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope, and even the wish of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens; and the provinces of the West were reluctantly torn by the barbarians from the bosom of their mother-country.* But this union was purchased by the loss of national freedom and military spirit; and the servile provinces, destitute of life and motion, expected their safety from the mercenary troops and governors, who were directed by the orders of a distant court. The happiness of a hundred millions depended on the personal merit of one or two men, perhaps children, whose minds were corrupted by education, luxury, and despotic power. The deepest wounds were inflicted on the empire during the minorities of the sons and grandsons of Theodosius; and after those incapable princes seemed to attain the age of manhood, they abandoned the church to the bishops, the state to the eunuchs, and the provinces to the barbarians. Europe is now divided into twelve powerful, though unequal kingdoms, three respectable commonwealths, and a variety of smaller, though independent states: the chances of royal and ministerial talents are multiplied at least with the number of its rulers; and a Julian, or Semiramis, may reign in the north, while Arcadius and Honorius again slumber on the thrones of the south.† The abuses of

Chinese, who, in the year 1759, subdued the lesser Bucharia and advanced into the country of Badakshan, near the sources of the Oxus. (Mémoires sur les Chinois, tom. i, p. 325—400.) But these conquests are precarious, nor will I venture to ensure the safety of the Chinese empire.

* The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is weakened by the revolt of the Isaurians, the independence of Britain and Armorica, the Moorish tribes, or the Bagaudæ of Gaul and Spain (vol. i, p. 340; vol. iii, p. 273. 337. 434.)

† [This is the passage which gave so much offence to Louis XVI., and called forth expressions of resentment. (See Gibbon's Memoirs of his Life, p. 244.) It applies so evidently to the then state of Europe, that Gibbon could not disavow his meaning. His remarks upon it are: "I shall neither disclaim the allusion nor examine the

tyranny are restrained by the mutual influence of fear and shame: republics have acquired order and stability; monarchies have imbibed the principles of freedom, or at least, of moderation; and some sense of honour and justice is introduced into the most defective constitutions, by the general manners of the times. In peace, the progress of knowledge and industry is accelerated by the emulation of so many active rivals; in war, the European forces are exercised by temperate and undecisive contests. If a savage conqueror should issue from the deserts of Tartary, he must repeatedly vanquish the robust peasants of Russia, the numerous armies of Germany, the gallant nobles of France, and the intrepid freemen of Britain; who, perhaps, might confederate for their common defence. Should the victorious barbarians carry slavery and desolation as far as the Atlantic ocean, ten thousand vessels would transport beyond their pursuit, the remains of civilized society; and Europe would revive and flourish in the American world, which is already filled with her colonies and institutions.*

III. Cold, poverty, and a life of danger and fatigue, fortify the strength and courage of barbarians. In every age they have oppressed the polite and peaceful nations of China, India, and Persia, who neglected, and still neglect, to counterbalance these natural powers by the resources of military art. The warlike states of antiquity, Greece, Macedonia,

likeness, but the situation of the late king of France excludes all suspicion of flattery; and I am ready to declare, that the concluding observations of my third volume (4to.) were written before his accession to the throne." Still the writer undoubtedly foresaw how it would be filled.—ED.] * America now contains about six millions of European blood and descent; and their numbers, at least in the north, are continually increasing. Whatever may be the changes of their political situation, they must preserve the manners of Europe; and we may reflect with some pleasure, that the English language will probably be diffused over an immense and populous continent. [How much farther and wider have these been extended since Gibbon's days! They have carried his works to be read, and his name to be honoured, in regions then unknown. It is the Gothic mind that we see at work all over the world; it is exploring every nook, penetrating every recess, developing every resource, and sowing everywhere the seeds of future liberty, prosperity, and happiness. The national gratification of making English the universal language, is poor and paltry in comparison with the proud consciousness of animating all existence with our spirit, and training an en-

and Rome, educated a race of soldiers; exercised their bodies, disciplined their courage, multiplied their forces by regular evolutions, and converted the iron which they possessed into strong and serviceable weapons. But this superiority insensibly declined with their laws and manners; and the feeble policy of Constantine and his successors armed and instructed, for the ruin of the empire, the rude valour of the barbarian mercenaries. The military art has been changed by the invention of gunpowder, which enables man to command the two most powerful agents of nature, air and fire. Mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, architecture, have been applied to the service of war; and the adverse parties oppose to each other the most elaborate modes of attack and of defence. Historians may indignantly observe, that the preparations of a siege would found and maintain a flourishing colony;* yet we cannot be displeased, that the subversion of a city should be a work of cost and difficulty; or that an industrious people should be protected by those arts, which survive and supply the decay of military virtue. Cannon and fortifications now form an impregnable barrier against the Tartar horse; and Europe is secure from any future irruption of barbarians; since, before they can conquer, they must cease to be barbarous. Their gradual advances in the science of war would always be accompanied, as we may learn from the example of Russia, with a proportionable improvement in the arts of peace and civil policy, and they themselves must deserve a place among the polished nations whom they subdue.

Should these speculations be found doubtful or fallacious, there still remains a more humble source of comfort and hope. The discoveries of ancient and modern navigators, and the domestic history or tradition of the most en-

lightened posterity to venerate the ancestors by whom it was diffused. —Ed.]

* On avoit fait venir (for the siege of Turin) 140 pièces de canon; et il est à remarquer que chaque gros canon monté revient à environ 2300 écus: il y avoit 110,000 boulets; 106,000 cartouches d'un façon, et 300,000 d'une autre; 21,000 bombes; 27,700 grenades; 15,000 sacs à terre; 30,000 instrumens pour le pionnage; 1,200,000 livres de poudre. Ajoutez à ces munitions, le plomb, le fer, et le fer-blanc, les cordages, tout ce qui sert aux mineurs, le soufre, le salpêtre, les outils de toute espèce. Il est certain que les frais de tous ces préparatifs de destruction suffiroient pour fonder et pour faire fleurir la plus nombreuse colonie. Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XIV.

lightened nations, represent the *human savage* naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language.* From this abject condition, perhaps the primitive and universal state of man, he has gradually arisen to command the animals, to fertilize the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens. His progress in the improvement and exercise of his mental and corporeal faculties† has been irregular and various; infinitely slow in the beginning, and increasing by degrees with redoubled velocity: ages of laborious ascent have been followed by a moment of rapid downfal; and the several climates of the globe have felt the vicissitudes of light and darkness. Yet the experience of four thousand years should enlarge our hopes and diminish our apprehensions; we cannot determine to what height the human species may aspire in their advances towards perfection; but it may safely be presumed that no people, unless the face of nature is changed, will relapse into their original barbarism. The improvements of society may be viewed under a threefold aspect. 1. The poet or philosopher illustrates his age and country by the efforts of a *single* mind; but these superior powers of reason or fancy are rare and spontaneous productions, and the genius of Homer, or Cicero, or Newton, would excite less admiration if they could be created by the will of a prince, or the lessons of a preceptor. 2. The benefits of law and policy, of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences, are more solid and permanent; and *many* individuals may be qualified, by education and discipline, to promote, in their respective stations, the interests of the community. But this general order is the effect of skill and labour; and the complex machinery may be decayed

c. 20, in his Works, tom. xi, p. 391.

* It would be an easy, though tedious, task to produce the authorities of poets, philosophers, and historians. I shall therefore content myself with appealing to the decisive and authentic testimony of Diodorus Siculus, (tom. i, l. 1, p. 11, 12; l. 3, p. 184, &c. edit. Wesseling.) The Icthyophagi, who in his time wandered along the shores of the Red Sea, can only be compared to the natives of New Holland. (Dampier's Voyages, vol. i, p. 464—469.) Fancy, or perhaps reason, may still suppose an extreme and absolute state of nature far below the level of these savages, who had acquired some arts and instruments.

† See the learned and rational work of the president Goguet, de l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences. He traces from facts, or conjectures (tom. i, p. 147—337, edit. 12mo.) the first and most difficult steps of human

by time, or injured by violence. 3. Fortunately for mankind, the more useful, or, at least, more necessary arts, can be performed without superior talents, or national subordination; without the powers of *one*, or the union of *many*. Each village, each family, each individual, must always possess both ability and inclination, to perpetuate the use of fire * and of metals; the propagation and service of domestic animals; the methods of hunting and fishing; the rudiments of navigation; the imperfect cultivation of corn, or other nutritive grain; and the simple practice of the mechanic trades. Private genius and public industry may be extirpated; but these hardy plants survive the tempest, and strike an everlasting root into the most unfavourable soil. The splendid days of Augustus and Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud of ignorance: and the barbarians subverted the laws and palaces of Rome. But the scythe, the invention or emblem of Saturn,† still continued annually to mow the harvests of Italy: and the human feasts of the Læstrigons ‡ have never been renewed on the coast of Campania.

Since the first discovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal, have diffused among the savages of the old and new world these inestimable gifts; they have been successively propagated; they can never be lost. We may therefore acquiesce in the pleasing conclusion, that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the human race.§

invention. * It is certain, however strange, that many nations have been ignorant of the use of fire. Even the ingenious natives of Otaheite, who are destitute of metals, have not invented any earthen vessels capable of sustaining the action of fire, and of communicating the heat to the liquids which they contain.

† Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. in tom. ii, p. 275. Macrob. Saturnal. l. 1, c. 8, p. 152, edit. London. The arrival of Saturn (of his religious worship) in a ship, may indicate, that the savage coast of Latium was first discovered and civilized by the Phœnicians. ‡ In the ninth and tenth books of the Odyssey, Homer has embellished the tales of fearful and credulous sailors, who transformed the cannibals of Italy and Sicily into monstrous giants. § The merit of discovery has too often been stained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticism; and the intercourse of nations has produced the communication of disease and prejudice. A singular exception is due to the virtue of our own times and country. The five great voyages successively undertaken

CHAPTER XXXIX. — ZENO AND ANASTASIUS, EMPERORS OF THE EAST.—BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND FIRST EXPLOITS, OF THEODORIC THE OSTROGOTH.—HIS INVASION AND CONQUEST OF ITALY.—THE GOTHIC KINGDOM OF ITALY.—STATE OF THE WEST.—MILITARY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.—THE SENATOR BOETHIUS.—LAST ACTS AND DEATH OF THEODORIC.

After the fall of the Roman empire in the West, an interval of fifty years, till the memorable reign of Justinian, is faintly marked by the obscure names and imperfect annals of Zeno, Anastasius, and Justin, who successively ascended the throne of Constantinople. During the same period, Italy revived and flourished under the government of a Gothic king, who might have deserved a statue among the best and bravest of the ancient Romans.

Theodoric the Ostrogoth, the fourteenth in lineal descent of the royal line of the Amali,* was born in the neighbour-

by the command of his present majesty, were inspired by the pure and generous love of science and of mankind. The same prince, adapting his benefactions to the different stages of society, has founded a school of painting in his capital; and has introduced into the islands of the South sea, the vegetables and animals most useful to human life. [It is remarkable, that in these recapitulatory reflections, Gibbon has never once noticed our greatest security against a relapse into barbarism. The art of printing is our unfailing safeguard against such a reverse. The only true and "cheap defence of nations" is the free and energetic mind; and the happy invention, by means of which this broke its fetters, is now the pledge of its safety.—Ed.]

* Jornandes (de rebus Geticis, c. 13, 14, p. 629, 630, edit. Grot.) has drawn the pedigree of Theodoric from Gapt, one of the *Anses*, or demigods, who lived about the time of Domitian. Cassiodorus, the first who celebrates the royal race of the Amali, (Variar. 8, 5. 9, 25. 10, 2. 11, 1) reckons the grandson of Theodoric as the seventeenth in descent. Peringskiold (the Swedish commentator on Cochlœus, Vit. Theodoric, p. 271, &c. Stockholm, 1699) labours to connect this genealogy with the legends or traditions of his native country. [We have already traced the name of the Amali (vol. iii, p. 469) to an origin more in accordance with its high antiquity and the early simplicity of language. For such a term we must not stop at secondary etymology. The genealogy of the race, as given by Jornandes, is altogether fabulous. The letter of Cassiodorus to the senate, in the name of the young king Athalaric (Var. 9. 25) confesses the invention of the chronicle. The writer avows himself the author of the pedigree, and takes credit for having learned by reading (*lectione discens*) what the Goths had

hood of Vienna,* two years after the death of Attila. A recent victory had restored the independence of the Ostrogoths; and the three brothers, Walamir, Theodemir, and Widimir, who ruled that warlike nation with united counsels, had separately pitched their habitations in the fertile though desolate province of Pannonia. The Huns still threatened their revolted subjects, but their hasty attack was repelled by the single forces of Walamir, and the news of his victory reached the distant camp of his brother in the same auspicious moment that the favourite concubine of Theodemir was delivered of a son and heir. In the eighth year of his age, Theodoric was reluctantly yielded by his father to the public interest, as the pledge of an alliance which Leo, emperor of the East, had consented to purchase by an annual subsidy of three hundred pounds of gold. The royal hostage was educated at Constantinople with care and tenderness. His body was formed to all the exercises of war, his mind was expanded by the habits of liberal conversation; he frequented the schools of the most skilful masters; but he disdained or neglected the arts of Greece, and so ignorant did he always remain of the first elements of science, that a rude mark was contrived to represent the signature of the illiterate king of Italy.† As soon as he had

long forgotten (*longa oblivione celatos*), and did not know even by tradition. Where he can have *read* this, except in his own imagination, is a profound mystery.—ED.]

* More correctly on the banks of the lake Pelso (Neusiedler-see), near Carnuntum, almost on the same spot where Marcus Antoninus composed his meditations. (Jornandes, c. 52, p. 659. Severin. Pannonia Illustrata, p. 22. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. i, p. 350.) [Carnuntum is said by Cellarius (l. 44) to have occupied the site of the present town of Haimburg, opposite to the confluence of the Marus (Morava) with the Danube, and some miles to the northward of the lake. It was in ancient times far more important than its neighbour, Vindobona, now the metropolis of the Austrian empire.—ED.]

† The first four letters of his name (ΘΕΟΔ) were inscribed on a gold plate, and when it was fixed on the paper, the king drew his pen through the intervals. (Anonym. Valesian. ad calcem Amm. Marcellin. p. 722.) This authentic fact, with the testimony of Procopius, or at least of the contemporary Goths (Gothic. l. 1, c. 2, p. 311), far outweighs the vague praises of Ennodius (Sirmond. Opera, tom. i, p. 1596) and Theophanes (Chronograph, p. 112.) [We are here told that "the royal hostage was *educated at Constantinople with care* and tenderness." Yet *he was not taught to write.* Such was education in those days. The want of such accomplishments does not detract from, but heightens

attained the age of eighteen, he was restored to the wishes of the Ostrogoths, whom the emperor aspired to gain by liberality and confidence. Walamir had fallen in battle: the youngest of the brothers, Widimir, had led away into Italy and Gaul an army of barbarians, and the whole nation acknowledged for their king the father of Theodoric. His ferocious subjects admired the strength and stature of their young prince;* and he soon convinced them that he had not degenerated from the valour of his ancestors. At the head of six thousand volunteers, he secretly left the camp in quest of adventures, descended the Danube as far as Singidunum or Belgrade, and soon returned to his father with the spoils of a Sarmatian king whom he had vanquished and slain. Such triumphs, however, were productive only of fame, and the invincible Ostrogroths were reduced to extreme distress by the want of clothing and food. They unanimously resolved to desert their Pannonian encampments, and boldly to advance into the warm and wealthy neighbourhood of the Byzantine court, which already maintained in pride and luxury so many bands of confederate Goths. After proving by some acts of hostility that they could be dangerous, or at least troublesome, enemies, the Ostrogoths sold at a high price their reconciliation and fidelity, accepted a donative of lands and money, and were intrusted with the defence of the Lower Danube, under the command of Theodoric, who succeeded after his father's death to the hereditary throne of the Amali.†

A hero, descended from a race of kings, must have despised the base Isaurian who was invested with the Roman purple, without any endowments of mind or body,

the merit of Theodoric.—ED.]

* Statura est quæ resignet proceritate regnantem. (Ennodius, p. 1614.) The bishop of Pavia (I mean the ecclesiastic who wished to be a bishop) then proceeds to celebrate the complexion, eyes, hands, &c., of his sovereign.

† The state of the Ostrogoths, and the first years of Theodoric, are found in Jornandes (c. 52—56, p. 689—696) and Malchus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—80) who erroneously styles him the son of Walamir. [Such errors are so frequent, that they ought to make us very circumspect in drawing inferences from names given by ancient writers. Although the early pedigree of the Ostrogothic kings, as given by Jornandes, be altogether fictitious, there can be no doubt that Cassiodorus, who composed it, knew the parentage of Theodoric.—ED.]

without any advantages of royal birth, or superior qualifications. After the failure of the Theodosian line, the choice of Pulcheria and of the senate might be justified in some measure by the characters of Marcian and Leo, but the latter of these princes confirmed and dishonoured his reign by the perfidious murder of Aspar and his sons, who too rigorously exacted the debt of gratitude and obedience. The inheritance of Leo and of the East was peaceably devolved on his infant grandson, the son of his daughter Ariadne; and her Isaurian husband, the fortunate Trascalisseus, exchanged that barbarous sound for the Grecian appellation of Zeno. After the decease of the elder Leo, he approached with unnatural respect the throne of his son, humbly received as a gift the second rank in the empire, and soon excited the public suspicion on the sudden and premature death of his young colleague, whose life could no longer promote the success of his ambition. But the palace of Constantinople was ruled by female influence, and agitated by female passions; and Verina, the widow of Leo, claiming his empire as her own, pronounced a sentence of deposition against the worthless and ungrateful servant on whom she alone had bestowed the sceptre of the East.* As soon as she sounded a revolt in the ears of Zeno, he fled with precipitation into the mountains of Isauria, and her brother Basiliscus, already infamous by his African expedition,† was unanimously proclaimed by the servile senate. But the reign of the usurper was short and turbulent. Basiliscus presumed to assassinate the lover of his sister; he dared to offend the lover of his wife, the vain and insolent Harmatius, who, in the midst of Asiatic luxury, affected the dress, the demeanour, and the surname of Achilles.‡ By the conspiracy of the malecontents, Zeno was recalled from exile; the armies, the capital, the person, of Basiliscus, were betrayed; and his whole family was condemned to the long agony of cold and hunger by the inhuman conqueror, who wanted courage to encounter or to forgive his enemies. The haughty spirit of Verina was

* Theophanes (p. 111) inserts a copy of her *sacred* letters to the provinces; ἴστε ὅτι τὸ βασίλειον ἡμέτερον ἐστὶ . . . καὶ ὅτι προχειρησάμεθα βασιλέα Τρασκαλλισαῖον, &c. Such female pretensions would have astonished the slaves of the *first* Cæsars. † Vol. iv, c. 36. ‡ Suidas, tom. i, p. 332, 333, edit. Kuster.

still incapable of submission or repose. She provoked the enmity of a favourite general, embraced his cause as soon as he was disgraced, created a new emperor in Syria and Egypt, raised an army of seventy thousand men, and persisted to the last moment of her life in a fruitless rebellion, which, according to the fashion of the age, had been predicted by Christian hermits and Pagan magicians. While the East was afflicted by the passions of Verina, her daughter Ariadne was distinguished by the female virtues of mildness and fidelity; she followed her husband in his exile, and after his restoration she implored his clemency in favour of her mother. On the decease of Zeno, Ariadne, the daughter, the mother, and the widow of an emperor, gave her hand and the imperial title to Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, who survived his elevation above twenty-seven years, and whose character is attested by the acclamation of the people,—"Reign as you have lived!" *

Whatever fear or affection could bestow, was profusely lavished by Zeno on the king of the Ostrogoths; the rank of patrician and consul, the command of the Palatine troops, an equestrian statue, a treasure in gold and silver of many thousand pounds, the name of son, and the promise of a rich and honourable wife. As long as Theodoric condescended to serve, he supported with courage and fidelity the cause of his benefactor: his rapid march contributed to the restoration of Zeno; and in the second revolt, the *Walamirs*, as they were called, pursued and pressed the Asiatic rebels, till they left an easy victory to the imperial troops.† But the faithful servant was suddenly converted into a formidable enemy, who spread the flames of war from

* The contemporary histories of Malchus and Candidus are lost; but some extracts or fragments have been saved by Photius (78, 79, p. 100—102), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (Excerpt. Leg. p. 78—97), and in various articles of the Lexicon of Suidas. The Chronicle of Marcellinus (Imago Historiæ) are originals for the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; and I must acknowledge, almost for the last time, my obligations to the large and accurate collections of Tillemont. (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi, p. 472—652.)

† In ipsis congressionis tuæ foribus cessit invasor, cum *profugo* per te sceptra redderentur de salute dubitanti. Ennodius then proceeds (p. 1596, 1597, tom. i Sirmond.) to transport his hero (on a flying dragon!) into Æthiopia, beyond the tropic of Cancer. The evidence of the Valesian Fragment (p. 717), Liberatus (Brev. Eutych. c. 25, p. 118), and Theophanes,

Constantinople to the Adriatic; many flourishing cities were reduced to ashes, and the agriculture of Thrace was almost extirpated by the wanton cruelty of the Goths, who deprived their captive peasants of the right hand that guided the plough.* On such occasions, Theodoric sustained the loud and specious reproach of disloyalty, of ingratitude, and of insatiate avarice, which could be only excused by the hard necessity of his situation. He reigned, not as the monarch, but as the minister, of a ferocious people, whose spirit was unbroken by slavery, and impatient of real or imaginary insults. Their poverty was incurable; since the most liberal donatives were soon dissipated in wasteful luxury, and the most fertile estates became barren in their hands; they despised, but they envied, the laborious provincials; and when their subsistence had failed, the Ostrogoths embraced the familiar resources of war and rapine. It had been the wish of Theodoric (such at least was his declaration) to lead a peaceful, obscure, obedient life, on the confines of Scythia, till the Byzantine court, by splendid and fallacious promises, seduced him to attack a confederate tribe of Goths, who had been engaged in the party of Basiliscus. He marched from his station in Mœsia, on the solemn assurance that before he reached Adrianople, he should meet a plentiful convoy of provisions, and a reinforcement of eight thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, while the legions of Asia were encamped at Heraclea to second his operations. These measures were disappointed by mutual jealousy. As he advanced into Thrace the son of Theodemir found an inhospitable solitude, and

(p. 1. 12) is more sober and rational. * This cruel practice is specially imputed to the *Triarian* Goths, less barbarous, as it should seem, than the *Walamirs:* but the son of Theodemir is charged with the ruin of many Roman cities. (Malchus, Excerpt. Leg. p. 95.) [Malchus is the only authority for this; and we have seen how little he is to be depended upon. Is it probable that the Goths should have mutilated prisoners, whom they wanted to employ, or sell as slaves, or obtain tribute from as subjects? We have been watching their cognate races through a long course of contests, victories, and government; but of so horrid a practice we have never seen a single trace, while they have carried blessings wherever they have settled. These very Ostrogoths we shall soon find equally beneficent in Italy. Of Malchus we know nothing, except by a few preserved fragments of his history, and ought not to take his bare assertion as a proof of what circumstances contradict.—ED.]

his Gothic followers, with a heavy train of horses, of mules, and of wagons, were betrayed by their guides among the rocks and precipices of mount Sondis, where he was assaulted by the arms and invectives of Theodoric the son of Triarius. From a neighbouring height, his artful rival harangued the camp of the *Walamirs*, and branded their leader with the opprobrious names of child, of madman, of perjured traitor, the enemy of his blood and nation. "Are you ignorant," exclaimed the son of Triarius, "that it is the constant policy of the Romans to destroy the Goths by each other's swords? Are you insensible that the victor in this unnatural contest will be exposed, and justly exposed, to their implacable revenge? Where are those warriors, my kinsmen, and thy own, whose widows now lament that their lives were sacrificed to thy rash ambition? Where is the wealth which thy soldiers possessed when they were first allured from their native homes to enlist under thy standard? Each of them was then master of three or four horses; they now follow thee on foot like slaves, through the deserts of Thrace; those men who were tempted by the hope of measuring gold with a bushel, those brave men who are as free and as noble as thyself." A language so well suited to the temper of the Goths, excited clamour and discontent; and the son of Theodemir, apprehensive of being left alone, was compelled to embrace his brethren, and to imitate the example of Roman perfidy.*

In every state of his fortune, the prudence and firmness of Theodoric were equally conspicuous; whether he threatened Constantinople at the head of the confederate Goths, or retreated with a faithful band to the mountains and sea-coast of Epirus. At length the accidental death of the son of Triarius† destroyed the balance which the Romans had been so anxious to preserve; the whole nation

* Jornandes (c. 56, 57, p. 696) displays the services of Theodoric, confesses his rewards, but dissembles his revolt, of which such curious details have been preserved by Malchus. (Excerpt. Legat. p. 78—97.) Marcellinus, a domestic of Justinian, under whose fourth consulship (A.D. 534) he composed his Chronicle, (Scaliger, Thesaurus Temporum, p. 2, p. 34—57) betrays his prejudice and passion: in Græciam debacchantem . . . . Zenonis munificentiâ pene pacatus . . . . beneficiis nunquam satiatus, &c.

† As he was riding in his own camp, an unruly horse threw him against the point of a spear which hung before a tent, or was fixed on a wagon. (Marcellin. in Chron.

acknowledged the supremacy of the Amali, and the Byzantine court subscribed an ignominious and oppressive treaty.* The senate had already declared, that it was necessary to choose a party among the Goths, since the public was unequal to the support of their united forces; a subsidy of two thousand pounds of gold, with the ample pay of thirteen thousand men, were required for the least considerable of their armies;† and the Isaurians, who guarded not the empire, but the emperor, enjoyed, besides the privilege of rapine, an annual pension of five thousand pounds. The sagacious mind of Theodoric soon perceived that he was odious to the Romans, and suspected by the barbarians; he understood the popular murmur, that his subjects were exposed in their frozen huts, to intolerable hardships, while their king was dissolved in the luxury of Greece; and he prevented the painful alternative of encountering the Goths, as the champion, or of leading them to the field as the enemy, of Zeno. Embracing an enterprise worthy of his courage and ambition, Theodoric addressed the emperor in the following words:—"Although your servant is maintained in affluence by your liberality, graciously listen to the wishes of my heart! Italy, the inheritance of your predecessors, and Rome itself, the head and mistress of the world, now fluctuate under the violence and oppression of Odoacer the mercenary. Direct me, with my national troops, to march against the tyrant. If I fall, you will be relieved from an expensive and troublesome friend: if, with the divine permission, I succeed, I shall govern in your name, and to your glory, the Roman senate, and the part of the republic delivered from slavery by my victorious arms." The proposal of Theodoric was accepted, and perhaps had been suggested, by the Byzantine court. But the forms of the commission, or grant, appear to have been expressed with a prudent ambiguity, which might be explained by the event; and it was left doubtful whether the conqueror of Italy should reign as the lieutenant, the vassal, or the ally, of the emperor of the East.‡

Evagrius, l. 3, c. 25). * See Malchus (p. 91) and Evagrius (l. c. 35). † Malchus, p. 85. In a single action, which was decided by the skill and discipline of Sabinian, Theodoric could lose five thousand men. ‡ Jornandes (c. 57, p. 696, 697) has abridged the great history of Cassiodorus. See, compare, and recon-

The reputation both of the leader and of the war, diffused a universal ardour; the *Walamirs* were multiplied by the Gothic swarms already engaged in the service, or seated in the provinces, of the empire; and each bold barbarian, who had heard of the wealth and beauty of Italy, was impatient to seek, through the most perilous adventures, the possession of such enchanting objects. The march of Theodoric must be considered as the emigration of an entire people; the wives and children of the Goths, their aged parents, and most precious effects, were carefully transported; and some idea may be formed of the heavy baggage that now followed the camp, by the loss of two thousand wagons, which had been sustained in a single action in the war of Epirus. For their subsistence, the Goths depended on the magazines of corn which was ground in portable mills by the hands of their women; on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds; on the casual produce of the chase, and upon the contributions which they might impose on all who should presume to dispute the passage, or to refuse their friendly assistance. Notwithstanding these precautions, they were exposed to the danger, and almost to the distress, of famine, in a march of seven hundred miles, which had been undertaken in the depth of a rigorous winter. Since the fall of the Roman power, Dacia and Pannonia no longer exhibited the rich prospect of populous cities, well-cultivated fields, and convenient highways: the reign of barbarism and desolation was restored, and the tribes of Bulgarians, Gepidæ, and Sarmatians, who had occupied the vacant province, were prompted by their native fierceness, or the solicitations of Odoacer, to resist the progress of his enemy. In many obscure, though bloody battles, Theodoric fought and vanquished; till at length, surmounting every obstacle by skilful conduct and persevering courage, he descended from the Julian Alps, and displayed his invincible banners on the confines of Italy.*

Odoacer, a rival not unworthy of his arms, had already occupied the advantageous and well-known post of the river Sontius near the ruins of Aquileia, at the head of a powerful

cile, Procopius (Gothic. l. 1, c. 1), the Valesian Fragment (p. 718), Theophanes (p. 113), and Marcellinus (in Chron.).

* Theodoric's march is supplied and illustrated by Ennodius, (p. 1598—1602) when the bombast of the oration is translated into the

host, whose independent *kings* * or leaders disdained the duties of subordination and the prudence of delays. No sooner had Theodoric granted a short repose and refreshment to his wearied cavalry, than he boldly attacked the fortifications of the enemy; the Ostrogoths showed more ardour to acquire, than the mercenaries to defend, the lands of Italy; and the reward of the first victory was the possession of the Venetian province as far as the walls of Verona. In the neighbourhood of that city, on the steep banks of the rapid Adige, he was opposed by a new army, reinforced in its numbers, and not impaired in its courage; the contest was more obstinate, but the event was still more decisive; Odoacer fled to Ravenna, Theodoric advanced to Milan, and the vanquished troops saluted their conqueror with loud acclamations of respect and fidelity. But their want either of constancy or of faith, soon exposed him to the most imminent danger; his vanguard, with several Gothic counts, which had been rashly intrusted to a deserter, was betrayed and destroyed near Faenza by his double treachery; Odoacer again appeared master of the field, and the invader, strongly intrenched in his camp of Pavia, was reduced to solicit the aid of a kindred nation, the Visigoths of Gaul. In the course of this history, the most voracious appetite for war will be abundantly satiated; nor can I much lament that our dark and imperfect materials do not afford a more ample narrative of the distress of Italy, and of the fierce conflict, which was finally decided by the abilities, experience, and valour of the Gothic king. Immediately before the battle of Verona, he visited the tent of his mother † and sister, and requested, that on a day, the most illustrious

language of common sense.

* Tot reges, &c. (Ennodius, p. 1602.) We must recollect how much the royal title was multiplied and degraded, and that the mercenaries of Italy were the fragments of many tribes and nations. {*Reges* ought not to be taken in the restricted sense of *kings*. It had a more extended signification, even before the days of Ennodius. Cæsar (De Bell. Gall. 3. 167. 109) applied it to the members of the royal family in Egypt; and it may be doubted whether the *atavi reges*, from whom Horace celebrated the descent of Mæcenas, were more than eminent or noble Etruscans. In later times the title was used in speaking of men of note. See Ducange, 5. 426. 428. —ED.]

† See Ennodius, p. 1603, 1604. Since the orator, in the king's presence, could mention and praise his mother, we may conclude that the magnanimity of Theodoric was not hurt by the vulgar reproaches

festival of his life, they would adorn him with the rich garments which they had worked with their own hands. "Our glory," (said he) "is mutual and inseparable. You are known to the world as the mother of Theodoric; and it becomes me to prove that I am the genuine offspring of those heroes from whom I claim my descent." The wife or concubine of Theodemir was inspired with the spirit of the German matrons, who esteemed their sons' honour far above their safety; and it is reported, that in a desperate action, when Theodoric himself was hurried along by the torrent of a flying crowd, she boldly met them at the entrance of the camp, and, by her generous reproaches, drove them back on the swords of the enemy.*

From the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, Theodoric reigned by the right of conquest: the Vandal ambassadors surrendered the island of Sicily, as a lawful appendage of his kingdom; and he was accepted as the deliverer of Rome by the senate and people, who had shut their gates against the flying usurper.† Ravenna alone, secure in the fortifications of art and nature, still sustained a siege of almost three years; and the daring sallies of Odoacer carried slaughter and dismay into the Gothic camp. At length, destitute of provisions, and hopeless of relief, that unfortunate monarch yielded to the groans of his subjects and the clamours of his soldiers. A treaty of peace was negotiated by the bishop of Ravenna; the Ostrogoths were admitted into the city, and the hostile kings consented, under the sanction of an oath, to rule with equal and undivided authority the provinces of Italy. The event of such an agreement may be easily foreseen. After some days had been devoted to the semblance of joy and friendship, Odoacer, in the midst of a solemn banquet, was stabbed by the hand, or at least by the command, of his rival. Secret and effectual orders had been previously dispatched; the faithless and rapacious mercenaries, at the same moment,

of concubine and bastard.

* This anecdote is related on the modern but respectable authority of Sigonius (Op. tom. i, p. 580. De Occident. Imp. l. 15): his words are curious:—"Would you return?" &c. She presented, and almost displayed, the original recess.

† Hist. Miscell. l. 15, a Roman history from Janus to the ninth century, an Epitome of Eutropius, Paulus Diaconus, and Theophanes, which Muratori has published from MSS. in the Ambrosian library. (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i, p. 100.)

and without resistance, were universally massacred: and the royalty of Theodoric was proclaimed by the Goths, with the tardy, reluctant, ambiguous consent of the emperor of the East. The design of a conspiracy was imputed, according to the usual forms, to the prostrate tyrant; but his innocence, and the guilt of his conqueror,* are sufficiently proved by the advantageous treaty which *force* would not sincerely have granted, nor *weakness* have rashly infringed. The jealousy of power, and the mischiefs of discord, may suggest a more decent apology, and a sentence less rigorous may be pronounced against a crime which was necessary to introduce into Italy a generation of public felicity. The living author of this felicity was audaciously praised in his own presence by sacred and profane orators;† but history (in his time she was mute and inglorious) has not left any just representation of the events which displayed, or of the defects which clouded, the virtues of Theodoric.‡ One

* Procopius (Gothic. l. 1, cap. 1) approves himself an impartial sceptic; φασὶ . . . δολερῷ τρόπῳ ἔκτεινε. Cassiodorus (in Chron.) and Ennodius (p. 1604) are loyal and credulous; and the testimony of the Valesian Fragment (p. 718) may justify their belief. Marcellinus spits the venom of a Greek subject—perjuriis illectus interfectusque est (in Chron.). [Gibbon had no authority for introducing into the assassination of Odoacer, his hypothetical "stabbed by the hand of his rival." The perfidious act is, without it, a sufficiently deep stain on the name of Theodoric, and is attested by too many contemporary writers, to be discredited. His subsequent history, too, shows that he could not refrain from shedding blood, when passion overcame his better feelings. Schmidt (2, 280) with great brevity, confidently repeats the accusation in its most odious form, supporting it by no authorities; but almost all the ancient historians of the event make Theodoric the instigator, not the perpetrator, of the deed. The "*interemit*" of Cassiodorus in his Chronicon, to which Jornandes gave the form of "*hac luce privavit*," (c. 57) does not sanction the charge. When he wrote, he had no motive to misrepresent or extenuate.—ED.]

† The sonorous and servile oration of Ennodius was pronounced at Milan or Ravenna in the years 507 or 508. (Sirmond, tom. i, p. 1615.) Two or three years afterwards, the orator was rewarded with the bishopric of Pavia, which he held till his death, in the year 521. (Dupin, Bibliot. Eccles. tom. v, p. 11—14. See Saxii Onomasticon, tom. ii, p. 12.)

‡ Our best materials are occasional hints from Procopius and the Valesian Fragment, which was discovered by Sirmond, and is published at the end of Ammianus Marcellinus. The author's name is unknown and his style is barbarous; but in his various facts he exhibits the knowledge, without the passions, of a contemporary. The

record of his fame, the volume of public epistles, composed by Cassiodorus in the royal name, is still extant, and has obtained more implicit credit than it seems to deserve.* They exhibit the forms, rather than the substance, of his government; and we should vainly search for the pure and spontaneous sentiments of the barbarian amidst the declamation and learning of a sophist, the wishes of a Roman senator, the precedents of office, and the vague professions, which in every court, and on every occasion, compose the language of discreet ministers. The reputation of Theodoric may repose with more confidence on the visible peace and prosperity of a reign of thirty-three years; the unanimous esteem of his own times, and the memory of his wisdom and courage, his justice and humanity, which was deeply impressed on the minds of the Goths and Italians.†

The partition of the lands of Italy, of which Theodoric assigned the third part to his soldiers, is *honourably* arraigned as the sole injustice of his life. And even this act may be fairly justified by the example of Odoacer, the rights of conquest, the true interest of the Italians, and the sacred duty of subsisting a whole people, who, on the faith of his promises, had transported themselves into a distant land.‡ Under the reign of Theodoric, and in the happy

president Montesquieu had formed the plan of a history of Theodoric, which at a distance might appear a rich and interesting subject.

* The best edition of the *Variarum Libri* 12, is that of Joh. Garretius; (Rotomagi, 1679, in Opp. Cassiodor. 2 vol. in fol.,) but they deserved and required such an editor as the Marquis Scipio Maffei, who thought of publishing them at Verona. The *Barbara Eleganza* (as it is ingeniously named by Tiraboschi) is never simple, and seldom perspicuous.

† [The general tenor of these epistles is surely confirmed by the results of Theodoric's administration. They may contain many of the hollow professions of diplomacy, and Cassiodorus may often needlessly dilate with pompous pedantry; still they abound in facts explicitly stated, and official acts, recorded or published in simple forms, that are pledges of sincerity and truth. The few lines, in which the pension, granted to the fallen emperor Romulus, is secured to him and to his mother (Var. 3. 35), carry with them the conviction of their genuineness; and the terms in which the distresses or injuries of provincials are ordered to be relieved by the treasury, manifest kind motives and intentions. Ancient times have handed down to us no similar collection of state papers or official documents; from no other source can we draw information as to the past, so satisfactory, authentic, and valuable.—ED.]

‡ Procopius, Gothic. l. 1, c. 1. Variarum 2. Maffei (Verona Illustrat. p. i, p. 228) exaggerates the injustice of the Goths, whom he hated as

climate of Italy, the Goths soon multiplied to a formidable host of two hundred thousand men,* and the whole amount of their families may be computed by the ordinary addition of women and children. Their invasion of property, a part of which must have been already vacant, was disguised by the generous but improper name of *hospitality;* these unwelcome guests were irregularly dispersed over the face of Italy, and the lot of each barbarian was adequate to his birth and office, the number of his followers, and the rustic wealth which he possessed in slaves and cattle. The distinctions of noble and plebeian were acknowledged;† but the lands of every freeman were exempt from taxes, and he enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being subject only to the laws of his country.‡ Fashion, and even convenience, soon persuaded the conquerors to assume the more elegant dress of the natives, but they still persisted in the use of their mother-tongue; and their contempt for the Latin schools was applauded by Theodoric himself, who gratified their prejudices, or his own, by declaring, that the child who had trembled at a rod, would never dare to look upon a sword.§ Distress might sometimes provoke the indigent Roman to assume the ferocious manners, which were insensibly relinquished by the rich and luxurious barbarian;¶

an Italian noble. The plebeian Muratori crouches under their oppression. [When the Romans deplored the "invasion of property," which the Goths exercised by right of conquest, they forgot the acts of their own ancestors, by which that very property was acquired. Where these made themselves masters of a country, the conquered people often lost the whole of their possessions. See Niebuhr's Lectures, 2, 324.—ED.]

* Procopius, Goth. l. 3, c. 4. 21. Ennodius describes (p. 1612, 1613) the military arts and increasing numbers of the Goths.

† When Theodoric gave his sister to the king of the Vandals, she sailed for Africa with a guard of one thousand noble Goths, each of whom was attended by five armed followers. (Procop. Vand. l. 1, c. 8.) The Gothic nobility must have been as noble as brave.

‡ See the acknowledgment of Gothic liberty, Var. 5. 30.

§ Procopius, Goth. l. 1, c. 2. The Roman boys learnt the language (Var. 8. 21) of the Goths. Their general ignorance is not destroyed by the exceptions of Amalasuntha, a female, who might study without shame, or of Theodatus, whose learning provoked the indignation and contempt of his countrymen. [Theodoric considered Roman degeneracy and weakness to be the result of reading and writing, of the value of which his own education had kept him ignorant. This delusion was encouraged, both in him and his people, by those who wished better instruction to be distasteful to them.—ED.]

¶ A saying of Theodoric was founded on experience: "Romanus

but these mutual conversions were not encouraged by the policy of a monarch who perpetuated the separation of the Italians and Goths; reserving the former for the arts of peace, and the latter for the service of war. To accomplish this design, he studied to protect his industrious subjects, and to moderate the violence, without enervating the valour, of his soldiers who were maintained for the public defence. They held their lands and benefices as a military stipend; at the sound of the trumpet they were prepared to march under the conduct of their provincial officers; and the whole extent of Italy was distributed into the several quarters of a well-regulated camp. The service of the palace and of the frontiers was performed by choice or by rotation; and each extraordinary fatigue was recompensed by an increase of pay and occasional donatives. Theodoric had convinced his brave companions, that empire must be acquired and defended by the same arts. After his example, they strove to excel in the use, not only of the lance and sword, the instruments of their victories, but of the missile weapons, which they were too much inclined to neglect; and the lively image of war was displayed in the daily exercise and annual reviews of the Gothic cavalry. A firm though gentle discipline, imposed the habits of modesty, obedience, and temperance; and the Goths were instructed to spare the people, to reverence the laws, to understand the duties of civil society, and to disclaim the barbarous license of judicial combat and private revenge.*

Among the barbarians of the West, the victory of Theodoric had spread a general alarm. But as soon as it appeared that he was satisfied with conquest, and desirous of peace, terror was changed into respect, and they submitted to a powerful mediation, which was uniformly employed for the best purposes of reconciling their quarrels and civilising their manners.† The ambassadors who resorted to Ravenna

miser imitatur Gothum; et utilis (*dives*) Gothus imitatur Romanum. (See the Fragment and Notes of Valesius, p. 719.)

* The view of the military establishment of the Goths in Italy, is collected from the Epistles of Cassiodorus. (Var. i. 24. 40. iii. 3. 24. 48. iv. 13, 14. v. 26, 27. viii. 3, 4. 25.) They are illustrated by the learned Mascou. (Hist. of the Germans, l. 11. 40—44, annotation 14.)

† See the clearness and vigour of his negotiations in Ennodius (p. 1607,) and Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 1—4. iv. 13. v. 43, 44), who gives the different styles of friendship, counsel, expostulation, &c.

from the most distant countries of Europe, admired his wisdom, magnificence,* and courtesy; and if he sometimes accepted either slaves or arms, white horses or strange animals, the gift of a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a musician, admonished even the princes of Gaul, of the superior art and industry of his Italian subjects. His domestic alliances,† a wife, two daughters, a sister, and a niece, united the family of Theodoric with the kings of the Franks, the Burgundians, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Thuringians; and contributed to maintain the harmony, or at least the balance, of the great republic of the West.‡ It is difficult, in the dark forest of Germany and Poland, to pursue the emigration of the Heruli, a fierce people, who disdained the use of armour, and who condemned their widows and aged parents not to survive the loss of their husbands, or the decay of their strength.§ The king of these savage warriors solicited

* Even of his table (Var. vi. 9,) and palace (vii. 5). The admiration of strangers is represented as the most rational motive to justify these vain expenses, and to stimulate the diligence of the officers to whom those provinces were intrusted.

† See the public and private alliances of the Gothic monarch, with the Burgundians, (Var. i. 45, 46,) with the Franks, (ii. 40,) with the Thuringians, (iv. 1,) and with the Vandals (v. 1). Each of these epistles affords some curious knowledge of the policy and manners of the barbarians.

‡ His political system may be observed in Cassiodorus, (Var. iv. 1. ix. 1), Jornandes, (c. 58. p. 698, 699,) and the Valesian Fragment (p. 720, 721). Peace, honourable peace, was the constant aim of Theodoric. [Cassiodorus was undoubtedly a very peace-loving adviser, and Boethius the same, so long as his influence lasted. The letter (Var. ix. 1) to which Gibbon here refers, was not written till after the death of Theodoric, and in the name of his young grandson, Athalaric. But it breathes the same spirit of peace. Such incidental notices of the Burgundians as that which we find here, assist in correcting some contradictory accounts of that people. That they were of sufficient importance for Theodoric to give one of his daughters in marriage to their future king, is an additional proof that they had not been reduced to the state of depression described by some historians. The sun-dial and water-clock were gifts solicited by their king, Gundobald, and made for him by Boethius. (Var. i. 45 and 46.) So also the harper (cithæredus) was sent to Clovis, at his particular request (magnis precibus expetiisset) and selected for him by Boethius. (Var. ii. 39 and 40.) The king of the Franks is there called Luduin. See also Var. iii. 3 and 4.—ED.]

§ The curious reader may contemplate the Heruli of Procopius, (Goth. l. ii. c. 14,) and the patient reader may plunge into the dark and minute researches of M. de Buat. (Hist. des Peuples Anciens, tom. ix, p. 348—396.) [Dark and minute as have been the researches into the history of the Heruli, they

the friendship of Theodoric, and was elevated to the rank of his son, according to the barbaric rites of a military adoption.* From the shores of the Baltic, the Æstians, or Livonians, laid their offerings of native amber† at the feet of a prince, whose fame had excited them to undertake an unknown and dangerous journey of fifteen hundred miles.

have never yet led to any satisfactory conclusion. Those who bore the name had never any lands to call their own; Cellarius assigns no country to them. They are found at times in all regions, from Spain to the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Palus Mæotis; and wherever they are found, some theorist has vainly endeavoured to give them an abiding home. They are seldom known to have engaged in any war by themselves, but generally in concert with different Gothic tribes, or, as mercenaries, in the service of the Roman emperors, who were rarely without a large body of them in their pay. When and how they became extinct is quite unknown. From all that can be ascertained respecting them, it may be inferred that they were never a distinct people, but bands of adventurers, collected at different times, indiscriminately, from all other tribes, to serve any who might hire them, like the *condottieri* of the Middle Ages. With this their name corresponded. In modern German, *Heer* denotes an army, and in early Gothic, as used by Ulphilas, it had the form of *haarji*. *Heervolk* was an old German term for an armed band; and, in times still more remote, was *Haarjifolc*, which the Romans, ignorant of its meaning, smoothed into Heruli and conceived that it denoted a people. The forces which Odoacer led into Italy were composed of such bands, and their Gothic name caused him to be called king of the Heruli. The letter written by Cassiodorus, in the name of Theodoric, "Regi Herulorum," adopting him as a son and making a present of arms, does not give the idea of one sovereign addressing another, but of a diplomatic condescension towards the ruler of an independent but hireling band, whom the writer wished to attach to his service, by the remembrance of past "*solatia*," and the prospect of future advantage. See also ch. 41.—ED.]

* Variarum, iv. 2. The spirit and forms of this martial institution are noticed by Cassiodorus; but he seems to have only translated the sentiments of the Gothic king into the language of Roman eloquence.

† Cassiodorus, who quotes Tacitus to the Æstians, the unlettered savages of the Baltic (Var. v. 2), describes the amber for which their shores have ever been famous, as the gum of a tree, hardened by the sun, and purified and wafted by the waves. When that singular substance is analyzed by the chemists, it yields a vegetable oil and a mineral acid. [The combined researches of geology and chemistry have ascertained for us the origin and nature of amber more correctly than they were known in Gibbon's time. See Mantell's Medals of Creation, vol. i, p. 182; edit. 1853. The Æstii were considered by Cellarius to be the maritime portion of the Venedi of the Vistula. Their name, which seems to be of Latin origin, was probably given to them by the Roman amber-merchants, and willingly adopted by the people to please their customers. After they had fled from, or

With the country* from whence the Gothic nation derived their origin, he maintained a frequent and friendly correspondence; the Italians were clothed in the rich sables† of Sweden, and one of its sovereigns, after a voluntary or reluctant abdication, found a hospitable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a small portion of the great island or peninsula or Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of Thule has been sometimes applied. That northern region was peopled, or had been explored, as high as the sixty-eighth degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and winter solstice during an equal period of forty days.‡ The long night of his absence or death was the mournful season of distress

associated with, their Slavonic conquerors, it still attached to the territory in the form of Esthen or Esthonia, long one of the ultramarine appendages of Sweden, but afterwards acquired by Russia. The Æstii were the only possessors of amber, which afforded them the means of a profitable traffic. Their mission to Rome, in the time of Theodoric, was probably more mercantile than political, and designed to revive a commercial intercourse, which the dismantled state of the empire had interrupted. This alone can explain an act of homage which appears to have surprised its object, coming from so distant a people.—ED.]

* Scanzia, or Thule, is described by Jornandes (c. 3, p. 610—613) and Procopius (Goth. l. 2, c. 15). Neither the Goth nor the Greek had visited the country; both had conversed with the natives in their exile at Ravenna or Constantinople. [The ancients were so profoundly ignorant of the northern part of Europe, that we are compelled to despair of obtaining information from them on the subject. Pytheas mystified them so much by his tales about Thule, that Polybius, one of the most sagacious of their writers, treated his fables with unqualified scorn and derision (l. 34, c. 5). Yet moderns have wasted their time in fruitless endeavours to discover its real situation. Those who supposed Scanzia to be an island, could never have penetrated to the latitude where the sun is hidden for forty days at the winter solstice. The opinion that Scandinavia was the Thule of Pytheas, cannot be maintained.—ED.]

† *Sapherinas pelles.* In the time of Jornandes, they inhabited *Suethans*, the proper Sweden; but that beautiful race of animals has gradually been driven into the eastern parts of Siberia. See Buffon, (Hist. Nat. tom. xiii, p. 309—313, quarto edition) Pennant, (System of Quadrupeds, vol. i, p. 322—328) Gmelin, (Hist. Gén. des Voyages, tom. xviii, p. 257, 258) and Levesque, (Hist. de Russie, tom. v, p. 165, 166. 514, 515.) [The skins of the sables were not offered as a tribute to Theodoric, like the *succinum* of the Æstii. They are now monopolized by the sovereign of Russia, who derives from them a large revenue.—ED.]

‡ In the system or romance of M. Bailly, (Lettres sur les Sciences et sur l'Atlantide,

and anxiety, till the messengers who had been sent to the mountain-tops, descried the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his resurrection.*

The life of Theodoric represents the rare and meritorious example of a barbarian, who sheathed his sword in the pride of victory and the vigour of his age. A reign of three-and-thirty years was consecrated to the duties of civil government, and the hostilities in which he was sometimes involved, were speedily terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, the discipline of his troops, the arms of his allies, and even by the terror of his name. He reduced, under a strong and regular government, the unprofitable countries of Rhætia, Noricum, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, from the source of the Danube and the territory of the Bavarians,† to the petty kingdom erected by the Gepidæ on the ruins of Sirmium. His prudence could not safely intrust the bulwark of Italy to such feeble and turbulent neighbours; and his justice might claim the lands which they oppressed, either as a part of his kingdom, or as the inheritance of his father. The greatness of a servant, who was named perfidious because he was successful, awakened the jealousy of the emperor Anastasius; and a war was kindled on the Dacian frontier, by the protection which the Gothic king, in the vicissitude of human affairs, had granted to one of the descendents of Attila. Sabinian, a general illustrious by his own and father's merit, advanced at the head of ten thousand Romans; and the provisions and arms, which filled a long train of wagons, were distributed to the fiercest of the Bulgarian tribes. But, in the fields of

tom. i, p. 249—256; tom. ii, p. 114—139) the phœnix of the Edda, and the annual death and revival of Adonis and Osiris, are the allegorical symbols of the absence and return of the sun in the arctic regions. This ingenious writer is a worthy disciple of the great Buffon: nor is it easy for the coldest reason to withstand the magic of their philosophy.

* Αὕτη τε θουλίτοις ἡ μεγίστη τῶν ἑορτῶν ἔστι, says Procopius. At present a rude Manicheism (generous enough) prevails among the Samŏyedes in Greenland and in Lapland; (Hist. des Voyages, tom. xviii, p. 508, 509; tom. xix, p. 105, 106. 527, 528) yet, according to Grotius, Samojutæ cælum atque astra adorant, numina haud aliis iniquiora (de Rebus Belgicis, l. 4, p. 338, folio edition); a sentence which Tacitus would not have disowned.

† See the Hist. des Peuples Anciens, &c. tom. ix, p. 255—273. 396—501. The count de Buat was French minister at the court of Bavaria: a liberal curiosity prompted his inquiries into the antiquities of the country, and that curiosity was the *germ* of twelve respectable volumes.

Margus, the eastern powers were defeated by the inferior forces of the Goths and Huns; the flower and even the hope of the Roman armies was irretrievably destroyed; and such was the temperance with which Theodoric had inspired his victorious troops, that as their leader had not given the signal of pillage, the rich spoils of the enemy lay untouched at their feet.* Exasperated by this disgrace, the Byzantine court dispatched two hundred ships and eight thousand men to plunder the sea-coast of Calabria and Apulia; they assaulted the ancient city of Tarentum, interrupted the trade and agriculture of a happy country, and sailed back to the Hellespont, proud of their piratical victory over a people whom they still presumed to consider as their *Roman* brethren.† Their retreat was possibly hastened by the activity of Theodoric; Italy was covered by a fleet of a thousand light vessels,‡ which he constructed with incredible dispatch; and his firm moderation was soon rewarded by a solid and honourable peace. He maintained with a powerful hand the balance of the West, till it was at length overthrown by the ambition of Clovis; and although unable to assist his rash and unfortunate kinsman the king of the Visigoths, he saved the remains of his family and people, and checked the Franks in the midst of their victorious career. I am not desirous to prolong or repeat§ this narrative of military events, the least interesting of the reign of Theodoric; and shall be content to add, that the Allemanni were protected,¶ that an inroad of the Burgundians** was

* See the Gothic transactions on the Danube and in Illyricum, in Jornandes (c. 58, p. 699), Ennodius (p. 1607—1610), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 44. 47, 48), and Cassiodorus (in Chron. and Var. iii. 23. 50. iv. 13. vii. 4. 24. viii. 9—11. 21. ix. 8, 9).

† I cannot forbear transcribing the liberal and classic style of count Marcellinus. Romanus comes domesticorum, et Rusticus comes scholariorum cum centum-armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia militum armatorum secum ferentibus, ad devastanda Italiæ littora processerunt, et usque ad Tarentum antiquissimam civitatem aggressi sunt; remensoque mari inhonestam victoriam quam piratico ausu Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anastasio Cæsari reportarunt (in Chron. p. 48). See Variar. i. 16. ii. 38.

‡ See the royal orders and instructions. (Var. iv. 15. v. 16—20.) These armed boats should be still smaller than the thousand vessels of Agamemnon at the siege of Troy.

§ Vol. iv. p. 174—177.

¶ Ennodius (p. 1610) and Cassiodorus, in the royal name, (Var. ii. 41) record his salutary protection of the Allemanni.

** [It is scarcely probable that the Burgundians, long engaged in an arduous struggle with their powerful neighbours, the Franks, should

severely chastised, and that the conquest of Arles and Marseilles opened a free communication with the Visigoths, who revered him both as their national protector, and as the guardian of his grandchild, the infant son of Alaric. Under this respectable character, the king of Italy restored the prætorian prefecture of the Gauls, reformed some abuses in the civil government of Spain, and accepted the annual tribute and apparent submission of its military governor, who wisely refused to trust his person in the palace of Ravenna.* The Gothic sovereignty was established from Sicily to the Danube, from Sirmium or Belgrade to the Atlantic ocean; and the Greeks themselves have acknowledged that Theodoric reigned over the fairest portion of the Western empire.†

The union of the Goths and Romans might have fixed for ages the transient happiness of Italy; and the first of nations, a new people of free subjects and enlightened soldiers, might have gradually arisen from the mutual emulation of their respective virtues. But the sublime merit of guiding or seconding such a revolution, was not reserved for the reign of Theodoric: he wanted either the genius or the opportunities of a legislator;‡ and while he indulged the Goths in the enjoyment of rude liberty, he servilely copied the institutions, and even the abuses, of the political system which had been framed by Constantine and his successors. From a tender regard to the expiring prejudices of Rome, the barbarian declined the name, the purple, and the diadem, of the emperors; but he assumed, under the hereditary title of king, the whole substance and plenitude of imperial prerogative.§ His addresses to the Eastern throne were

have invaded the territories of their king's father-in-law. Zedler represents the affair more correctly, when he says that Theodoric, seeing them about to succumb to their assailants, secured a portion of their lands for himself. (Lexicon. 43. 763.)—Ed.]

* The Gothic transactions in Gaul and Spain are represented with some perplexity in Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 32. 38. 41. 43, 44. v. 39), Jornandes (c. 58, p. 698, 699), and Procopius (Goth. l. 1, c. 12). I will neither hear nor reconcile the long and contradictory arguments of the Abbé Dubos and the count de Buat about the wars of Burgundy.

† Theophanes, p. 113.

‡ Procopius affirms that no laws whatsoever were promulgated by Theodoric, and the succeeding kings of Italy. (Goth. l. 2, c. 6.) He must mean in the Gothic language. A Latin edict of Theodoric is still extant, in one hundred and fifty-four articles.

§ The image of Theodoric is engraved on his coins: his modest successors were satisfied with

respectful and ambiguous; he celebrated in pompous style the harmony of the two republics, applauded his own government as the perfect similitude of a sole and undivided empire, and claimed above the kings of the earth the same pre-eminence which he modestly allowed to the person or rank of Anastasius. The alliance of the East and West was annually declared by the unanimous choice of two consuls; but it should seem that the Italian candidate who was named by Theodoric, accepted a formal confirmation from the sovereign of Constantinople.* The Gothic palace of Ravenna reflected the image of the court of Theodosius or Valentinian. The prætorian prefect, the prefect of Rome, the quæstor, the master of the offices, with the public and patrimonial treasurers, whose functions are painted in gaudy colours by the rhetoric of Cassiodorus, still continued to act as the ministers of state. And the subordinate care of justice and the revenue was delegated to seven consulars, three correctors and five presidents, who governed the fifteen *regions* of Italy, according to the principles and even the forms of Roman jurisprudence.† The violence of the conquerors was abated or eluded by the slow artifice of judicial proceedings; the civil administration, with its honours and emoluments, was confined to the Italians; and the people still preserved their dress and language, their laws and customs, their personal freedom, and two-thirds of their landed property. It had been the object of Augustus to conceal the introduction of monarchy; it was the policy of Theo-

adding their own name to the head of the reigning emperor. (Muratori, Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii, dissert. 27, p. 577—579. Giannone, Istoria Civile di Napoli, (tom. i, p. 166.) [Eckhel (8. 211—215) and Humphreys (Coin Collector's Manual, p. 369. 652, edit. Bohn) describe many coins of Theodoric and his successors. All of them issued a large number, bearing only their own names and effigies. These are distinguished as *autonomi*, and most of them have the strange inscription INVICTA ROMA. But there are also some even of Theodoric's which, with his name, have the head either of Anastasius or Justin I., as those of his posterity have that of Justinian. These evidences of Gothic subordination or modesty, are, however, far fewer in number than the *autonomi*.—ED.]

* The alliance of the emperor and the king of Italy are represented by Cassiodorus (Var. i. 1. ii. 2. 3. vi. 1) and Procopius (Goth, l. 2, c. 6, l. 3, c. 21) who celebrate the friendship of Anastasius and Theodoric: but the figurative style of compliment was interpreted in a very different sense at Constantinople and Ravenna.

† To the seventeen provinces of the Notitia, Paul Warnefrid the

doric to disguise the reign of a barbarian.* If his subjects were sometimes awakened from this pleasing vision of a Roman government, they derived more substantial comfort from the character of a Gothic prince, who had penetration to discern, and firmness to pursue, his own and the public interest. Theodoric loved the virtues which he possessed, and the talents of which he was destitute. Liberius was promoted to the office of prætorian prefect for his unshaken fidelity to the unfortunate cause of Odoacer. The ministers of Theodoric, Cassiodorus† and Boethius, have reflected on his

deacon (De Reb. Longobard. lib. 2, c. 14—22) has subjoined an eighteenth, the Apennine. (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i, p. 431—433.) But of these Sardinia and Corsica were possessed by the Vandals, and the two Rhætias, as well as the Cottian Alps, seem to have been abandoned to a military government. The state of the four provinces that now form the kingdom of Naples, is laboured by Giannone (tom. i, p. 172. 178) with patriotic diligence.

* See the Gothic history of Procopius (l. 1, c. 1; l. 2, c. 6), the Epistles of Cassiodorus (passim, but especially the fifth and sixth books, which contain the *formulæ* or patents of offices), and the Civil History of Giannone (tom. i, l. 2, 3). The Gothic counts, which he places in every Italian city, are annihilated, however, by Maffei (Verona Illustrata, p. 1, l. 8, p. 227), for those of Syracuse and Naples (Var. vi. 22, 23) were special and temporary commissions.

† Two Italians of the name of Cassiodorus, the father (Var. i. 24. 40) and the son (xi. 24, 25), were successively employed in the administration of Theodoric. The son was born in the year 479: his various epistles as quæstor, master of the offices, and prætorian prefect, extend from 509 to 539, and he lived as a monk about 30 years. (Tiraboschi, Storio della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iii, p. 7—24. Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. i, p. 357, 358, edit. Mansi.) [Clinton (F. R. i. 711) commemorates *four* generations of Cassiodori. The *first* defended Sicily against Genseric. The *second* was the companion of Ætius and ambassador to Attila. The *third* was *comes sacrarum* under Odoacer and *patricius* under Theodoric. The *fourth* was secretary to Theodoric and his successors; and in addition to the offices enumerated by Gibbon, was also consul *solus* A.D. 514. Theodoric was fortunate in his ministers, and probably much indebted to their wise counsels for his successful reign. A son of barbarism, allowing himself to be so guided, claims high commendation. Of the two ministers, Cassiodorus was the most active and practical; his good sense adopted the liberal principles and philosophic views of his more intellectual, but less energetic, colleague. The epistles in his Variarum are a rare collection of original official documents, which admit us, as it were, to the council-board of the cabinet, at one of the most interesting periods in all history. Gibbon has made good use of them. It is remarkable, that in this notice of Cassiodorus, he has not mentioned that lost history of which he had said (ch. 10) that the De Rebus Geticis of Jornandes was but an

reign the lustre of their genius and learning. More prudent or more fortunate than his colleague, Cassiodorus preserved his own esteem without forfeiting the royal favour; and after passing thirty years in the honours of the world, he was blessed with an equal term of repose in the devout and studious solitude of Squillace.

As the patron of the republic, it was the interest and duty of the Gothic king to cultivate the affections of the senate* and the people. The nobles of Rome were flattered by sonorous epithets and formal professions of respect, which had been more justly applied to the merit and authority of their ancestors. The people enjoyed, without fear or danger, the three blessings of a capital,—order, plenty, and public amusements. A visible diminution of their numbers may be found even in the measure of liberality;† yet Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily, poured their tribute of corn into the granaries of Rome; an allowance of bread and meat was distributed to the indigent citizens; and every office was deemed honourable which was consecrated to the care of their health and happiness. The public games, such as a Greek ambassador might politely applaud, exhibited a faint and feeble copy of the magnificence of the Cæsars: yet the musical, the gymnastic, and the pantomime arts, had not totally sunk in oblivion; the wild beasts of Africa still exercised in the amphitheatre the courage and dexterity of the hunters; and the indulgent Goth either patiently tolerated or gently restrained the blue and green factions, whose contests so often filled the circus with clamour, and even with blood.‡ In the seventh year of his peaceful reign, Theo-

abridgement. The Senator, whose twelve books the latter stated in his introduction that he was epitomizing, was Cassiodorus; who, however, wanted, among other necessary qualifications for writing a good history of the Goths, that of being acquainted with their language. For this reason his letter to the chief of the Heruli (Var. iv. 2) was in Latin, which, he said, the ambassadors, who were the bearers of it, would interpret. He, therefore, can have framed his imaginary origin of the people from none of their traditions. Jornandes, equally ignorant of the first wanderings of his race, was overpowered by the erudition of Cassiodorus, and copied his learned errors. For previous transactions, this history is little to be trusted; and for the more recent, it cannot be compared with the satisfactory information afforded by the twelve books of the Variarum.—ED.]

* See his regard for the senate in Cochlæus. (Vit. Theod. 8, p. 72—80).

† No more than one hundred and twenty thousand *modii*, or four thousand quarters. (Anonym. Valesian. p. 721, and Var. i. 35. vi. 18. xi. 5. 59.)

‡ See his regard and indulgence for the spec-

doric visited the old capital of the world; the senate and people advanced in solemn procession to salute a second Trajan, a new Valentinian; and he nobly supported that character by the assurance of a just and legal government,* in a discourse which he was not afraid to pronounce in public, and to inscribe on a tablet of brass. Rome, in this august ceremony, shot a last ray of declining glory; and a saint, the spectator of this pompous scene, could only hope in his pious fancy, that it was excelled by the celestial splendour of the New Jerusalem.† During a residence of six months, the fame, the person, and the courteous demeanour, of the Gothic king excited the admiration of the Romans, and he contemplated with equal curiosity and surprise, the monuments that remained of their ancient greatness. He imprinted the footsteps of a conqueror on the Capitoline hill, and frankly confessed that each day he viewed with fresh wonder the forum of Trajan and his lofty column. The theatre of Pompey appeared, even in its decay, as a huge mountain artificially hollowed and polished, and adorned by human industry; and he vaguely computed, that a river of gold must have been drained to erect the colossal amphitheatre of Titus.‡ From the mouths of fourteen aqueducts, a pure and copious stream was diffused into every part of the city; among these the Claudian water, which arose at the distance of thirty-eight miles in the Sabine mountains, was conveyed along a gentle though constant declivity of solid

tacles of the circus, the amphitheatre, and the theatre, in the Chronicle and Epistles of Cassiodorus (Var. i. 20. 27. 30, 31, 32. iii. 51. iv. 51, illustrated by the fourteenth annotation of Mascou's History,) who has contrived to sprinkle the subject with ostentatious, though agreeable, learning.

* Anonym. Vales. p. 721. Marius Aventicensis in Chron. In the scale of public and personal merit, the Gothic conqueror is at least as much *above* Valentinian as he may seem *inferior* to Trajan. [The inferiority of Theodoric to Trajan was the result rather of circumstances than of personal qualities. Had the former lived in the times, and enjoyed the advantages, of the latter, it may be questioned which would have been the greater.—ED.]

† Vit. Fulgentii in Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 500. No. 10.

‡ Cassiodorus describes, in his pompous style, the forum of Trajan (Var. vii. 6), the theatre of Marcellus (iv. 51), and the amphitheatre of Titus (v. 42), and his descriptions are not unworthy of the reader's perusal. According to the modern prices, the Abbé Barthelemy computes that the brick-work and masonry of the Coliseum would now

arches, till it descended on the summit of the Aventine-hill. The long and spacious vaults which had been constructed for the purpose of common sewers, subsisted, after twelve centuries, in their pristine strength; and the subterraneous channels have been preferred to all the visible wonders of Rome.* The Gothic kings, so injuriously accused of the ruin of antiquity, were anxious to preserve the monuments of the nation whom they had subdued.† The royal edicts were framed to prevent the abuses, the neglect, or the depredations, of the citizens themselves; and a professed architect, the annual sum of two hundred pounds of gold, twenty-five thousand tiles, and the receipt of customs from the Lucrine port, were assigned for the ordinary repairs of the walls and public edifices. A similar care was extended to the statues of metal or marble, of men or animals. The spirit of the horses, which have given a modern name to the Quirinal, was applauded by the barbarians ;‡ the brazen

cost twenty millions of French livres. Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii, p. 585, 586.) How small a part of that stupendous fabric!

* For the aqueducts and cloacæ, see Strabo (l. 5, p. 360); Pliny (Hist. Nat. 36. 24); Cassiodorus (Var. iii. 30. 31. vi. 6); Procopius (Goth. l. 1, c. 19,) and Nardini (Roma Antica, p. 514—522). How such works could be executed by a king of Rome is yet a problem.

† For the Gothic care of the buildings and statues, see Cassiodorus (Var. i. 21. 25. ii. 34. iv. 30. vii. 6. 13. 15.) and the Valesian Fragment (p. 721.) [The wanton destruction of public edifices and national monuments is only a part of the "injurious accusation" brought against the fathers of our race. But although admitted to be false by all who have inquired, the calumny has been so industriously circulated, that the popular mind cannot yet be disabused. All historians attest Theodoric's anxiety to preserve the noble works of art, of which his conquests had made him the guardian. For fine architecture he had a special passion, and kept scientific builders and surveyors constantly employed. Among these the principal were Aloisius and Daniel. The former was instructed (Var. ii. 39) to repair the fountain of Aponus, near Patavium, and was probably the "custos peritus," referred to by Cassiodorus. (Var. vii. 15.) For Daniel see Var. iii. 19. The Senator Symmachus, who had shown great skill and taste in erecting his private structures, was called upon (Var. iv. 51) to superintend the restoration of the theatre of Pompey, for which the treasury had furnished the funds. In iii. 30 and 31, the Prefect and Senate were also informed, that another architect, Joannes, had been commissioned to repair the cloacæ.—Ed.]

‡ Var. vii. 15. These horses of Monte Cavallo had been transported from Alexandria to the baths of Constantine. (Nardini, p. 188.) Their sculpture is disdained by the Abbé Dubos,

elephants of the *Via sacra* were diligently restored;* the famous heifer of Myron deceived the cattle, as they were driven through the forum of peace,† and an officer was created to protect those works of art, which Theodoric considered as the noblest ornaments of his kingdom.

After the example of the last emperors, Theodoric preferred the residence of Ravenna, where he cultivated an orchard with his own hands.‡ As often as the peace of his kingdom was threatened (for it was never invaded) by the barbarians, he removed his court to Verona,§ on the northern frontier, and the image of his palace, still extant on a coin, represents the oldest and most authentic model of Gothic architecture. These two capitals, as well as Pavia, Spoleto, Naples, and the rest of the Italian cities, acquired under his reign the useful or splendid decorations of churches, aqueducts, baths, porticoes, and palaces.¶ But the happiness of

(Reflexions sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture, tom. i, section 39,) and admired by Winkelman. (Hist. de l'Art. tom. ii, p. 159.) [It was said, that each of these horses represented Bucephalus, tamed by Alexander, and that one was the work of Phidias, the other of Praxiteles. But the first of these sculptors was dead before the Macedonian hero was born; and Pliny, in his enumeration of the great works left by the latter (Hist. Nat. 36. 4) makes no mention of such a statue.—ED.]

* Var. x. 10. They were probably a fragment of some triumphal car. (Cuper de Elephantis, 2, 10.)

† Procopius (Goth. l. 4, c. 21) relates a foolish story of Myron's cow, which is celebrated by the false wit of thirty-six Greek epigrams. (Anthology. l. 4, p. 302—306, edit. Hen. Steph.; Auson. Epigram. 58—68.)

‡ See an Epigram of Ennodius (2, 3. p. 1893, 1894) on this garden and the royal gardener.

§ His affection for that city is proved by the epithet of "Verona tua," and the legend of the hero: under the barbarous name of Dietrich of Bern, (Peringskiold ad Cochlæum, p. 240.) Maffei traces him with knowledge and pleasure in his native country (l. 9, p. 230—236). [Eckhel (8. 212) remarks, that Gibbon was misled by Scipio Maffei, to call the representation of Theodoric's palace a coin, which is no more than a common brass seal, similar to many that have come down to us from the Middle Ages. The name of Dietrich von Bern, under which Theodoric is made a hero of early romance, was a German corruption of the Latin "Dietericus Veronensis," or perhaps a nearer approach to his true Gothic designation —ED.]

¶ See Maffei, Verona Illustrata, part 1, p. 231, 232. 308, &c. He imputes Gothic architecture, like the corruption of language, writing, &c., not to the barbarians, but to the Italians themselves. Compare his sentiments with those of Tiraboschi (tom. iii, p. 61). [Whatever may have been the origin of the so-called "Gothic architecture," there are many various tastes and feelings,

the subject was more truly conspicuous in the busy scene of labour and luxury, in the rapid increase and bold enjoyment of national wealth: from the shades of Tibur and Prænestе, the Roman senators still retired in the winter season to the warm sun and salubrious springs of Baiæ; and their villas, which advanced on solid moles into the bay of Naples, commanded the various prospect of the sky, the earth, and the water. On the eastern side of the Hadriatic, a new Campania was formed in the fair and fruitful province of Istria, which communicated with the palace of Ravenna by an easy navigation of one hundred miles. The rich productions of Lucania and the adjacent provinces were exchanged at the Marcilian fountain, in a populous fair annually dedicated to trade, intemperance, and superstition. In the solitude of Comum, which had once been animated by the mild genius of Pliny, a transparent basin, above sixty miles in length, still reflected the rural seats which encompassed the margin of the Larian lake; and the gradual ascent of the hills was covered by a triple plantation of olives, of vines, and of chestnut trees.* Agriculture revived under the the shadow of peace, and the number of husbandmen was multiplied by the redemption of captives.† The iron mines of Dalmatia, a gold mine of

which forbid it to be decried as a "corruption" of any other style. It has its own peculiar characteristics, which, for itself alone, may raise it above the Grecian, in the estimation of its admirers, without subjecting them to be condemned for depraved artistic principles, or a distorting obliquity of view. See an able development of these principles in Pugin's True Principles of Pointed Architecture (edit. Bohn, 1853.).—ED.]

* The villas, climate, and landscape of Baiæ, (Var. ix. 6. See Cluver. Italia Antiq. l. 4, c. 2, p. 1119, &c.) Istria (Var. xii. 22. 26.) and Comum (Var. xi. 14. compare with Pliny's two villas, 9, 7) are agreeably painted in the Epistles of Cassiodorus. ["Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis," was the song of Horace, who made this favourite retreat of the Romans the frequent theme of his verse (Carm. 2, 18. 3, 1 and 4. Sat. 2. 4. 32. Epist. 1. 1. 83, &c.). He always said in a line as much as Cassiodorus did in one of his prolix and pedantic epistles. The minister could not give a sick officer leave of absence, to try sea-bathing and the air of the coast for the benefit of his health, without adding a long description of Baiæ.—ED.]

† In Liguria numerosa agricolarum progenies. (Ennodius, p. 1678—1680.) St. Epiphanius of Pavia redeemed by prayer or ransom six thousand captives from the Burgundians of Lyons and Savoy. Such deeds are the best of miracles.

Bruttium, were carefully explored, and the Pomptine marshes, as well as those of Spoleto, were drained and cultivated by private undertakers, whose distant reward must depend on the continuance of the public prosperity.* Whenever the seasons were less propitious, the doubtful precautions of forming magazines of corn, fixing the price, and prohibiting the exportation, attested at least the benevolence of the state; but such was the extraordinary plenty which an industrious people produced from a grateful soil, that a gallon of wine was sometimes sold in Italy for less than three farthings, and a quarter of wheat at about five shillings and sixpence.† A country possessed of so many valuable objects of exchange, soon attracted the merchants of the world, whose beneficial traffic was encouraged and protected by the liberal spirit of Theodoric. The free intercourse of the provinces by land and water was restored and extended; the city gates were never shut either by day or by night; and the common saying, that a purse of gold might be safely left in the fields, was expressive of the conscious security of the inhabitants.

A difference of religion is always pernicious and often fatal to the harmony of the prince and people; the Gothic conqueror had been educated in the profession of Arianism, and Italy was devoutly attached to the Nicene faith. But the persuasion of Theodoric was not infected by zeal, and he piously adhered to the heresy of his fathers, without condescending to balance the subtle arguments of theological metaphysics. Satisfied with the private toleration of his Arian sectaries, he justly conceived himself to be the guardian of the public worship; and his external reverence for a superstition which he despised, may have nourished in his mind the salutary indifference of a statesman or philosopher. The Catholics of his dominions acknowledged, perhaps with

* The political economy of Theodoric (see Anonym. Vales. p. 721, and Cassiodorus, in Chron.) may be distinctly traced under the following heads: iron mine (Var. iii. 23), gold mine (ix. 3), Pomptine marshes (ii. 32, 33), Spoleto (ii. 21), corn (i. 34. x. 27. 28. xi. 11. 12), trade (vi. 7. vii. 9. 23), fair of Leucothoe or St. Cyprian in Lucania (viii. 33,) plenty (xii. 4) the cursus, or public post (i. 29. ii. 31. iv. 47. v. 5. vi. 6. vii. 33) the Flaminian way (xii. 18).

† LX modii tritici in solidum ipsius tempore fuerunt, et vinum 30 amphoras in solidum. (Fragment. Vales.) Corn was distributed from the granaries at fifteen or twenty-five modii for a piece of gold. and the price was still moderate.

reluctance, the peace of the church; their clergy, according to the decrees of rank or merit, were honourably entertained in the palace of Theodoric; he esteemed the living sanctity of Cæsarius* and Epiphanius,† the orthodox bishops of Arles and Pavia; and presented a decent offering on the tomb of St. Peter, without any scrupulous inquiry into the creed of the apostle.‡ His favourite Goths, and even his mother, were permitted to retain or embrace the Athanasian faith, and his long reign could not afford the example of an Italian Catholic, who either from choice or compulsion had deviated into the religion of the conqueror.§ The people, and the barbarians themselves, were edified by the pomp and order of religious worship; the magistrates were instructed to defend the just immunities of ecclesiastical persons and possessions; the bishops held their synods, the metropolitans exercised their jurisdiction, and the privileges of sanctuary were maintained and moderated according to the spirit of the Roman jurisprudence.¶ With the protection, Theodoric assumed the legal supremacy of the church;

* See the life of St. Cæsarius in Baronius. A.D. 508. No. 12—14.) The king presented him with three hundred gold solidi, and a discus of silver of the weight of sixty pounds. † Ennodius in Vit. St. Epiphanii, in Sirmond. Op. tom. i, p. 1672—1690. Theodoric bestowed some important favours on this bishop, whom he used as a counsellor in peace and war. ‡ Devotissimus ac si Catholicus (Anonym. Vales. p. 207); yet his offering was no more than two silver candlesticks (*cerostrata*) of the weight of seventy pounds, far inferior to the gold and gems of Constantinople and France. (Anastasius in Vit. Pont. in Hormisda, p. 34, edit. Paris.) § The tolerating system of his reign (Ennodius, p. 1612. Anonym. Vales. p. 719. Procop. Goth. l. 1, c. 1.; l. 2, c. 6) may be studied in the Epistles of Cassiodorus, under the following heads: *bishops* (Var. i. 9. viii, 15. 24; xi. 23), *immunities* (i. 26. ii. 29, 30), *church lands* (iv. 17. 20), *sanctuaries* (ii. 11. iii. 47), *church plate* (xii. 20), *discipline* (iv. 44); which prove at the same time that he was the head of the church as well as of the state. [In the letters to which Gibbon has here referred, the hierarchy heard a a language, new and astounding to them. The first Gothic kings of Italy, although disposed to respect and honour the priesthood, were yet evidently bent on repressing their inordinate power, and restricting them to their proper functions. The Epistle (viii. 24) addressed to some "Clero Ecclesiæ Romanæ," tells them in plain terms to mind their own business and desist from intermeddling with worldly affairs. It will be interesting to watch the consequences of this check.—ED.]

¶ We may reject a foolish tale of his beheading a Catholic deacon who turned Arian. (Theodor. Lector. No. 17.) Why is Theodoric surnamed *Afer?* From *Vafer?* (Vales. ad loc.) A light conjecture.

and his firm administration restored or extended some useful prerogatives, which had been neglected by the feeble emperors of the west. He was not ignorant of the dignity and importance of the Roman pontiff, to whom the venerable name of Pope was now appropriated. The peace or the revolt of Italy might depend on the character of a wealthy and popular bishop, who claimed such ample dominion, both in heaven and earth; who had been declared in a numerous synod to be pure from all sin, and exempt from all judgment.* When the chair of St. Peter was disputed by Symmachus and Laurence, they appeared at his summons before the tribunal of an Arian monarch, and he confirmed the election of the most worthy, or the most obsequious candidate. At the end of his life, in a moment of jealousy and resentment, he prevented the choice of the Romans, by nominating a pope in the palace of Ravenna. The danger and furious contests of a schism were mildly restrained, and the last decree of the senate was enacted to extinguish, if it were possible, the scandalous venality of the papal elections.†

I have descanted with pleasure on the fortunate condition of Italy; but our fancy must not hastily conceive that

[*Afare* or *Affare* was a medieval term for a farm or rural occupation. May not the surname given to Theodoric have had some reference to the orchard, which he cultivated with his own hand at Ravenna?—ED.]

* Ennodius, p. 1621. 1622. 1636. 1638. His *libel* was approved and registered (synodaliter) by a Roman council. (Baronius, A.D. 503, No. 6. Franciscus Pagi in Breviar. Pont. Rom. tom. i, p. 242.)

† See Cassiodorus (Var. viii. 15. ix. 15, 16), Anastasius (in Symmacho, p. 31), and the eighteenth Annotation of Mascou. Baronius, Pagi, and most of the Catholic doctors, confess, with an angry growl, this Gothic usurpation. [These letters of Cassiodorus were written after the death of Theodoric and in the name of the young king, Athalaric; but of course, under the sanction of the Regent-mother, Amalasuntha. The first is addressed to the Senate of Rome, calling upon them to appoint the Pope selected by the deceased monarch; the second is to Pope John II., reprobating in strong terms the bribes, by which candidates for the pontifical chair obtained the votes of the senators; and the third, to Salvantius, the Prefect of the city, ordering the edict against these practices to be engraven on marble tablets, and "ante atrium beati apostoli Petri, in testimonium publicum, collocari." The second exposes to just obloquy the disgraceful contests for sacerdotal dignities, and the unscrupulous means resorted to for their attainment. If divine authority can be supposed to have transmitted itself through hands polluted by such impure and unholy practices, bribery and corruption cannot be culpable acts, in pursuit

the golden age of the poets, a race of men without vice or misery, was realized under the Gothic conquest. The fair prospect was sometimes overcast with clouds; the wisdom of Theodoric might be deceived, his power might be resisted, and the declining age of the monarch was sullied with popular hatred and patrician blood. In the first insolence of victory, he had been tempted to deprive the whole party of Odoacer of the civil, and even the natural rights of society;* a tax unseasonably imposed after the calamities of war, would have crushed the rising agriculture of Liguria: a rigid pre-emption of corn, which was intended for the public relief, must have aggravated the distress of Campania. These dangerous projects were defeated by the virtue and eloquence of Epiphanius and Boethius, who, in the presence of Theodoric himself, successfully pleaded the cause of the people:† but if the royal ear was open to the voice of truth, a saint and a philosopher are not always to be found at the ear of kings. The privileges of rank, or office, or favour, were too frequently abused by Italian fraud and Gothic violence; and the avarice of the king's nephew was publicly exposed, at first by the usurpation, and afterwards by the restitution, of the estates which he had unjustly extorted from his Tuscan neighbours. Two hundred thousand barbarians, formidable even to their master, were seated in the heart of Italy; they indignantly supported the restraints of peace

of political power.—ED.]

* He disabled them—a licentia testandi; and all Italy mourned—lamentabili justitio. I wish to believe, that these penalties were enacted against the rebels who had violated their oath of allegiance; but the testimony of Ennodius (p. 1675—1678) is the more weighty, as he lived and died under the reign of Theodoric.

† Ennodius, in Vit. Epiphan. p. 1689, 1690. Boethius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, l. 1, pros. 4, p. 45—47. Respect, but weigh, the passions of the saint and the senator; and fortify or alleviate their complaints by the various hints of Cassiodorus. (ii. 8. iv. 36. viii. 5.) [The first two of these letters contain more than "hints." They afford illustrations of Theodoric's government, so honourable to his character, that they ought to be more plainly stated. By one of them 1500 solidi are remitted to Severus, a bishop, to be distributed among some provincials, who had suffered by the passage of the army; and the other directs the Prætorian Prefect, Faustus, to grant a similar compensation to the inhabitants of the Cottian Alps, by relieving them from the third indiction. These appear to have been unsolicited and spontaneous acts of justice.—ED.]

and discipline; the disorders of their march were always felt, and sometimes compensated; and where it was dangerous to punish, it might be prudent to dissemble, the sallies of their native fierceness. When the indulgence of Theodoric had remitted two-thirds of the Ligurian tribute, he condescended to explain the difficulties of his situation, and to lament the heavy, though inevitable burdens which he imposed on his subjects for their own defence.* These ungrateful subjects could never be cordially reconciled to the origin, the religion, or even the virtues of the Gothic conqueror; past calamities were forgotten, and the sense or suspicion of injuries was rendered still more exquisite by the present felicity of the times.

Even the religious toleration which Theodoric had the glory of introducing into the Christian world, was painful and offensive to the orthodox zeal of the Italians. They respected the armed heresy of the Goths; but their pious rage was safely pointed against the rich and defenceless Jews, who had formed their establishments at Naples, Rome, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, for the benefit of trade, and under the sanction of the laws.† Their persons were insulted, their effects were pillaged, and their synagogues were burned by the mad populace of Ravenna and Rome, inflamed, as it should seem, by the most frivolous or extravagant pretences. The government which could neglect, would have deserved such an outrage. A legal inquiry

* Immanium expensarum pondus . . . pro ipsorum salute, &c.; yet these are no more than words.

† The Jews were settled at Naples (Procopius, Goth. lib. 1, c. 8), at Genoa (Var. ii. 28. iv. 33), Milan (v. 37), Rome (iv. 43). See likewise Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii, c. 7, p. 254. [Among the places frequented by the Jews, Venice is not named by any author. Basnage indicates no settlement of them there at that period. Yet a century had elapsed since that city is asserted to have been founded and growing into commercial importance. We are also informed by Cassiodorus (Var. xii. 26), that the Veneti were then afflicted by a grievous famine, and were so little engaged in foreign trade, that they had no means of obtaining supplies of food for themselves from other countries; nor, though there was an abundant store of wine in the neighbouring province of Istria, had they vessels to bring it up their own rivers. There is also another letter (xii. 24), describing the Venetiæ, in which the islands mentioned were evidently portions of the continent, at times surrounded by the rising flood; "qui nunc terrestris, modo cernitur insularis." All this affords strong additional evidence against the early origin assigned to that former "palace of

was instantly directed; and as the authors of the tumult had escaped in the crowd, the whole community was condemned to repair the damage; and the obstinate bigots who refused their contributions, were whipped through the streets by the hand of the executioner. This simple act of justice exasperated the discontent of the Catholics, who applauded the merit and patience of these holy confessors; three hundred pulpits deplored the persecution of the church; and if the chapel of St. Stephen at Verona was demolished by the command of Theodoric, it is probable that some miracle, hostile to his name and dignity, had been performed on that sacred theatre. At the close of a glorious life, the king of Italy discovered that he had excited the hatred of a people whose happiness he had so assiduously laboured to promote; and his mind was soured by indignation, jealousy, and the bitterness of unrequited love. The Gothic conqueror condescended to disarm the unwarlike natives of Italy, interdicting all weapons of offence, and excepting only a small knife for domestic use. The deliverer of Rome was accused of conspiring with the vilest informers against the lives of senators whom he suspected of a secret and treasonable correspondence with the Byzantine court.* After the death of Anastasius, the diadem had been placed on the head of a feeble old man; but the powers of government were assumed by his nephew Justinian, who already meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law, which was published at Constantinople, to reduce the Arians by the dread of punishment within the pale of the church, awakened the just resentment of Theodoric, who claimed, for his distressed brethren of the East, the same indulgence which he had so long granted to the Catholics of his dominions. At his stern command, the Roman pontiff, with four *illustrious* senators, embarked on an embassy, of which he must have alike dreaded the failure or the success. The singular veneration shown to the first pope who had visited Constantinople was punished as a crime by his jealous monarch; the artful or peremptory refusal of the

the universal queen."—ED.]

* Rex avidus communis exitii, &c.: (Boethius, lib. 1, p. 59) rex dolum Romanis tendebat. (Anonym. Vales. p. 723.) These are hard words: they speak the passions of the Italians, and those (I fear) of Theodoric himself,

Byzantine court might excuse an equal, and would provoke a larger, measure of retaliation; and a mandate was prepared in Italy, to prohibit, after a stated day, the exercise of the Catholic worship. By the bigotry of his subjects and enemies, the most tolerant of princes was driven to the brink of persecution; and the life of Theodoric was too long, since he lived to condemn the virtue of Boethius and Symmachus.*

The senator Boethius† is the last of the Romans whom Cato or Tully could have acknowledged for their countryman. As a wealthy orphan, he inherited the patrimony and honours of the Anician family, a name ambitiously assumed by the kings and emperors of the age; and the appellation of Manlius asserted his genuine or fabulous descent from a race of consuls and dictators, who had repulsed the Gauls from the Capitol and sacrificed their sons to the discipline of the republic. In the youth of Boethius, the studies of Rome were not totally abandoned; a Virgil‡ is now extant, corrected by the hand of a consul; and the professors of grammar, rhetoric, and jurisprudence, were maintained in their privileges and pensions, by the liberality of the Goths. But the erudition of the Latin language was insufficient to satiate his ardent curiosity; and Boethius is said to have employed eighteen laborious years in the schools of Athens,§ which were supported by

* I have laboured to extract a rational narrative from the dark, concise, and various hints of the Valesian fragment (p. 722—724), Theophanes (p. 145), Anastasius (in Johanne, p. 35), and the Hist. Miscella. (p. 108, edit. Muratori). A gentle pressure and paraphrase of their words is no violence. Consult likewise Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv, p. 471—478) with the Annals and Breviary (tom. i, 259—263) of the two Pagis, the uncle and the nephew.

† Le Clerc has composed a critical and philosophical life of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (Bibliot. Choisie, tom. xvi, p. 168—275), and both Tiraboschi (tom. iii) and Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin.) may be usefully consulted. The date of his birth may be placed about the year 470, and his death in 524, in a premature old age. (Consol. Phil. Metrica, i. p. 5.)

‡ For the age and value of this MS., now in the Medicean library at Florence, see the Cenotaphia Pisana (p. 430—447) of cardinal Noris.

§ The Athenian studies of Boethius are doubtful (Baronius, A.D. 510, No. 3, from a spurious tract, De Disciplina Scholarum), and the term of eighteen years is doubtless too long: but the simple fact of a visit to Athens is justified by much internal evidence (Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. iii. p. 524—527), and by an expression (though vague and ambiguous) of his friend Cassiodorus

the zeal, the learning, and the diligence of Proclus and his disciples. The reason and piety of their Roman pupil were fortunately saved from the contagion of mystery and magic, which polluted the groves of the academy; but he imbibed the spirit and imitated the method of his dead and living masters, who attempted to reconcile the strong and subtle sense of Aristotle with the devout contemplation and sublime fancy of Plato. After his return to Rome, and his marriage with the daughter of his friend, the patrician Symmachus, Boethius still continued, in a palace of ivory and marble, to prosecute the same studies.* The church was edified by his profound defence of the orthodox creed against the Arian, the Eutychian, and the Nestorian heresies; and the Catholic unity was explained or exposed in a formal treatise by the *indifference* of three distinct, though consubstantial, persons. For the benefit of his Latin readers his genius submitted to teach the first elements of the arts and sciences of Greece. The geometry of Euclid, the music of Pythagoras, the arithmetic of Nicomachus, the mechanics of Archimedes, the astronomy of Ptolemy, the theology of Plato, and the logic of Aristotle, with the commentary of Porphyry, were translated and illustrated by the indefatigable pen of the Roman senator. And he alone was esteemed capable of describing the wonders of art, a sun-dial, a water-clock, or a sphere which represented the motions of the planets. From these abstruse speculations, Boethius

(Var. 1, 45), "longe positas Athenas introisti." [The expressions of Cassiodorus in this letter are far more precise, and indicate clearly education at Athens. "Atheniensium *scholas* introisti ut Græcorum dogmata doctrinam feceris esse Romanam. Didicisti enim," &c.—ED.]

* Bibliothecæ comptos ebore ac vitro parietes, &c. (Consol. Phil. lib. 1, pros. 5, p. 74.) The epistles of Ennodius (6, 6. 7, 13. 8, 1. 31. 37. 40) and Cassiodorus (Var. i. 39. iv. 6. 9. 21) afford many proofs of the high reputation which he enjoyed in his own times. It is true that the bishop of Pavia wanted to purchase of him an old house at Milan, and praise might be tendered and accepted in part of payment. [Gibbon here converted bookcases of ivory and glass into a palace of ivory and marble. The earliest literary productions of Boethius, more particularly his translations of the works which he had brought with him from Athens, are enumerated by Cassiodorus (Var. 1, 45) with evident gratification. He took pleasure in intercourse with his learned colleague: "delectat nos cum scientibus loqui," expressed his own sentiments in Theodoric's name. (Var. 1, 10.) But on such occasions he felt sensible that he was addressing a judge of his words, and checked his propensity for diffuse irrelevancies.—ED.]

stooped, or, to speak more truly, he rose to the social duties of public and private life; the indigent were relieved by his liberality; and his eloquence, which flattery might compare to the voice of Demosthenes or Cicero, was uniformly exerted in the cause of innocence and humanity. Such conspicuous merit was felt and rewarded by a discerning prince; the dignity of Boethius was adorned with the titles of consul and patrician, and his talents were usefully employed in the important station of master of the offices. Notwithstanding the equal claims of the East and West, his two sons were created, in their tender youth, the consuls of the same year.* On the memorable day of their inauguration, they proceeded in solemn pomp from their palace to the Forum, amidst the applause of the senate and people; and their joyful father, the true consul of Rome, after pronouncing an oration in the praise of his royal benefactor, distributed a triumphal largess in the games of the circus. Prosperous in his fame and fortunes, in his public honours and private alliances, in the cultivation of science and the consciousness of virtue, Boethius might have been styled happy, if that precarious epithet could be safely applied before the last term of the life of man.

A philosopher, liberal of his wealth and parsimonious of his time, might be insensible to the common allurements of ambition—the thirst of gold and employment. And some credit may be due to the asseveration of Boethius, that he had reluctantly obeyed the divine Plato, who enjoins every virtuous citizen to rescue the state from the usurpation of vice and ignorance. For the integrity of his public conduct he appeals to the memory of his country. His authority had restrained the pride and oppression of the royal officers, and his eloquence had delivered Paulianus from the dogs of the palace. He had always pitied, and

* Pagi, Muratori, &c. are agreed that Boethius himself was consul in the year 510, his two sons in 522, and in 487, perhaps his father. A desire of ascribing the last of these consulships to the philosopher, had perplexed the chronology of his life. In his honours, alliances, children, he celebrates his own felicity—his past felicity (p. 109, 110). [How could Boethius, if born in 470, have been "a wealthy *orphan*," if his father was consul in 487? Gibbon overlooked this when he hazarded his *perhaps*. According to the Paschal Chronicle and other authorities cited by Clinton (F. R. i. 740, and ii. 205), the consuls of 522 were Symmachus and Boethius.—ED.]

often relieved, the distress of the provincials, whose fortunes were exhausted by public and private rapine; and Boethius alone had courage to oppose the tyranny of the barbarians, elated by conquest, excited by avarice, and, as he complains, encouraged by impunity. In these honourable contests, his spirit soared above the consideration of danger, and perhaps of prudence; and we may learn, from the example of Cato, that a character of pure and inflexible virtue is the most apt to be misled by prejudice, to be heated by enthusiasm, and to confound private enmities with public justice. The disciple of Plato might exaggerate the infirmities of nature, and the imperfections of society; and the mildest form of a Gothic kingdom, even the weight of allegiance and gratitude, must be insupportable to the free spirit of a Roman patriot. But the favour and fidelity of Boethius declined in just proportion with the public happiness; and an unworthy colleague was imposed, to divide and control the power of the master of the offices. In the last gloomy season of Theodoric, he indignantly felt that he was a slave; but as his master had only power over his life, he stood without arms and without fear against the face of an angry barbarian, who had been provoked to believe that the safety of the senate was incompatible with his own. The senator Albinus was accused, and already convicted, on the presumption of hoping, as it was said, the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed the orator, "the senate and myself are all guilty of the same crime. If we are innocent, Albinus is equally entitled to the protection of the laws." These laws might not have punished the simple and barren wish of an unattainable blessing; but they would have shown less indulgence to the rash confession of Boethius, that, had he known of a conspiracy, the tyrant never should.* The advocate of Albinus was soon involved in the danger, and perhaps the guilt of his client; their signature (which they denied as a forgery) was affixed to the original address, inviting the emperor to deliver Italy from the Goths; and three witnesses of honourable rank, perhaps of infamous reputation, attested the

* Si ego scissem tu nescisses. Boethius adopts this answer (lib. 1, pros. 4, p. 53) of Julius Canus, whose philosophic death is described by Seneca. (De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 14.)

treasonable designs of the Roman patrician.* Yet his innocence must be presumed, since he was deprived by Theodoric of the means of justification, and rigorously confined in the tower of Pavia, while the senate, at the distance of five hundred miles, pronounced a sentence of confiscation and death against the most illustrious of its members. At the command of the barbarians, the occult science of a philosopher was stigmatized with the names of sacrilege and magic.† A devout and dutiful attachment to the senate was condemned as criminal by the trembling voices of the senators themselves; and their ingratitude deserved the wish or prediction of Boethius, that after him none should be found guilty of the same offence.‡

While Boethius, oppressed with fetters, expected each moment the sentence or the stroke of death, he composed in the tower of Pavia the *Consolation of Philosophy;* a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times, and the situation of the author. The celestial guide, whom he had so long invoked at Rome and Athens, now condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to pour into his wounds her salutary balm. She taught him to compare his long prosperity and his recent distress, and to conceive new hopes from the inconstancy of fortune. Reason had informed him of the precarious condition of her gifts; experience had satisfied him of their real value; he had enjoyed them without guilt; he might resign them without a sigh, and calmly disdain the impotent malice of his enemies, who had left him happiness, since they had left him virtue. From the earth, Boethius ascended to

* The characters of his two delators, Basilius (Var. ii. 10. 11. iv. 22) and Opillio (v. 41. viii. 16), are illustrated, not much to their honour, in the Epistles of Cassiodorus, which likewise mention Decoratus (v. 31), the worthless colleague of Boethius (lib. 3, pros. 4, p. 193).

† A severe inquiry was instituted into the crime of magic (Var. iv. 22. 23. ix. 18); and it was believed that many necromancers had escaped by making their jailors mad; for *mad*, I should read *drunk*.

‡ Boethius had composed his own Apology (p. 53), perhaps more interesting than his Consolation. We must be content with the general view of his honours, principles, persecution, &c. (lib. 1, pros. 4, p. 42—62), which may be compared with the short and weighty words of the Valesian Fragment (p. 723). An anonymous writer (Sinner, Catalog. MSS. Bibliot. Bern. tom. i, p. 287) charges him home with honourable

heaven in search of the SUPREME GOOD; explored the metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of prescience and free-will, of time and eternity; and generously attempted to reconcile the perfect attributes of the Deity, with the apparent disorders of his moral and physical government. Such topics of consolation, so obvious, so vague, or so abstruse, are ineffectual to subdue the feelings of human nature. Yet the sense of misfortune may be diverted by the labour of thought; and the sage who could artfully combine, in the same work, the various riches of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, must already have possessed the intrepid calmness which he affected to seek. Suspense, the worst of evils, was at length determined by the ministers of death, who executed, and perhaps exceeded, the inhuman mandate of Theodoric. A strong cord was fastened round the head of Boethius, and forcibly tightened, till his eyes almost started from their sockets; and some mercy may be discovered in the milder torture of beating him with clubs till he expired.* But his genius survived to diffuse a ray of knowledge over the darkest ages of the Latin world; the writings of the philosopher were translated by the most glorious of English kings,† and the third emperor of the name of Otho removed to a more honourable tomb the bones of a Catholic saint, who, from his Arian persecutors, had acquired the honours of martyrdom, and the fame of miracles.‡ In the last hours of Boethius he derived some

and patriotic treason.

* He was executed in Agro Calventiano (Calvenzano, between Marignano and Pavia), Anonym. Vales. p. 723, by order of Eusebius, count of Ticinum or Pavia. The place of his confinement is styled the *baptistery*, an edifice and name peculiar to cathedrals. It is claimed by the perpetual tradition of the church of Pavia. The tower of Boethius subsisted till the year 1584, and the draught is yet preserved. (Tiraboschi, tom. iii, p. 47, 48.)

† See the Biographica Britannica, ALFRED, tom. i, p. 80, second edition. The work is still more honourable, if performed under the learned eye of Alfred by his foreign and domestic doctors. For the reputation of Boethius in the middle ages, consult Brucker (Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. iii, p. 565, 566.)

‡ The inscription on his new tomb was composed by the preceptor of Otho the third, the learned Pope Silvester II., who, like Boethius himself, was styled a magician by the ignorance of the times. The Catholic martyr had carried his head in his hands a considerable way (Baronius, A.D. 526, No. 17, 18); yet, on a similar tale, a lady of my acquaintance once observed, "La distance n'y fait rien; il n'y a que le

comfort from the safety of his two sons, of his wife, and of his father-in-law, the venerable Symmachus. But the grief of Symmachus was indiscreet, and perhaps disrespectful: he had presumed to lament, he might dare to revenge, the death of an injured friend. He was dragged in chains from Rome to the palace of Ravenna; and the suspicions of Theodoric could only be appeased by the blood of an innocent and aged senator.*

Humanity will be disposed to encourage any report which testifies the jurisdiction of conscience and the remorse of kings; and philosophy is not ignorant that the most horrid spectres are sometimes created by the powers of a disordered fancy, and the weakness of a distempered body. After a life of virtue and glory, Theodoric was now descending with shame and guilt into the grave: his mind was humbled by the contrast of the past, and justly alarmed by the invisible terrors of futurity. One evening, as it is related, when the head of a large fish was served on the royal table,† he suddenly exclaimed, that he beheld the angry countenance of Symmachus, his eyes glaring fury and revenge, and his mouth armed with long sharp teeth, which threatened to devour him. The monarch instantly retired to his chamber, and as he lay trembling with aguish cold under a weight of bed-clothes, he expressed in broken murmurs to his physician Elpidius, his deep repentance for the murders of Boethius and Symmachus.‡ His malady increased, and

premier pas qui coûte." [This lady was Madame du Deffand, and the subject of conversation was the miracle of St. Denis.—GUIZOT.] [Philippus Burgensis, Suppl. Chron. IX, p. 85, imputed the violent death of Boethius to the Arians, and by proposing to canonize him as St. Severinus Secundus, almost casts ridicule on the lamentable event.—ED.]

* Boethius applauds the virtues of his father-in-law (lib. 1, pros. 4, p. 59; lib. 2, pros. 4, p. 118): Procopius (Goth. lib. 1, c. 1), the Valesian Fragment (p. 724), and the Historia Miscella (lib. 15, p. 105), agree in praising the superior innocence or sanctity of Symmachus; and in the estimation of the legend, the guilt of his murder is equal to the imprisonment of a pope. [Gibbon has omitted the testimony of Cassiodorus to the estimation in which Symmachus was held. See Var. ii. 14. iv. 6 and 61.—ED.] † In the fanciful eloquence of Cassiodorus the variety of sea and river fish are an evidence of extensive dominion; and those of the Rhine, of Sicily, and of the Danube, were served on the table of Theodoric. (Var. xii. 14.) The monstrous turbot of Domitian (Juvenal, Satir. 3, 39) had been caught on the shores of the Adriatic. ‡ Procopius, Goth. lib. 1, c. 1. But he might have informed us whether he had received this curious

after a dysentery which continued three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third, or, if we compute from the invasion of Italy, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign. Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and provinces between his two grandsons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary.* Amalaric was restored to the throne of Spain. Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalaric; whose age did not exceed ten years, but who was cherished as the last male offspring of the line of Amali, by the short-lived marriage of his mother Amalasuntha with a royal fugitive of the same blood.† In the presence of the dying monarch, the Gothic chiefs and Italian magistrates mutually engaged their faith and loyalty to the young prince, and to his guardian mother; and received, in the same awful moment, his last salutary advice, to maintain the laws, to love the senate and people of Rome, and to cultivate with decent reverence the friendship of the emperor.‡ The monument of Theodoric was erected by his daughter Amalasuntha, in a conspicuous situation, which commanded the city of Ravenna, the harbour, and the adjacent coast. A chapel of a circular form, thirty feet in diameter, is crowned by a dome of one entire piece of granite: from the centre of the dome four columes arose, which supported, in a vase of porphyry, the remains of the Gothic king, surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles.§ His spirit, after some previous expiation, might have been permitted to mingle with the benefactors of mankind, if an Italian hermit had not

anecdote from common report, or from the mouth of the royal physician. * Procopius, Goth. lib. 1, c. 1, 2. 12. 13. This partition had been directed by Theodoric, though it was not executed till after his death. Regni hereditatem superstes reliquit. (Isidor. Chron. p. 721, edit. Grot.) † Berimund, the third in descent from Hermanric, king of the Ostrogoths, had retired into Spain, where he lived and died in obscurity. (Jornandes, c. 33. p. 202, edit. Murator.) See the discovery, nuptials, and death of his grandson Eutharic (c. 58, p. 220). His Roman games might render him popular (Cassiodor. in Chron.); but Eutharic was asper in religione (Anonym. Vales. p. 722, 723). ‡ See the counsels of Theodoric, and the professions of his successor, in Procopius (Goth. lib. 1, c. 1, 2), Jornandes (c. 59, p. 220, 221), and Cassiodorus (Var. viii. 1—7). These epistles are the triumph of his ministerial eloquence.

§ Anonym. Vales. p. 724. Agnellus de Vitis Pont. Raven., in Muratori Script. Rerum Ital. tom. ii. p. 1, p. 67. Alberti, Descrittione d'Italia,

been witness in a vision to the damnation of Theodoric,* whose soul was plunged, by the ministers of divine vengeance, into the volcano of Lipari, one of the flaming mouths of the infernal world.†

CHAPTER XL.—ELEVATION OF JUSTIN THE ELDER.—REIGN OF JUSTINIAN.—I. THE EMPRESS THEODORA.—II. FACTIONS OF THE CIRCUS, AND SEDITION OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—III. TRADE AND MANUFACTURE OF SILK.—IV. FINANCES AND TAXES.—V. EDIFICES OF JUSTINIAN.—CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA.—FORTIFICATIONS AND FRONTIERS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—ABOLITION OF THE SCHOOLS OF ATHENS, AND THE CONSULSHIP OF ROME.

THE emperor Justinian was born‡ near the ruins of Sardica (the modern Sophia), of an obscure race§ of barbarians,¶ the inhabitants of a wild and desolate country, to which the names of Dardania, of Dacia, and of Bulgaria, have been successively applied. His elevation was prepared by the adventurous spirit of his uncle Justin, who, with two other peasants of the same village, deserted, for the profession of arms, the more useful employment of husbandmen or shepherds.** On foot, with a scanty provision of biscuit in

p. 311.

* This legend is related by Gregory I. (Dialog. 4, 36), and approved by Baronius (A.D. 526, No. 28); and both the pope and cardinal are grave doctors,' sufficient to establish a *probable* opinion.

† Theodoric himself, or rather Cassiodorus, had described in tragic strains the volcanoes of Lipari (Cluver. Sicilia, p. 406—410) and Vesuvius (4, 50).

‡ There is some difficulty in the date of his birth (Ludewig in Vit. Justiniani, p. 125); none in the place—the district of Bederiana—the village Tauresium, which he afterwards decorated with his name and splendour. (D'Anville, Hist. de l'Acad. &c. tom. 31, p. 287, 292.)

§ The names of these Dardanian peasants are Gothic, and almost English: *Justinian* is a translation of *uprauda* (*upright*); his father *Sebatius* (in Græco-barbarous language *stipes*) was styled in his village *Istock* (*Stock*); his mother Biglenizia was softened into Vigilantia.

¶ Ludewig (p. 127—135) attempts to justify the Anician name of Justinian and Theodora, and to connect them with a family, from which the house of Austria has been derived.

** See the anecdotes of Procopius (c. 6), with the notes of N. Alemannus. The satirist would not have sunk, in the vague and decent appellation of γέωργος, the βούκολος and σὐφορβος of Zonaras. Yet why are those names disgraceful?—and what German baron would not be proud to descend from the Eumæus of the Odyssey?

their knapsacks, the three youths followed the high road of Constantinople, and were soon enrolled, for their strength and stature, among the guards of the emperor Leo. Under the two succeeding reigns, the fortunate peasant emerged to wealth and honours; and his escape from some dangers which threatened his life, was afterwards ascribed to the guardian angel who watches over the fate of kings. His long and laudable service in the Isaurian and Persian wars would not have preserved from oblivion the name of Justin; yet they might warrant the military promotion, which in the course of fifty years he gradually obtained; the rank of tribune, of count, and of general, the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, who obeyed him as their chief, at the important crisis when the emperor Anastasius was removed from the world. The powerful kinsmen, whom he had raised and enriched, were excluded from the throne; and the eunuch Amantius, who reigned in the palace, had secretly resolved to fix the diadem on the head of the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donative, to conciliate the suffrage of the guards, was intrusted for that purpose in the hands of their commander. But these weighty arguments were treacherously employed by Justin in his own favour; and as no competitor presumed to appear, the Dacian peasant was invested with the purple, by the unanimous consent of the soldiers, who knew him to be brave and gentle; of the clergy and people, who believed him to be orthodox, and of the provincials, who yielded a blind and implicit submission to the will of the capital. The elder Justin, as he is distinguished from another emperor of the same family and name, ascended the Byzantine throne at the age of sixty-eight years; and, had he been left to his own guidance, every moment of a nine years' reign must have exposed to his subjects the impropriety of their choice. His ignorance was similar to that of Theodoric; and it is remarkable that in an age not destitute of learning, two contemporary monarchs had never been instructed in the knowledge of the alphabet. But the genius of Justin was far inferior to that of the Gothic king: the experience of a soldier had not qualified him for the government of an empire; and, though personally brave, the consciousness of his own weakness was naturally attended with doubt, distrust, and political apprehension. But the official business of the

state was diligently and faithfully transacted by the quæstor Proclus,* and the aged emperor adopted the talents and ambition of his nephew Justinian, an aspiring youth, whom his uncle had drawn from the rustic solitude of Dacia, and educated at Constantinople, as the heir of his private fortune, and at length of the Eastern empire.

Since the eunuch Amantius had been defrauded of his money, it became necessary to deprive him of his life. The task was easily accomplished by the charge of a real or fictitious conspiracy; and the judges were informed, as an accumulation of guilt, that he was secretly addicted to the Manichæan heresy.† Amantius lost his head; three of his companions, the first domestics of the palace, were punished either with death or exile; and their unfortunate candidate for the purple was cast into a deep dungeon, overwhelmed with stones, and ignominiously thrown, without burial, into the sea. The ruin of Vitalian was a work of more difficulty and danger. That Gothic chief had rendered himself popular by the civil war which he boldly waged against Anastasius for the defence of the orthodox faith, and, after the conclusion of an advantageous treaty, he still remained in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, at the head of a formidable and victorious army of barbarians. By the frail security of oaths, he was tempted to relinquish this advantageous situation, and to trust his person within the walls of a city, whose inhabitants, particularly the *blue* faction, were artfully incensed against him by the remembrance even of his pious hostilities. The emperor and his nephew embraced him as the faithful and worthy champion of the church and state; and gratefully adorned their favourite with the titles of consul general; but in the seventh month of his consulship, Vitalian was stabbed with seventeen wounds at the royal banquet;‡ and Justinian, who inherited the spoil, was ac-

* His virtues are praised by Procopius (Persic. lib. 1, c. 11). The quæstor Proclus was the friend of Justinian, and the enemy of every other adoption.

† Manichæan signifies Eutychian. Hear the furious acclamations of Constantinople and Tyre, the former no more than six days after the decease of Anastasius. *They* produced, the latter applauded, the eunuch's death. (Baronius, A.D. 518, p. 2, No. 15; Fleury, Hist. Ecclés. tom. vii, p. 200, 205, from the councils, tom. v, p. 182, 207.)

‡ His power, character, and intentions are perfectly explained by the count de Buat (tom. ix, p. 54—81). He was great grandson of Aspar, hereditary prince in the Lesser Scythia,

cused as the assassin of a spiritual brother, to whom he had recently pledged his faith in the participation of the Christian mysteries.* After the fall of his rival, he was promoted, without any claim of military service, to the office of master-general of the eastern armies, whom it was his duty to lead into the field against the public enemy. But, in the pursuit of fame, Justinian might have lost his present dominion over the age and weakness of his uncle; and, instead of acquiring by Scythian or Persian trophies the applause of his countrymen,† the prudent warrior solicited their favour in the churches, the circus, and the senate of Constantinople. The Catholics were attached to the nephew of Justin, who, between the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, trod the narrow path of inflexible and intolerant orthodoxy.‡ In the first days of the new reign, he prompted and gratified the popular enthusiasm against the memory of the deceased emperor. After a schism of thirty-four years, he reconciled the proud and angry spirit of the Roman pontiff, and spread among the Latins a favourable report of his pious respect for the apostolic see. The thrones of the East were filled with Catholic bishops devoted to his interest, the clergy and the monks were gained by his liberality, and the people were taught to pray for their future sovereign, the hope and pillar of the true religion. The magnificence of Justinian was displayed in the superior pomp of his public spectacles, an object not less sacred and important in the eyes of the multitude, than the creed of Nice or Chalcedon; the expense of his consulship was esteemed at two hundred and eighty-eight thousand pieces of gold; twenty lions, and thirty leopards, were produced at the same time in the

and count of the Gothic *fœderati* of Thrace. The Bessi, whom he could influence, are the minor Goths of Jornandes (c. 51).

* Justiniani patricii factione dicitur interfectus fuisse. (Victor Tununensis, Chron., in Thesaur. Temp. Scaliger. p. 2, p. 7.) Procopius (Anecdot. c. 7) styles him a tyrant, but acknowledges the ἀδελφοπίστια, which is well explained by Alemannus.

† In his earliest youth (plane adolescens) he had passed some time as a hostage with Theodoric. For this curious fact, Alemannus (ad Procop. Anecdot. c. 9, p. 34, of the first edition) quotes a MS. history of Justinian, by his preceptor Theophilus. Ludewig (p. 143) wishes to make him a soldier.

‡ The ecclesiastical history of Justinian will be shown hereafter. See Baronius, A.D. 518—521, and the copious article *Justinianus* in the index to the seventh volume of his Annals. [This will be found in ch. 47.—ED.]

amphitheatre, and a numerous train of horses, with their rich trappings, was bestowed as an extraordinary gift on the victorious charioteers of the circus. While he indulged the people of Constantinople, and received the addresses of foreign kings, the nephew of Justin assiduously cultivated the friendship of the senate. That venerable name seemed to qualify its members to declare the sense of the nation, and to regulate the succession of the imperial throne: the feeble Anastasius had permitted the vigour of government to degenerate into the form or substance of an aristocracy; and the military officers who had obtained the senatorial rank, were followed by their domestic guards, a band of veterans, whose arms or acclamations might fix in a tumultuous moment the diadem of the East. The treasures of the state were lavished to procure the voices of the senators; and their unanimous wish, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian for his colleague, was communicated to the emperor. But this request, which too clearly admonished him of his approaching end, was unwelcome to the jealous temper of an aged monarch, desirous to retain the power which he was incapable of exercising; and Justin, holding his purple with both his hands, advised them to prefer, since an election was so profitable, some older candidate. Notwithstanding this reproach, the senate proceeded to decorate Justinian with the royal epithet of *nobilissimus*; and their decree was ratified by the affection or the fears of his uncle. After some time the languor of mind and body, to which he was reduced by an incurable wound in his thigh, indispensably required the aid of a guardian. He summoned the patriarch and senators; and in their presence solemnly placed the diadem on the head of his nephew, who was conducted from the palace to the circus, and saluted by the loud and joyful applause of the people. The life of Justin was prolonged about four months, but from the instant of this ceremony, he was considered as dead to the empire, which acknowledged Justinian, in the forty-fifth year of his age, for the lawful sovereign of the East.*

* The reign of the elder Justin may be found in the three Chronicles of Marcellinus, Victor, and John Malalas, (tom. ii, p. 130—150) the last of whom (in spite of Hody, Prolegom. No. 14. 39, edit. Oxon lived soon after Justinian, (Jortin's Remarks, &c., vol. iv, p. 383); in the ecclesiastical history of Evagrius (l. 4, c. 1—3. 9), and the Excerpta of Theodorus (Lector. No. 37), and in Cedrenus (p. 362—366), and

From his elevation to his death, Justinian governed the Roman empire thirty-eight years seven months and thirteen days. The events of his reign, which excite our curious attention by their number, variety, and importance, are diligently related by the secretary of Belisarius, a rhetorician whom eloquence had promoted to the rank of senator and prefect of Constantinople. According to the vicissitudes of courage or servitude, of favour or disgrace, Procopius * successively composed the *history*, the *panegyric*, and the *satire*, of his own times. The eight books of the Persian, Vandalic, and Gothic wars,† which are continued in the five books of Agathias, deserve our esteem as a laborious and successful imitation of the Attic, or at least of the Asiatic, writers of ancient Greece. His facts are collected from the personal experience and free conversation of a soldier, a statesman, and a traveller; his style continually aspires, and often attains, to the merit of strength and elegance; his reflections, more especially in the speeches, which he too frequently inserts, contain a rich fund of political knowledge; and the historian, excited by the generous ambition of pleasing and instructing posterity, appears to disdain the prejudices of the people, and the flattery of courts. The writings of Procopius ‡ were read and

Zonaras (l. 14, p. 58—61) who may pass for an original. [Clinton (F. R. i. 817) confirms Gibbon's opinion respecting Malalas.—Ed.]

* See the characters of Procopius and Agathias in La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii, p. 144—174), Vossius (de Historicis Græcis, l. 2, c. 22), and Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. 5, c. 5, tom. vi, p. 248—278.) Their religion, an honourable problem, betrays occasional conformity, with a secret attachment to Paganism and philosophy.

† In the seven first books, two Persic, two Vandalic, and three Gothic, Procopius has borrowed from Appian the division of provinces and wars: the eighth book, though it bears the name of Gothic, is a miscellaneous and general supplement down to the spring of the year 553, from whence it is continued by Agathias till 559. (Pagi, Critica, A.D. 579, No. 5.) [Joannes Epiphaniensis also continued Procopius to A.D. 592. Clinton, F. R. i. 801. 841, ii. 334.—Ed.]

‡ The literary fate of Procopius has been somewhat unlucky. 1. His books de Bello Gothico were stolen by Leonard Aretin, and published (Fulginii, 1470; Venet. 1471, apud Janson; Maittaire, Annal. Typograph. tom. i, edit. posterior, p. 290. 304. 279. 299) in his own name. (See Vossius de Hist. Lat. l. 3, c. 5, and the feeble defence of the Venice Giornale de Letterati, tom. xix, p. 207.) 2. His works were mutilated by the first Latin translators, Christopher Persona (Giornale, tom. xix, p. 340—348) and Raphael de Volaterra, (Huet de Claris. Interpretibus, p. 166) who did not even consult the MS. of the Vatican library, of which they were prefects. (Aleman.

applauded by his contemporaries;* but although he respectfully laid them at the foot of the throne, the pride of Justinian must have been wounded by the praise of a hero, who perpetually eclipses the glory of his inactive sovereign. The conscious dignity of independence was subdued by the hopes and fears of a slave; and the secretary of Belisarius laboured for pardon and reward in the six books of the imperial *edifices*. He had dexterously chosen a subject of apparent splendour, in which he could loudly celebrate the genius, the magnificence, and the piety of a prince, who, both as a conqueror and legislator, had surpassed the puerile virtues of Themistocles and Cyrus.† Disappointment might urge the flatterer to secret revenge; and the first glance of favour might again tempt him to suspend and suppress a libel,‡ in which the Roman Cyrus is degraded into an

in Præfat. Anecdot.) 3. The Greek text was not printed till 1607, by Hoeschelius of Augsburgh. (Dictionnaire de Bayle, tom. ii, p. 782,) 4. The Paris edition was imperfectly executed by Claude Maltret, a Jesuit of Thoulouse, in 1663, far distant from the Louvre press and the Vatican MS. from which, however, he obtained some supplements. His promised commentaries, &c. have never appeared. The Agathias of Leyden (1594) has been wisely reprinted by the Paris editor, with the Latin version of Bonaventura Vulcanius, a learned interpreter. (Huet, p. 176.)

* Agathias in Præfat. p. 7, 8, l. 4, p. 137. Evagrius, l. 4, c. 12. See likewise Photius, cod. 63, p. 65.

† Κύρου παιδεία (says he, Præfat. ad l. de Edificiis περὶ κτισμάτων) is no more than Κύρου παιδία—a pun! In these five books, Procopius affects a Christian, as well as a courtly, style.

‡ Procopius discloses himself (Præfat. ad Anecdot. c. 1, 2. 5), and the anecdotes are reckoned as the ninth book by Suidas (tom. iii, p. 186, edit. Kusters). The silence of Evagrius is a poor objection. Baronius (A.D. 548, No. 24) regrets the loss of this secret history: it was then in the Vatican library, in his own custody, and was first published sixteen years after his death, with the learned, but partial, notes of Nicholas Alemannus. (Lugd. 1623.) [When Alemannus discovered and published the Anecdota, he gave them the title of Historia Arcana. It had long been known that such a work was written, for the empress Eudocia noticed it in the eleventh century. But it remained hidden from the world till it was published at Lyons in 1623. When it appeared, some questioned its authenticity, others denied the authorship of Procopius. Thomas Rivinus attacked it by his Defensio Justiniani, and was followed by Balthazar Bonifacius and Johann Eichel. After many years of controversy, it seems to be now generally admitted that, however discreditable to Procopius, it was his pen that indited all the contradictory narratives, and that Gibbon took the right course in endeavouring to sift truth out of the whole

odious and contemptible tyrant, in which both the emperor and his consort Theodora are seriously represented as two dæmons, who had assumed a human form for the destruction of mankind.* Such base inconsistency must doubtless sully the reputation, and detract from the credit, of Procopius: yet, after the venom of his malignity has been suffered to exhale, the residue of the *anecdotes*, even the most disgraceful facts, some of which had been tenderly hinted in his public history, are established by their internal evidence, or the authentic monuments of the times.† From these various materials, I shall now proceed to describe the reign of Justinian, which will deserve and occupy an ample space. The present chapter will explain the elevation and character of Theodora, the factions of the circus, and the peaceful administration of the sovereign of the East. In the three succeeding chapters, I shall relate the wars of Justinian which achieved the conquest of Africa and Italy; and I shall follow the victories of Belisarius and Narses, without disguising the vanity of their triumphs, or the hostile virtue of the Persian and Gothic heroes. The series of this and the following volume will embrace the jurisprudence and theology of the emperor; the controversies and sects which still divide the Oriental church; the reformation of the Roman law, which is obeyed or respected by the nations of modern Europe.

I. In the exercise of supreme power, the first act of Justinian was to divide it with the woman whom he loved, the famous Theodora,‡ whose strange elevation cannot be applauded as the triumph of female virtue. Under the reign

heterogeneous mass, and so trace a correct picture of the times and the principal actors in them.—ED.] * Justinian an ass—the perfect likeness of Domitian—(Anecdot. c. 8)—Theodora's lovers driven from her bed by rival dæmons—her marriage foretold with a great dæmon—a monk saw the prince of the dæmons, instead of Justinian, on the throne—the servants who watched, beheld a face without features, a body walking without a head, &c. &c. Procopius declares his own and his friends' belief in these diabolical stories (c. 12). † Montesquieu (Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. 20) gives credit to these anecdotes as connected, 1. With the weakness of the empire; and, 2. With the instability of Justinian's laws. ‡ For the life and manners of the empress Theodora, see the Anecdotes; more especially c. 1—5. 9—17, with the learned notes of Alemannus—a reference which is always implied. [With no better authority for them than the Anec-

of Anastasius, the care of the wild beasts maintained by the green faction at Constantinople, was intrusted to Acacius, a native of the isle of Cyprus, who, from his employment, was surnamed the master of the bears. This honourable office was given after his death to another candidate, notwithstanding the diligence of his widow, who had already provided a husband and a successor. Acacius had left three daughters, Comito,* THEODORA, and Anastasia, the eldest of whom did not then exceed the age of seven years. On a solemn festival, these helpless orphans were sent by their distressed and indignant mother, in the garb of suppliants, into the midst of the theatre; the green faction received them with contempt, the blues with compassion; and this difference, which sunk deep into the mind of Theodora, was felt long afterwards in the administration of the empire. As they improved in age and beauty, the three sisters were successively devoted to the public and private pleasures of the Byzantine people; and Theodora, after following Comito on the stage, in the dress of a slave, with a stool on her head, was at length permitted to exercise her independent talents. She neither danced, nor sang, nor played on the flute; her skill was confined to the pantomime arts; she excelled in buffoon characters, and as often as the comedian swelled her cheeks, and complained with a ridiculous tone and gesture of the blows that were inflicted, the whole theatre of Constantinople resounded with laughter and applause. The beauty of Theodora† was

dota, some of the most flagrant parts of Theodora's early life ought to have been suppressed. Such shameless exhibitions of the lowest depravity are too revolting to be credible; they cannot have been tolerated by the people of Constantinople, however licentious their manners. It is scarcely probable that Justinian, if he had married, would have so exalted and honoured one who had sunk to the very lowest depth of public infamy; and although no safe inferences can be drawn from the complimentary language of diplomacy, still it may be doubted whether Amalasuntha and Gundelinda, but more especially the former, would have subscribed their names to the obsequious and flattering terms in which their minister Cassiodorus addressed Theodora, had she been the notorious monster described by Procopius. See Var. x. 10, 20, 21, and 23.—ED.]

* Comito was afterwards married to Sittas, duke of Armenia, the father perhaps, at least she might be the mother, of the empress Sophia. Two nephews of Theodora may be the sons of Anastasia. (Aleman. p. 30, 31).

† Her statue was raised at Constantinople, on a porphyry column. See Procopius (de Edif. l. 1,

the subject of more flattering praise, and the source of more exquisite delight. Her features were delicate and regular; her complexion, though somewhat pale, was tinged with a natural colour; every sensation was instantly expressed by the vivacity of her eyes; her easy motions displayed the graces of a small but elegant figure; and either love or adulation might proclaim, that painting and poetry were incapable of delineating the matchless excellence of her form. But this form was degraded by the facility with which it was exposed to the public eye, and prostituted to licentious desire. Her venal charms were abandoned to a promiscuous crowd of citizens and strangers of every rank and of every profession; the fortunate lover who had been promised a night of enjoyment, was often driven from her bed by a stronger or more wealthy favourite; and when she passed through the streets her presence was avoided by all who wished to escape either the scandal or the temptation. The satirical historian has not blushed * to describe the naked scenes which Theodora was not ashamed to exhibit in the theatre.† After exhausting the arts of sensual pleasure,‡ she most ungratefully murmured against the parsimony of nature,§ but her murmurs, her pleasures, and her

c. 11) who gives her portrait in the Anecdotes (c. 10); Aleman. (p. 47) produces one from a mosaic at Ravenna, loaded with pearls and jewels and yet handsome. * A fragment of the Anecdotes (c. 9) somewhat too naked, was suppressed by Alemannus, though extant in the Vatican MS.; nor has the defect been supplied in the Paris or Venice editions. La Mothe le Vayer (tom. viii, p. 155) gave the first hint of this curious and genuine passage (Jortin's Remarks, vol. iv, p. 366) which he had received from Rome, and it has been since published in the Menagiana, (tom. iii. p. 254—259) with a Latin version.

† After the mention of a narrow girdle (as none could appear stark naked in the theatre), Procopius thus proceeds:—*ἀναπεποκνιά τε ἐν τῷ ἕδαφει ὕπτια ἔκειτο. Θῆτες δέ τινες . . . . κρίθας αὐτῇ ὕπερθεν τῶν αἰδοιῶν ἐρρίπτον ἄξ δὴ οἱ χήνες, οἱ ἐς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι ἐντύγχανον τοῖς στόμασιν ἐνθενδε κατὰ μίαν ἀνελομενοι εισθιον.* I have heard that a learned prelate, now deceased, was fond of quoting this passage in conversation. ‡ Theodora surpassed the Crispa of Ausonius, (Epigram 71) who imitated the capitalis luxus of the females of Nola. See Quintilian Institut. 8. 6, and Torrentius ad Horat. Sermon. l. 1, sat. 2. 5. 101. At a memorable supper, thirty slaves waited round the table; ten young men feasted with Theodora. Her charity was *universal*.

Et lassata viris, nec dum satiata, recessit.

§ *Ἡ δε κἀκ τῶν τριῶν τρυπημάτων ἐργαζομένη ἐνεκάλει τῇ*

arts, must be veiled in the obscurity of a learned language. After reigning for some time, the delight and contempt of the capital, she condescended to accompany Ecebolus, a native of Tyre, who had obtained the government of the African Pentapolis. But this union was frail and transient: Ecebolus soon rejected an expensive or faithless concubine; she was reduced at Alexandria to extreme distress; and, in her laborious return to Constantinople, every city of the East admired and enjoyed the fair Cyprian, whose merit appeared to justify her descent from the peculiar island of Venus. The vague commerce of Theodora, and the most detestable precautions, preserved her from the danger which she feared; yet once, and once only, she became a mother. The infant was saved and educated in Arabia, by his father, who imparted to him on his death-bed, that he was the son of an empress. Filled with ambitious hopes the unsuspecting youth immediately hastened to the palace of Constantinople, and was admitted to the presence of his mother. As he was never more seen, even after the decease of Theodora, she deserves the foul imputation of extinguishing with his life a secret so offensive to her imperial virtue.

In the most abject state of her fortune and reputation, some vision, either of sleep, or of fancy, had whispered to Theodora the pleasing assurance that she was destined to become the spouse of a potent monarch. Conscious of her approaching greatness, she returned from Paphlagonia to Constantinople; assumed, like a skilful actress, a more decent character; relieved her poverty by the laudable industry of spinning wool; and affected a life of chastity and solitude in a small house, which she afterwards changed into a magnificent temple.* Her beauty, assisted by art or accident, soon attracted, captivated, and fixed the patrician Justinian, who already reigned with absolute sway under the name of his uncle. Perhaps she contrived to enhance

φύσει δυσφορούμενη ὅτι δὲ μὴ καὶ, τιτθους αὐτῇ εὐρύτερον ἢ νῦν εἶσι τρυπᾳ, ὅπως δυνατη εἴη καὶ ἐκείνῃ ἐργάζισθαι. She wished for a *fourth* altar, on which she might pour libations to the god of love.

* Anonym. de Antiquitat. C. P. l. 3, 132, in Banduri Imperium Orient. tom. i, p. 48. Ludewig (p. 154) argues sensibly that Theodora would not have immortalized a brothel: but I apply this fact to her second and chaster residence at Constantinople.

the value of a gift which she had so often lavished on the meanest of mankind: perhaps she inflamed, at first by modest delays, and at last by sensual allurements, the desires of a lover, who from nature or devotion was addicted to long vigils and abstemious diet. When his first transports had subsided, she still maintained the same ascendant over his mind, by the more solid merit of temper and understanding. Justinian delighted to ennoble and enrich the object of his affection; the treasures of the East were poured at her feet, and the nephew of Justin was determined, perhaps by religious scruples, to bestow on his concubine the sacred and legal character of a wife. But the laws of Rome expressly prohibited the marriage of a senator with any female who had been dishonoured by a servile origin or theatrical profession: the empress Lupicina, or Euphemia, a barbarian of rustic manners, but of irreproachable virtue, refused to accept a prostitute for her niece: and even Vigilantia, the superstitious mother of Justinian, though she acknowledged the wit and beauty of Theodora, was seriously apprehensive lest the levity and arrogance of that artful paramour might corrupt the piety and happiness of her son. These obstacles were removed by the inflexible constancy of Justinian. He patiently expected the death of the empress; he despised the tears of his mother, who soon sank under the weight of her affliction; and a law was promulgated in the name of the emperor Justin, which abolished the rigid jurisprudence of antiquity. A glorious repentance (the words of the edict) was left open for the unhappy females who had prostituted their persons on the theatre, and they were permitted to contract a legal union with the most illustrious of the Romans.* This indulgence was speedily followed by the solemn nuptials of Justinian and Theodora; her dignity was gradually exalted with that of her lover; and, as soon as Justin had invested his nephew with the purple, the patriarch of Constantinople placed the diadem on the heads of the emperor and empress of the East. But the usual honours which the severity of

* See the old law in Justinian's Code, l. 5, tit. 5, leg. 7; tit. 27, leg. 1) under the years 336 and 454. The new edict (about the year 521 or 522, Alemann. p. 38. 96) very awkwardly repeals no more than the clause of mulieres *Scenicæ*, libertinæ, tabernariæ. See the novels 89 and 117, and a Greek rescript from Justinian to the bishops.

Roman manners had allowed to the wives of princes, could not satisfy either the ambition of Theodora or the fondness of Justinian. He seated her on the throne as an equal and independent colleague in the sovereignty of the empire, and an oath of allegiance was imposed on the governors of the provinces in the joint names of Justinian and Theodora.* The Eastern world fell prostrate before the genius and fortune of the daughter of Acacius. The prostitute who, in the presence of innumerable spectators, had polluted the theatre of Constantinople, was adored as a queen in the same city, by grave magistrates, orthodox bishops, victorious generals, and captive monarchs.†

Those who believe that the female mind is totally depraved by the loss of chastity, will eagerly listen to all the invectives of private envy or popular resentment, which have dissembled the virtues of Theodora, exaggerated her vices, and condemned with rigour the venal or voluntary sins of the youthful harlot. From a motive of shame or contempt, she often declined the servile homage of the multitude, escaped from the odious light of the capital, and passed the greatest part of the year in the palaces and gardens which were pleasantly seated on the sea-coast of the Propontis and the Bosphorus. Her private hours were devoted to the prudent as well as grateful care of her beauty, the luxury of the bath and table, and the long slumber of the evening and the morning. Her secret apartments were occupied by the favourite women and eunuchs, whose interests and passions she indulged at the expense of justice; the most illustrious personages of the state were crowded into a dark and sultry antechamber, and when at last, after tedious attendance, they were admitted to kiss the feet of Theodora, they experienced, as her humour might suggest, the silent arrogance of an empress, or the capricious levity of a come-

(Aleman. p. 41.) * I swear by the Father, &c. by the Virgin Mary, by the four Gospels, quæ in manibus teneo, and by the holy archangels Michael and Gabriel, puram conscientiam germanumque servitium me servaturum, sacratissimis DDNN. Justiniano et Theodoræ conjugi ejus (novel. 8, tit. 3). Would the oath have been binding in favour of the widow? Communes tituli et triumphi, &c. (Aleman. p. 47, 48.)

† "Let greatness own her, and she's mean no more," &c. Without Warburton's critical telescope, I should never have seen, in this general picture of triumphant vice, any personal allusion to

dian. Her rapacious avarice to accumulate an immense treasure, may be excused by the apprehension of her husband's death, which could leave no alternative between ruin and the throne; and fear as well as ambition might exasperate Theodora against two generals, who, during a malady of the emperor, had rashly declared that they were not disposed to acquiesce in the choice of the capital. But the reproach of cruelty, so repugnant even to her softer vices, has left an indelible stain on the memory of Theodora. Her numerous spies observed, and zealously reported, every action, or word, or look, injurious to their royal mistress. Whomsoever they accused were cast into her peculiar prisons,* inaccessible to the inquiries of justice; and it was rumoured that the torture of the rack, or scourge, had been inflicted in the presence of a female tyrant, insensible to the voice of prayer or of pity.† Some of these unhappy victims perished in deep unwholesome dungeons, while others were permitted, after the loss of their limbs, their reason, or their fortune, to appear in the world the living monuments of her vengeance, which was commonly extended to the children of those whom she had suspected or injured. The senator or bishop, whose death or exile Theodora had pronounced, was delivered to a trusty messenger, and his diligence was quickened by a menace from her own mouth. "If you fail in the execution of my commands, I swear by him who liveth for ever, that your skin shall be flayed from your body." ‡

If the creed of Theodora had not been tainted with heresy, her exemplary devotion might have atoned, in the opinion of her contemporaries, for pride, avarice, and cruelty. But if she employed her influence to assuage the intolerant fury of the emperor, the present age will allow some merit to her religion, and much indulgence to her speculative errors.§ The name of Theodora was introduced,

Theodora.

* Her prisons, a labyrinth, a Tartarus, (Anecdot. c. 4) were under the palace. Darkness is propitious to cruelty, but it is likewise favourable to calumny and fiction.

† A more jocular whipping was inflicted on Saturninus, for presuming to say that his wife, a favourite of the empress, had not been found ἄτρήτος. (Anecdot. c. 17.)

‡ Per viventem in sæcula excoriari te faciam. Anastasius de Vitis Pont. Roman. in Vigilio, p. 40.

§ Ludewig, p. 161—166. I give him credit for the charitable attempt, although *he* hath not much charity in his temper.

with equal honour, in all the pious and charitable foundations of Justinian; and the most benevolent institution of his reign may be ascribed to the sympathy of the empress for her less fortunate sisters, who had been seduced or compelled to embrace the trade of prostitution. A palace, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, was converted into a stately and spacious monastery, and a liberal maintenance was assigned to five hundred women, who had been collected from the streets and brothels of Constantinople. In this safe and holy retreat, they were devoted to perpetual confinement; and the despair of some, who threw themselves headlong into the sea, was lost in the gratitude of the penitents, who had been delivered from sin and misery by their generous benefactress.* The prudence of Theodora is celebrated by Justinian himself; and his laws are attributed to the sage counsels of his most reverend wife, whom he had received as the gift of the Deity.† Her courage was displayed amidst the tumult of the people and the terrors of the court. Her chastity, from the moment of her union with Justinian, is founded on the silence of her implacable enemies: and, although the daughter of Acacius might be satiated with love, yet some applause is due to the firmness of a mind which could sacrifice pleasure and habit to the stronger sense either of duty or interest. The wishes and prayers of Theodora could never obtain the blessing of a lawful son, and she buried an infant daughter, the sole offspring of her marriage.‡ Notwithstanding this disappointment, her dominion was permanent and absolute; she preserved, by art or merit, the affections of Justinian; and their seeming dissensions were always fatal to the courtiers who believed them to be sincere. Perhaps her health had been impaired by the licentiousness of her youth; but it was always delicate, and she was directed by her physicians to use the Pythian warm baths. In this journey, the empress was followed by the prætorian prefect, the great treasurer,

* Compare the Anecdotes (c. 17) with the Edifices. (l. 1, c. 9.) How differently may the same fact be stated! John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 174, 175) observes, that on this or a similar occasion, she released and clothed the girls whom she had purchased from the stews at five aurei a-piece.

† Novel. 8. 1. An allusion to Theodora. Her enemies read the name Dæmonodora. (Aleman. p. 66.)

‡ St. Sabas refused to pray for a son of Theodora, lest he should prove a heretic worse than Anastasius himself. (Cyril in Vit. St. Sabæ,

several counts and patricians, and a splendid train of four thousand attendants: the highways were repaired at her approach; a palace was erected for her reception: and as she passed through Bithynia, she distributed liberal alms to the churches, the monasteries, and the hospitals, that they might implore Heaven for the restoration of her health.* At length, in the twenty-fourth year of her marriage, and the twenty-second of her reign, she was consumed by a cancer;† and the irreparable loss was deplored by her husband, who, in the room of a theatrical prostitute, might have selected the purest and most noble virgin of the East.‡

II. A material difference may be observed in the games of antiquity; the most eminent of the Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely spectators. The Olympic stadium was open to wealth, merit, and ambition; and if the candidates could depend on their personal skill and activity, they might pursue the footsteps of Diomede and Menelaus, and conduct their own horses in the rapid career.§ Ten, twenty, forty chariots were allowed to start at the same instant; a crown of leaves was the reward of the victor, and his fame, with that of his family and country, was chanted in lyric strains more durable than monuments of brass and marble. But a senator, or even a citizen, conscious of his dignity, would have blushed to expose his person or his horses in the circus of Rome. The games were exhibited at the expense of the republic, the magistrates, or the

apud Aleman. p. 70. 109.)

* See John Malalas, tom. ii, p. 174. Theophanes, p. 158. Procopius de Edific. l. 5, c. 3.

† Theodora Chalcedonensis synodi inimica canceris plagâ toto corpore perfusa vitam prodigiose finivit. (Victor Tununensis in Chron.) On such occasions, an orthodox mind is steeled against pity. Alemannus (p. 12, 13) understands the εὐσεβῶς ἐκοιμήθη of Theophanes as civil language, which does not imply either piety or repentance; yet two years after her death, St. Theodora is celebrated by Paulus Silentiarius (in Proem. 5. 58—62).

‡ As she persecuted the popes, and rejected a council, Baronius exhausts the names of Eve, Dalila, Herodias, &c. after which he has recourse to his infernal dictionary; civis inferni—alumna dæmonum—satanico agitata spiritû—æstro percita diabolico, &c. &c. (A.D. 548, No. 24.)

§ Read and feel the twenty-third book of the Iliad, a living picture of manners, passions, and the whole form and spirit of the chariot-race. West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games (sect. 12—17) affords much curious and authentic information.

emperors: but the reins were abandoned to servile hands; and if the profits of a favourite charioteer sometimes exceeded those of an advocate, they must be considered as the effects of popular extravagance, and the high wages of a disgraceful profession. The race, in its first institution, was a simple contest of two chariots, whose drivers were distinguished by *white* and *red* liveries; two additional colours, a light *green*, and a cerulean *blue*, were afterwards introduced; and as the races were repeated twenty-five times, one hundred chariots contributed in the same day to the pomp of the circus. The four *factions* soon acquired a legal establishment, and a mysterious origin, and their fanciful colours were derived from the various appearances of nature in the four seasons of the year; the red dog-star of summer, the snows of winter, the deep shades of autumn, and the cheerful verdure of the spring.* Another interpretation preferred the elements to the seasons, and the struggle of the green and blue was supposed to represent the conflict of the earth and sea. Their respective victories announced either a plentiful harvest or a prosperous navigation, and the hostility of the husbandmen and mariners was somewhat less absurd than the blind ardour of the Roman people, who devoted their lives and fortunes to the colour which they had espoused. Such folly was disdained and indulged by the wisest princes; but the names of Caligula, Nero, Vitellius, Verus, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, were enrolled in the blue or green factions of the circus: they frequented their stables, applauded their favourites, chastised their antagonists, and deserved the esteem of the

* The four colours, *albati, russati, prasini, veneti*, represent the four seasons according to Cassiodorus, (Var. 3. 51) who lavishes much wit and eloquence on this theatrical mystery. Of these colours, the three first may be fairly translated, *white, red*, and *green*. *Venetus* is explained by *cæruleus*, a word various and vague: it is properly the sky reflected in the sea; but custom and convenience may allow *blue* as an equivalent. (Robert Stephan. sub voce. Spence's Polymetis, p. 228.) [The term *Veneti* has been shown (ch. 35) to be the Latin form of the Celtic *Avainach*, or *Waterlanders*. In the sunny climes of the south, the floods have always an azure hue, and hence the *watery* colour was used in the circus to denote the *blue*. It is difficult to conceive how Cassiodorus was led to suppose that it bore any resemblance to the "nubila hyems." It will be seen also, (ch. 45) that Venetia was early noted for its breed of race-horses. This may have concurred in the adoption of the name for a colour.—ED.]

populace by the natural or affected imitation of their manners. The bloody and tumultuous contest continued to disturb the public festivity, till the last age of the spectacles of Rome; and Theodoric, from a motive of justice or affection, interposed his authority to protect the greens against the violence of a consul and a patrician, who were passionately addicted to the blue faction of the circus.*

Constantinople adopted the follies, though not the virtues, of ancient Rome; and the same factions which had agitated the circus, raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome. Under the reign of Anastasius, this popular frenzy was inflamed by religious zeal; and the greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred, at a solemn festival, three thousand of their blue adversaries.† From the capital this pestilence was diffused into the provinces and cities of the East, and the sportive distinction of two colours produced two strong and irreconcilable factions, which shook the foundations of a feeble government.‡ The popular dissensions, founded on the most serious interest, or holy pretence, have scarcely equalled the obstinacy of this wanton discord, which invaded the peace of families, divided friends and brothers, and tempted the female sex, though seldom seen in the circus, to espouse the inclinations of their lovers, or to contradict the wishes of their husbands. Every law, either human or divine, was trampled under foot, and as long as the party was successful, its deluded followers appeared careless of private distress or public calamity. The license, without the freedom, of democracy, was revived at Antioch and Con-

* See Onuphrius Panvinius de Ludis Circensibus, l. 1, c. 10, 11, the seventeenth Annotation on Mascou's History of the Germans, and Aleman. ad c. 7. [Theodoric's order to institute a judicial inquiry into this assault, which caused the death of one of the Prasini, (Var. l. 27) is a more authentic evidence of the fact and of his sentiments. He there declares himself to be the protector of the humble against the powerful.—ED.]

† Marcellin. in Chron. p. 47. Instead of the vulgar word *veneta*, he uses the more exquisite terms of *cærulea* and *carealis*. Baronius (A.D. 501, No. 4—6) is satisfied that the blues were orthodox; but Tillemont is angry at the supposition, and will not allow any martyrs in a playhouse. (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi, p. 554.)

‡ See Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 24. In describing the vices of the factions and of the government, the *public* is not more favourable than the *secret* historian. Aleman. (p. 26) has quoted a fine passage from Gregory Nazianzen, which proves the inveteracy of

stantinople, and the support of a faction became necessary to every candidate for civil or ecclesiastical honours. A secret attachment to the family or sect of Anastasius was imputed to the greens; the blues were zealously devoted to the cause of orthodoxy and Justinian,* and their grateful patron protected, above five years, the disorders of a faction whose seasonable tumults overawed the palace, the senate, and the capitals of the East. Insolent with royal favour, the blues affected to strike terror by a peculiar and barbaric dress; the long hair of the Huns, their close sleeves, and ample garments, a lofty step, and a sonorous voice. In the day they concealed their two-edged poniards, but in the night they boldly assembled in arms, and in numerous bands, prepared for every act of violence and rapine. Their adversaries of the green faction, or even inoffensive citizens, were stripped and often murdered by these nocturnal robbers, and it became dangerous to wear any gold buttons or girdles, or to appear at a late hour in the streets of a peaceful capital. A daring spirit, rising with impunity, proceeded to violate the safeguard of private houses; and fire was employed to facilitate the attack, or to conceal the crimes of those factious rioters. No place was safe or sacred from their depredations; to gratify either avarice or revenge, they profusely spilt the blood of the innocent; churches and altars were polluted by atrocious murders; and it was the boast of the assassins, that their dexterity could always inflict a mortal wound with a single stroke of their dagger. The dissolute youth of Constantinople adopted the blue livery of disorder; the laws were silent, and the bonds of society were relaxed; creditors were compelled to resign their obligations; judges to reverse their sentence; masters to enfranchise their slaves; fathers to supply the extravagance of their children; noble matrons were prostituted to the lust of their servants; beautiful boys were torn from the arms of their parents; and wives, unless they preferred a voluntary death, were ravished in the presence of their husbands.† The despair of the greens,

the evil.

* The partiality of Justinian for the blues (Anecdot. c. 7) is attested by Evagrius (Hist. Eccles. l. 4, c. 32); John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 138, 139), especially for Antioch; and Theophanes (p. 142).

† A wife (says Procopius), who was seized and almost ravished by

who were persecuted by their enemies, and deserted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retaliation: but those who survived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the society from whence they were expelled. Those ministers of justice who had courage to punish the crimes, and to brave the resentment, of the blues, became the victims of their indiscreet zeal: a prefect of Constantinople fled for refuge to the holy sepulchre; a count of the East was ignominiously whipped, and a governor of Cilicia was hanged, by the order of Theodora, on the tomb of two assassins whom he had condemned for the murder of his groom, and a daring attack upon his own life.* An aspiring candidate may be tempted to build his greatness on the public confusion, but it is the interest as well as duty of a sovereign to maintain the authority of the laws. The first edict of Justinian, which was often repeated, and sometimes executed, announced his firm resolution to support the innocent, and to chastise the guilty, of every denomination and *colour*. Yet the balance of justice was still inclined in favour of the blue faction, by the secret affection, the habits, and the fears of the emperor; his equity, after an apparent struggle, submitted, without reluctance, to the implacable passions of Theodora, and the empress never forgot, or forgave, the injuries of the comedian. At the accession of the younger Justin, the proclamation of equal and rigorous justice indirectly condemned the partiality of the former reigns. "Ye blues, Justinian is no more! ye greens, he is still alive!"†

A sedition, which almost laid Constantinople in ashes, was excited by the mutual hatred and momentary reconciliation of the two factions. In the fifth year of his reign, Justinian celebrated the festival of the ides of January: the

a blue coat, threw herself into the Bosphorus. The bishops of the second Syria (Aleman. p. 26,) deplore a similar suicide, the guilt or glory of female chastity, and name the heroine.

* The doubtful credit of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 17,) is supported by the less partial Evagrius, who confirms the fact, and specifies the names. The tragic fate of the prefect of Constantinople is related by John Malalas. (tom. ii, p. 139.)

† See John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 147); yet he owns that Justinian was attached to the blues. The seeming discord of the emperor and Theodora, is perhaps viewed with too much jealousy and refinement by Procopius. (Anecdot. c. 10.) See Aleman.

games were incessantly disturbed by the clamorous discontent of the greens; till the twenty-second race, the emperor maintained his silent gravity; at length yielding to his impatience, he condescended to hold, in abrupt sentences, and by the voice of a crier, the most singular dialogue * that ever passed between a prince and his subjects. The first complaints were respectful and modest; they accused the subordinate ministers of oppression, and proclaimed their wishes for the long life and victory of the emperor. "Be patient and attentive, ye insolent railers," exclaimed Justinian! "be mute, ye Jews, Samaritans, and Manichæans!" The greens still attempted to awaken his compassion. "We are poor, we are innocent, we are injured, we dare not pass through the streets: a general persecution is exercised against our name and colour. Let us die, O emperor! but let us die by your command, and for your service!" But the repetition of partial and passionate invectives degraded, in their eyes, the majesty of the purple; they renounced allegiance to the prince who refused justice to his people; lamented that the father of Justinian had been born; and branded his son with the opprobrious names of homicide, an ass, and a perjured tyrant. "Do you despise your lives?" cried the indignant monarch: the blues rose with fury from their seats; their hostile clamours thundered in the hippodrome; and their adversaries, deserting the unequal contest, spread terror and despair through the streets of Constantinople. At this dangerous moment seven notorious assassins of both factions, who had been condemned by the prefect, were carried round the city, and afterwards transported to the place of execution in the suburb of Pera. Four were immediately beheaded; a fifth was hanged: but when the same punishment was inflicted on the remaining two, the rope broke, they fell alive to the ground, the populace applauded their escape, and the monks of St. Conon, issuing from the neighbouring convent, conveyed them in a boat to the sanctuary of the church.† As

Præfat. p. 6.

* This dialogue, which Theophanes has preserved, exhibits the popular language, as well as the manners, of Constantinople in the sixth century. Their Greek is mingled with many strange and barbarous words, for which Ducange cannot always find a meaning or etymology.

† See this church and monastery in Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. 4, p. 182.

one of these criminals was of the blue, and the other of the green livery, the two factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor, or the ingratitude of their patron; and a short truce was concluded till they had delivered their prisoners and satisfied their revenge. The palace of the prefect, who withstood the seditious torrent, was instantly burnt, his officers and guards were massacred, the prisons were forced open, and freedom was restored to those who could only use it for the public destruction. A military force, which had been dispatched to the aid of the civil magistrate, was fiercely encountered by an armed multitude, whose numbers and boldness continually increased; and the Heruli, the wildest barbarians in the service of the empire, overturned the priests and their relics, which, from a pious motive, had been rashly interposed to separate the bloody conflict. The tumult was exasperated by this sacrilege, the people fought with enthusiasm in the cause of God; the women from the roofs and windows showered stones on the heads of the soldiers, who darted firebrands against the houses; and the various flames, which had been kindled by the hands of citizens and strangers, spread without control over the face of the city. The conflagration involved the cathedral of St. Sophia, the baths of Zeuxippus, a part of the palace from the first entrance to the altar of Mars, and the long portico from the palace to the forum of Constantine; a large hospital, with the sick patients, was consumed; many churches and stately edifices were destroyed, and an immense treasure of gold and silver was either melted or lost. From such scenes of horror and distress, the wise and wealthy citizens escaped over the Bosphorus to the Asiatic side; and, during five days, Constantinople was abandoned to the factions, whose watchword, NIKA, *vanquish!* has given a name to this memorable sedition.*

As long as the factions were divided, the triumphant blues, and desponding greens, appeared to behold with the same indifference the disorders of the state. They agreed to censure the corrupt management of justice and the

* The history of the *Nika* sedition is extracted from Marcellinus (in Chron.), Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 26), John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 213—218), Chron. Paschal. (336—340), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 154—158), and Zonaras (l. 14, p. 61—63).

finance; and the two responsible ministers, the artful Tribonian, and the rapacious John of Cappadocia, were loudly arraigned as the authors of the public misery. The peaceful murmurs of the people would have been disregarded; they were heard with respect when the city was in flames; the quæstor, and the prefect, were instantly removed, and their offices were filled by two senators of blameless integrity. After this popular concession, Justinian proceeded to the hippodrome to confess his own errors, and to accept the repentance of his grateful subjects; but they distrusted his assurances, though solemnly pronounced in the presence of the holy gospels; and the emperor alarmed by their distrust, retreated with precipitation to the strong fortress of the palace. The obstinacy of the tumult was now imputed to a secret and ambitious conspiracy, and a suspicion was entertained, that the insurgents, more especially the green faction, had been supplied with arms and money by Hypatius and Pompey, two patricians, who could neither forget with honour, nor remember with safety, that they were the nephews of the emperor Anastasius. Capriciously trusted, disgraced, and pardoned, by the jealous levity of the monarch, they had appeared as loyal servants before the throne; and during five days of the tumult, they were detained as important hostages; till at length, the fears of Justinian prevailing over his prudence, he viewed the two brothers in the light of spies, perhaps of assassins, and sternly commanded them to depart from the palace. After a fruitless representation, that obedience might lead to involuntary treason, they retired to their houses, and in the morning of the sixth day, Hypatius was surrounded and seized by the people, who, regardless of his virtuous resistance, and the tears of his wife, transported their favourite to the forum of Constantine, and, instead of a diadem, placed a rich collar on his head. If the usurper, who afterwards pleaded the merit of his delay, had complied with the advice of his senate, and urged the fury of the multitude, their first irresistible effort might have oppressed or expelled his trembling competitor. The Byzantine palace enjoyed a free communication with the sea; vessels lay ready at the garden stairs; and a secret resolution was already formed, to convey the emperor with his family and treasures to a safe retreat, at some distance from the capital.

Justinian was lost, if the prostitute whom he raised from the theatre had not renounced the timidity, as well as the virtues, of her sex. In the midst of a council, where Belisarius was present, Theodora alone displayed the spirit of a hero; and she alone, without apprehending his future hatred, could save the emperor from the imminent danger, and his unworthy fears. "If flight," said the consort of Justinian, "were the only means of safety, yet I should disdain to fly. Death is the condition of our birth; but they who have reigned should never survive the loss of dignity and dominion. I implore Heaven that I may never be seen, not a day, without my diadem and purple; that I may no longer behold the light, when I cease to be saluted with the name of queen. If you resolve, O Cæsar! to fly, you have treasures; behold the sea, you have ships; but tremble lest the desire of life should expose you to wretched exile and ignominious death. For my own part, I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, that the throne is a glorious sepulchre." The firmness of a woman restored the courage to deliberate and act, and courage soon discovers the resources of the most desperate situation. It was an easy and a decisive measure to revive the animosity of the factions: the blues were astonished at their own guilt and folly, that a trifling injury should provoke them to conspire with their implacable enemies against a gracious and liberal benefactor; they again proclaimed the majesty of Justinian, and the greens, with their upstart emperor, were left alone in the hippodrome. The fidelity of the guards was doubtful; but the military force of Justinian consisted in three thousand veterans, who had been trained to valour and discipline in the Persian and Illyrian wars. Under the command of Belisarius and Mundus,* they silently marched in two divisions from the palace, forced their obscure way through narrow passages, expiring flames, and falling edifices, and burst open at the same moment the two opposite gates of the hippodrome. In this narrow space, the disorderly and affrighted crowd was incapable of resisting on either side

* [According to Marcellinus, Mundus was a Goth; according to Jornandes he was a descendant of one of Attila's followers. He attached himself to Theodoric, king of Italy, after whose death he entered into the service of Justinian. In 529 he was general of Illyricum, and successfully guarded Thrace against the Bulgarians. Clinton, F. R. i, 722.

a firm and regular attack; the blues signalized the fury of their repentance; and it is computed that above thirty thousand persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day. Hypatius was dragged from his throne, and conducted with his brother Pompey to the feet of the emperor: they implored his clemency; but their crime was manifest, their innocence uncertain, and Justinian had been too much terrified to forgive. The next morning the two nephews of Anastasius, with eighteen *illustrious* accomplices, of patrician or consular rank, were privately executed by the soldiers; their bodies were thrown into the sea, their palaces razed, and their fortunes confiscated. The hippodrome itself was condemned during several years to a mournful silence: with the restoration of the games the same disorders revived: and the blue and green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Eastern empire.*

III. That empire, after Rome was barbarous, still embraced the nations whom she had conquered beyond the Hadriatic, and as far as the frontiers of Æthiopia and Persia. Justinian reigned over sixty-four provinces, and nine hundred and thirty-five cities;† his dominions were blessed by nature with the advantages of soil, situation, and climate; and the improvements of human art had been perpetually diffused along the coast of the Mediterranean and the banks of the Nile, from ancient Troy to the Ægyptian Thebes. Abraham ‡ had been relieved by the well

752.—Ed.] * Marcellinus says in general terms, innumeris populis in circo trucidatis. Procopius numbers thirty thousand victims: and the thirty-five thousand of Theophanes are swelled to forty-thousand by the more recent Zonaras. Such is the usual progress of exaggeration. † Hierocles, a contemporary of Justinian, composed his Συνέκδημος (Itineraria, p. 631) or review of the Eastern provinces and cities, before the year 535. (Wesseling in Prætat. and Not. ad p. 623, &c. ‡ See the book of Genesis (xii, 10,) and the administration of Joseph. The annals of the Greeks and Hebrews agree in the early arts and plenty of Ægypt: but this antiquity supposes a long series of improvement: and Warburton, who is almost stifled by the Hebrew, calls aloud for the Samaritan chronology. (Divine Legation, vol. iii, p. 29, &c.). [The chronologies of MM. Bunsen and Lepsius carry back the history of Egypt to 3800 years B.C. (Letters from Egypt, by Dr. R. Lepsius, p. 499—506. edit. Bohn). Yet the emigrants from that country, who colonized Greece about 2000 years later, took with them only the simplest arts and first rudi-

known plenty of Egypt; the same country, a small and populous tract, was still capable of exporting, each year, two hundred and sixty thousand quarters of wheat for the use of Constantinople;* and the capital of Justinian was supplied with the manufactures of Sidon, fifteen centuries after they had been celebrated in the poems of Homer.† The annual powers of vegetation, instead of being exhausted by two thousand harvests, were renewed and invigorated by skilful husbandry, rich manure, and seasonable repose. The breed of domestic animals was infinitely multiplied. Plantations, buildings, and the instruments of labour and luxury, which are more durable than the term of human life, were accumulated by the care of successive generations. Tradition preserved, and experience simplified, the humble practice of the arts; society was enriched by the division of labour and the facility of exchange; and every Roman was lodged, clothed, and subsisted, by the industry of a thousand hands. The invention of the loom and distaff has been piously ascribed to the gods. In every age, a variety of animal and vegetable productions, hair, skins, wool, flax, cotton, and at length *silk*, have been skilfully manufactured to hide or adorn the human body; they were stained with an infusion of permanent colours; and the pencil was successfully employed to improve the labours of the loom.

ments of civilization. This fact renders the claim to such high antiquity very doubtful.—ED.]

* Eight millions of Roman modii, besides a contribution of eighty thousand aurei for the expenses of water carriage, from which the subject was graciously excused. See the thirteenth edict of Justinian: the numbers are checked and verified by the agreement of the Greek and Latin texts.

† Homer's Iliad, 6. 289. These veils, πέπλοι παμποικίλοι, were the work of the Sidonian women. But this passage is more honourable to the manufactures than to the navigation of Phœnicia, from whence they had been imported to Troy in Phrygian bottoms. [Sidon was undoubtedly celebrated for its manufactures at a very early period; but Phœnicia was never without a fleet by which these might be conveyed to other countries. The veils, moreover, which were the theme of Homer's song were not made at Sidon, but at Troy, by Sidonian women, whom Paris had taken there with him,

ἔργα γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν. Iliad, 6. 289—291.

In those days men disdained the labours of the loom as well as of the distaff, and left them to be performed by female hands. The progress of the textile art was therefore slow in ancient times. But a laudable

In the choice of those colours* which imitate the beauties of nature, the freedom of taste and fashion was indulged; but the deep purple,† which the Phœnicians extracted from a shell-fish, was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor; and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne.‡

I need not explain that *silk*§ is originally spun from the bowels of a caterpillar, and that it composes the golden tomb from whence a worm emerges in the form of a butterfly. Till the reign of Justinian, the silk-worms, who feed on the leaves of the white mulberry-tree, were confined to China; those of the pine, the oak, and the ash, were common in the forests both of Asia and Europe; but as their education is more difficult, and their produce more uncertain, they were generally neglected, except in the little island of Ceos, near the coast of Attica. A thin gauze was procured from their webs; and this Ceian manufacture, the invention of a woman,

curiosity supplied occasionally the place of a more active energy, and discovered new materials, or new purposes to which the old might be applied.—Ed.]

* See in Ovid (de Arte Amandi, 3. 269, &c.) a poetical list of twelve colours borrowed from flowers, the elements, &c. But it is almost impossible to discriminate by words all the nice and various shades both of art and nature.

† By the discovery of cochineal, &c. we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a dark cast as deep as bull's blood.—Obscuritas rubens (says Cassiodorus, Var. i, 2) nigredo sanguinea. The president Goguet (Origine des Loix et des Arts, part. 2. l. 2. c. 2, p. 184—215) will amuse and satisfy the reader. I doubt whether his book, especially in England, is as well known as it deserves to be.

‡ Historical proofs of this jealousy have been occasionally introduced, and many more might have been added; but the arbitrary acts of despotism were justified by the sober and general declarations of law. (Codex Theodosian. l. 10, tit. 21, leg. 3, Codex Justinian. l. 11, tit. 8, leg. 5.) An inglorious permission, and necessary restriction, was applied to the *mimæ*, the female dancers. (Cod. Theodos. l. 15, tit. 7, leg. 11.)

§ In the history of insects (far more wonderful than Ovid's Metamorphoses) the silk-worm holds a conspicuous place. The bombyx of the isle of Ceos, as described by Pliny (Hist. Natur. 11, 26, 27, with the notes of the two learned Jesuits, Hardouin and Brotier), may be illustrated by a similar species in China (Mémoires sur les Chinois, tom. ii, p. 575—598); but our silk-worm, as well as the white mulberry-tree, were unknown to Theophrastus and Pliny. [Aristotle is the first by whom the silk-worm is mentioned. (De Animal. V. 19.) The period at which it was introduced into the island of Cos or Ceos, by Pamphyla, the daughter of

for female use, was long admired both in the East and at Rome. Whatever suspicions may be raised by the garments of the Medes and Assyrians, Virgil is the most ancient writer who expressly mentions the soft wool which was combed from the trees of the Seres or Chinese,* and this natural error, less marvellous than the truth, was slowly corrected by the knowledge of a valuable insect, the first artificer of the luxury of nations. That rare and elegant luxury was censured in the reign of Tiberius, by the gravest of the Romans; and Pliny, in affected though forcible language, has condemned the thirst of gain, which explored the last confines of the earth, for the pernicious purpose of exposing to the public eye naked draperies and transparent matrons.† A dress, which showed the turn of the limbs, and colour of the skin, might gratify vanity, or provoke desire; the silks which had been closely woven in China, were sometimes unravelled by the Phœnician women, and the precious materials were multiplied by a looser texture, and the intermixture of linen threads.‡ Two hundred years after the age of Pliny, the use of pure or even of mixed silks was confined to the female

Patous, is supposed to correspond with that in which Solomon lived. —ED.]

* Georgic. 2, 121. Serica quando venerint in usum planissime non scio: suspicor tamen in Julii Cæsaris ævo, nam ante non invenio, says Justus Lipsius (Excursus 1, ad Tacit. Annal. 2. 32). See Dion Cassius (l. 43, p. 358, edit. Reimar.) and Pausanias (l. 6, p. 519); the first who describes, however strangely, the Seric insect. [The "soft wool, which was combed from the trees," is equally applicable to cotton, which it ought to be remembered, is also a product of the East.—ED.]

† Tam longinquo orbe petitur, ut in publico matrona transluceat . . . . . ut denudet fœminas vestis. (Plin. 6, 20. 11, 21.) Varro and Publius Syrus had already played on the toga vitrea, ventus textilis, and nebula linea. (Horat. Sermon. 1, 2. 101, with the notes of Torrentius and Dacier.) [Gibbon's confused or transposed epithets do not represent Pliny's words correctly; in fact, they have made him write nonsense. He describes the drapery as transparent, and the matron as visible through it; nor could the wearers of such attire be properly called naked. The German translator has followed closely the error of his English model, and rendered the passage literally. M. Guizot's version is much better, "des vêtemens qui ne vêtissent pas, et des matrones nues, quoique habillées."—ED.]

‡ On the texture, colours, names, and use of the silk, half silk, and linen garments of antiquity, see the profound, diffuse, and obscure researches of the great Salmasius (in Hist. August. p. 127. 309. 310. 339. 341. 342. 344. 388—391. 395. 513), who was ignorant of the most common trades of Dijon or Leyden.

sex, till the opulent citizens of Rome and the provinces were insensibly familiarized with the example of Elagabalus, the first who by this effeminate habit, had sullied the dignity of an emperor and a man. Aurelian complained, that a pound of silk was sold at Rome for twelve ounces of gold; but the supply increased with the demand, and the price diminished with the supply. If accident or monopoly sometimes raised the value even above the standard of Aurelian, the manufacturers of Tyre and Berytus were sometimes compelled, by the operation of the same causes, to content themselves with a ninth part of that extravagant rate.* A law was thought necessary to discriminate the dress of comedians from that of senators; and of the silk exported from its native country, the far greater part was consumed by the subjects of Justinian. They were still more intimately acquainted with a shell-fish of the Mediterranean, surnamed the silk-worm of the sea; the fine wool or hair by which the mother of pearl affixes itself to the rock, is now manufactured for curiosity rather than use; and a robe obtained from the same singular materials, was the gift of the Roman emperor to the satraps of Armenia.†

A valuable merchandize of small bulk is capable of defraying the expense of land carriage; and the caravans traversed the whole latitude of Asia in two hundred and forty-three days, from the Chinese ocean to the sea-coast of Syria. Silk was immediately delivered to the Romans by the Persian merchants,‡ who frequented the fairs of Armenia and Nisibis: but this trade, which in the intervals of truce was oppressed by avarice and jealousy, was totally interrupted by the long wars of the rival monarchies. The great king

* Flavius Vopiscus in Aurelian. c. 45, in Hist. August. p. 224. See Salmasius ad Hist. Aug. p. 392, and Plinian. Exercitat. in Solinum, p. 694, 695. The Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 25) state a partial and imperfect rate of the price of silk in the time of Justinian. [According to Vopiscus, Aurelian, objecting to the high price, denied his empress a silk robe, which she wished for.—Ed.]

† Procopius de Edif. lib. 3, c. 1. These *pinnes de mer* are found near Smyrna, Sicily, Corsica, and Minorca; and a pair of gloves of their silk was presented to pope Benedict XIV.

‡ Procopius, Persic. lib. 1, c. 20, lib. 2, c. 25. Gothic. lib. 4, c. 17. Menander in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107. Of the Parthian or Persian empire, Isidore of Charax (in Stathmis Parthicis, p. 7, 8, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. ii) has marked the roads, and Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. 23, c. 6. p. 400) has enumerated the provinces.

might proudly number Sogdiana, and even *Serica*, among the provinces of his empire; but his real dominion was bounded by the Oxus, and his useful intercourse with the Sogdoites, beyond the river, depended on the pleasure of their conquerors, the white Huns, and the Turks, who successively reigned over that industrious people. Yet the most savage dominion has not extirpated the seeds of agriculture and commerce, in a region which is celebrated as one of the four gardens of Asia; the cities of Samarcand and Bochara are advantageously seated for the exchange of its various productions; and their merchants purchased from the Chinese* the raw or manufactured silk which they transported into Persia for the use of the Roman empire. In the vain capital of China, the Sogdian caravans were entertained as the suppliant embassies of tributary kingdoms, and if they returned in safety, the bold adventure was rewarded with exorbitant gain. But the difficulty and perilous march from Samarcand to the first town of Shensi, could not be performed in less than sixty, eighty, or one hundred days: as soon as they had passed the Jaxartes, they entered the desert; and the wandering hordes, unless they are restrained by armies and garrisons, have always considered the citizen and the traveller as the objects of lawful rapine. To escape the Tartar robbers, and the tyrants of Persia, the silk caravans explored a more southern road;

* The blind admiration of the Jesuits confounds the different periods of the Chinese history. They are more critically distinguished by M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i, part 1, in the Tables, part 2, in the Geography; Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. xxxvi. xlii, xliii), who discovers the gradual progress of the truth of the annals, and the extent of the monarchy, till the Christian era. He has searched with a curious eye, the connections of the Chinese with the nations of the west: but these connections are slight, casual, and obscure; nor did the Romans entertain a suspicion that the Seres or Sinæ possessed an empire not inferior to their own. [It is said, that a Chinese princess made her country acquainted with the use of the cocoon, 2,400 years before the commencement of our era. We well know, that the inhabitants of the remotest east are slow to improve; and this alone renders credible the high antiquity, to which they lay claim. Their silk is now inferior to that produced in almost all the other lands, which owe their knowledge of it to them. It has long supplied the commonest material of their dress, while garments, made in any way from wool, were among their luxuries, and till the extension of their commerce with England in later years, cost them thrice as much as those composed of silk.—Ed.]

they traversed the mountains of Thibet, descended the streams of the Ganges or the Indus, and patiently expected in the ports of Guzerat and Malabar, the annual fleets of the West.* But the dangers of the desert were found less intolerable than toil, hunger, and the loss of time; the attempt was seldom renewed, and the only European, who has passed that unfrequented way, applauds his own diligence, that in nine months after his departure from Pekin, he reached the mouth of the Indus. The ocean, however, was open to the free communication of mankind. From the great river to the tropic of Cancer, the provinces of China were subdued and civilized by the emperors of the North; they were filled about the time of the Christian era with cities and men, mulberry-trees and their precious inhabitants; and if the Chinese, with the knowledge of the compass, had possessed the genius of the Greeks or Phœnicians, they might have spread their discoveries over the southern hemisphere. I am not qualified to examine, and I am not disposed to believe, their distant voyages to the Persian Gulf, or the Cape of Good Hope: but their ancestors might equal the labours and success of the present race, and the sphere of their navigation might extend from the isles of Japan to the straits of Malacca, the pillars, if we may apply that name, of an Oriental Hercules.† Without losing sight of land, they might sail along the coast to the extreme promontory of Achin, which is annually visited by ten or twelve ships laden with the productions, the manufactures, and even the artificers of China; the island of Sumatra and the opposite peninsula, are faintly delineated‡

* The roads from China to Persia and Hindostan may be investigated in the relations of Hackluyt and Thevenot, the ambassadors of Sharokh, Anthony Jenkinson, the Père Greuber, &c. See likewise Hanway's Travels, vol. i, p. 345—357. A communication through Thibet has been lately explored by the English sovereigns of Bengal.

† For the Chinese navigation to Malacca and Achin, perhaps to Ceylon, see Renaudot (on the two Mahometan Travellers, p. 8—11, 13—17, 141—157), Dampier (vol. ii, p. 136), the Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes (tom. i, p. 98), and the Hist. Générale des Voyages (tom. vi, p. 201).

‡ The knowledge, or rather ignorance, of Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Arrian, Marcian, &c. of the countries eastward of Cape Comorin, is finely illustrated by D'Anville (Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde, especially p. 161—198). Our geography of India is improved by commerce and conquest; and has been illustrated by the excellent maps and memoirs of Major Rennel. If he

as the regions of gold and silver; and the trading cities named in the geography of Ptolemy, may indicate, that this wealth was not solely derived from the mines. The direct interval between Sumatra and Ceylon is about three hundred leagues; the Chinese and Indian navigators were conducted by the flight of birds and periodical winds, and the ocean might be securely traversed in square-built ships, which, instead of iron, were sewed together with the strong thread of the cocoa-nut. Ceylon, Serendib, or Taprobana, was divided between two hostile princes; one of whom possessed the mountains, the elephants, and the luminous carbuncle, and the other enjoyed the more solid riches of domestic industry, foreign trade, and the capacious harbour of Trinquemale, which received and dismissed the fleets of the East and West. In this hospitable isle, at an equal distance (as it was computed) from their respective countries, the silk-merchants of China, who had collected in their voyages, aloes, cloves, nutmeg, and sandal wood, maintained a free and beneficial commerce with the inhabitants of the Persian Gulf. The subjects of the great king exalted, without a rival, his power and magnificence; and the Roman, who confounded their vanity by comparing his paltry coin with a gold medal of the emperor Anastasius, had sailed to Ceylon in an Æthiopian ship, as a simple passenger.*

As silk became of indispensable use, the emperor Justinian saw, with concern, that the Persians had occupied by land and sea the monopoly of this important supply, and that the wealth of his subjects was continually drained by a nation of enemies and idolaters. An active government would have restored the trade of Egypt and the navigation of the Red Sea, which had decayed with the prosperity of the empire; and the Roman vessels might have sailed for the purchase of silk, to the ports of Ceylon, of Malacca, or even of China. Justinian embraced a more humble expedient, and solicited the aid of his Christian allies, the Æthio-

extends the sphere of his inquiries with the same critical knowledge and sagacity, he will succeed, and may surpass, the first of modern geographers. * The Taprobane of Pliny (6, 24), Solinus (c. 53), and Salmas. Plinianæ Exercitat. (p. 781, 782), and most of the ancients, who often confound the islands of Ceylon and Sumatra, is more clearly described by Cosmas Indicopleustes; yet even the Christian topographer has exaggerated its dimensions. His information on the Indian and Chinese trade is rare and curious (lib. 2, p. 138, lib. 11,

pians of Abyssinia, who had recently acquired the arts of navigation, the spirit of trade, and the sea-port of Adulis,* still decorated with the trophies of a Grecian conqueror. Along the African coast, they penetrated to the equator in search of gold, emeralds, and aromatics; but they wisely declined an unequal competition, in which they must be always prevented by the vicinity of the Persians to the markets of India; and the emperor submitted to the disappointment, till his wishes were gratified by an unexpected event. The gospel had been preached to the Indians: a bishop already governed the Christians of St. Thomas on the pepper-coast of Malabar; a church was planted in Ceylon, and the missionaries pursued the footsteps of commerce to the extremities of Asia.† Two Persian monks had long resided in China, perhaps in the royal city of Nankin, the seat of a monarch addicted to foreign superstitions, and who actually received an embassy from the isle of Ceylon. Amidst their pious occupations they viewed with a curious eye the common dress of the Chinese, the manufactures of silk, and the myriads of silkworms, whose education (either on trees or in houses) had once been considered as the labour of queens.‡

p. 337, 338, edit. Montfaucon). * See Procopius, Persic. (lib. 2, c. 20). Cosmas affords some interesting knowledge of the port and inscription of Adulis (Topograph. Christ. lib. 2, p. 138, 140—143), and of the trade of the Axumites along the African coast of Barbaria or Zingi (p. 138, 139), and as far as Taprobane (lib. 11, p. 339). [Arkiko, a small town, or village of 400 houses, on the south-western side of the bay of Massuah, near the straits of Babelmandel, is said to be the ancient Adulis. It is described in Bruce's Travels (Book 5, c. 12). Some writers call it Erquico. The trophies referred to by Gibbon, are a statue of Ptolemy Euergetes and the inscription on its pedestal, which was published by Leo Allatius at Rome in 1631, and by Thevenot in 1666.—Ed.]

† See the Christian missions in India, in Cosmas (lib. 3, p. 178, 179, lib. 11, p. 337), and consult Asseman, Bibliot. Orient. (tom. iv, p. 413—548). ‡ The invention, manufacture, and general use of silk in China, may be seen in Duhalde. (Description Générale de la Chine, tom. ii, p. 165, 205—223.) The province of Chekian is the most renowned both for quantity and quality. [Libavius, a professor at Jena and Coburg, about the year 1600, treating De Bombyciis (in his Nat. Cult. 2, p. 2, 69) says, that the two monks did not bring their treasure from China, but from Assyria, where, according to Pliny (Hist. Nat. 11, 25—27), the worms were bred in his days. Pliny's description does not correspond with the genuine bombyx, which he had never seen, and of which his account is very obscure. Still Libavius makes it appear very probable, that silk equal to the Chinese was

They soon discovered that it was impracticable to transport the short-lived insect, but that in the eggs, a numerous progeny, might be preserved and multiplied in a distant climate. Religion or interest had more power over the Persian monks than the love of their country: after a long journey, they arrived at Constantinople, imparted their project to the emperor, and were liberally encouraged by the gifts and promises of Justinian. To the historians of that prince, a campaign at the foot of Mount Caucasus has seemed more deserving of a minute relation, than the labours of these missionaries of commerce, who again entered China, deceived a jealous people by concealing the eggs of the silkworm in a hollow cane, and returned in triumph with the spoils of the east. Under their direction, the eggs were hatched at the proper season by the artificial heat of dung; the worms were fed with mulberry leaves; they lived and laboured in a foreign climate: a sufficient number of butterflies were saved to propagate the race, and trees were planted to supply the nourishment of the rising generations. Experience and reflection corrected the errors of a new attempt, and the Sogdoite ambassadors acknowledged, in the succeeding reign, that the Romans were not inferior to the natives of China in the education of the insects and the manufactures of silk,* in which both China

produced in Assyria, and that Persian merchants enhanced the value of their wares, by pretending that they came from distant climes. The silk-worms had probably passed through Cochin China to India, and thence into Persia, as from Constantinople they gradually continued to proceed westward.—Ed.]

* Procopius, lib 8. Gothic. 4, c. 17. Theophanes Byzant. apud. Phot. Cod. 84, p. 38. Zonaras, tom. ii, lib. 14, p. 69. Pagi (tom ii, p. 602) assigns to the year 552 this memorable importation. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 107) mentions the admiration of the Sogdoites; and Theophylact Simocatta (l. 7, c. 9) darkly represents the two rival kingdoms in (*China*) the country of silk. [In the fifteenth century a strange infatuation prevailed, respecting the means of propagating silk-worms. It was believed that they were engendered by mulberry leaves. These were supplied plentifully for twenty days and nights to young calves, which were then killed, and the maggots found in their putrid carcasses were supposed to be silk-worms. The process was described in Latin verse by Vida, the poet of "Leo's golden days," and in French prose, by Isner in his treatise, "Des Vers à soie." A grave German doctor put to the test of experiment, when of course the bubble burst. Wiser efforts were made with emulative care in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy; but the climate and soil of the latter country appear to be most

and Constantinople have been surpassed by the industry of modern Europe. I am not insensible of the benefits of elegant luxury; yet I reflect with some pain, that if the importers of silk had introduced the art of printing, already practised by the Chinese, the comedies of Menander, and the entire decads of Livy, would have been perpetuated in the editions of the sixth century. A larger view of the globe might at least have promoted the improvement of speculative science; but the Christian geography was forcibly extracted from texts of Scripture, and the study of nature was the surest symptom of an unbelieving mind. The orthodox faith confined the habitable world to *one* temperate zone, and represented the earth as an oblong surface, four hundred days' journey in length, two hundred in breadth, encompassed by the ocean, and covered by the solid crystal of the firmament.*

IV. The subjects of Justinian were dissatisfied with the times, and with the government. Europe was overrun by the barbarians, and Asia by the monks; the poverty of the West discouraged the trade and manufactures of the East; the produce of labour was consumed by the unprofitable servants of the church, the state, and the army, and a rapid decrease was felt in the fixed and circulating capitals which constitute the national wealth. The public distress had been alleviated by the economy of Anastasius, and that prudent emperor accumulated an immense treasure, while

suited to the habits of the insect and the growth of its nourishment. The organzine, or thrown silk, of Bergamo and its neighbourhood, is the best and finest, and far surpasses any that has yet been produced in other countries.—ED.]

* Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or the Indian navigator, performed his voyage about the year 522, and composed, at Alexandria, between 535 and 547, Christian topography (Montfaucon, Præfat. c. 1), in which he refutes the impious opinion, that the earth is a globe; and Photius had read this work (Cod. 36, p. 9, 10), which displays the prejudices of a monk, with the knowledge of a merchant: the most valuable part has been given in French and in Greek by Melchisedec Thevenot (Relations Curieuses, part 1); and the whole is since published in a splendid edition by the Père Montfaucon. (Nova Collectio Patrum, Paris, 1707, 2 vols. in fol. tom. ii, p. 113—346.) But the editor, a theologian, might blush at not discovering the Nestorian heresy of Cosmas, which has been detected by La Croze. (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i, p. 40—56.) [The popular notions of the age may be found in the curious, but irrelevant lecture on astronomy, introduced by Cassiodorus into the order, which he gave, as prætorian prefect, for a pension to a superannuated

he delivered his people from the most odious or oppressive taxes. Their gratitude universally applauded the abolition of the *gold of affliction*, a personal tribute on the industry of the poor;* but more intolerable, as it should seem, in the form than in the substance, since the flourishing city of Edessa paid only one hundred and forty pounds of gold, which was collected in four years from ten thousand artificers.† Yet such was the parsimony, which supported this liberal disposition, that, in a reign of twenty-seven years, Anastasius saved, from his annual revenue, the enormous sum of thirteen millions sterling, or three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of gold.‡ His example was neglected, and his treasure was abused, by the nephew of Justin. The riches of Justinian were speedily exhausted by alms and buildings, by ambitious wars, and ignominious treaties. His revenues were found inadequate to his expenses.

Every art was tried to extort from the people the gold and silver which he scattered with a lavish hand from Persia to France;§ his reign was marked by the vicissitudes, or rather by the combat, of rapaciousness and avarice, of splendour and poverty; he lived with the reputation of hidden treasures,¶ and bequeathed to his successor the payment of his debts.** Such a character has been justly accused by

officer. See Var. xi. 36.—ED.]

* Evagrius (lib. 3, c. 39, 40) is minute and grateful, but angry with Zosimus for calumniating the great Constantine. In collecting all the bonds and records of the tax, the humanity of Anastasius was diligent and artful; fathers were sometimes compelled to prostitute their daughters. (Zosim. Hist. lib. 2, c. 38, p. 165, 166. Lipsiæ 1784.) Timotheus of Gaza chose such an event for the subject of a tragedy (Suidas, tom. iii, p. 475), which contributed to the abolition of the tax (Cedrenus, p. 35): a happy instance (if it be true) of the use of the theatre.

† See Josua Stylites, in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman (tom. i, p. 268). This capitation-tax is slightly mentioned in the Chronicle of Edessa.

‡ Procopius (Anecdot. c. 19) fixes this sum from the report of the treasurers themselves. Tiberius had *vicies ter millies:* but far different was his empire from that of Anastasius.

§ Evagrius (lib. 4, c. 30), in the next generation, was moderate and well informed; and Zonaras (lib. 14, c. 61) in the twelfth century, had read with care, and thought without prejudice: yet their colours are almost as black as those of the Anecdotes.

¶ Procopius (Anecdot. c. 30) relates the idle conjectures of the times. The death of Justinian, says the secret historian, will expose his wealth or poverty.

** See Corippus de Laudibus Justini Aug. lib. 2, 260, &c. 384, &c.

"Plurima sunt vivo nimium neglecta parenti,
Unde tot exhaustus contraxit debita fiscus."

the voice of the people and of posterity; but public discontent is credulous; private malice is bold; and a lover of truth will peruse with a suspicious eye the instructive anecdotes of Procopius. The secret historian represents only the vices of Justinian, and those vices are darkened by his malevolent pencil. Ambiguous actions are imputed to the worst motives: error is confounded with guilt, accident with design, and laws with abuses: the partial injustice of a moment is dexterously applied as the general maxim of a reign of thirty-two years: the emperor alone is made responsible for the faults of his officers, the disorders of the times, and the corruption of his subjects; and even the calamities of nature, plagues, earthquakes, and inundations, are imputed to the prince of the dæmons, who had mischievously assumed the form of Justinian.*

After this precaution, I shall briefly relate the anecdotes of avarice and rapine, under the following heads.—I. Justinian was so profuse that he could not be liberal. The civil and military officers when they were admitted into the service of the palace, obtained a humble rank and a moderate stipend; they ascended by seniority to a station of affluence and repose; the annual pensions, of which the most honourable class was abolished by Justinian, amounted to four hundred thousand pounds; and this domestic economy was

Centenaries of gold were brought by strong arms into the hippodrome.—

"Debita persolvit genitoris, cauta recepit."

* The Anecdotes (c. 11—14, 18, 20—30) supply many facts and more complaints. [Lydus (de Magistratibus, lib. 3, c. 40), a confessedly disappointed man, asserts, that "the prætorian prefect had gradually been deprived of his powers and honours," and that "this diminution of his office had destroyed the emoluments of his subordinate officers." Yet this same Lydus was employed by John of Cappadocia, who, as Justinian's prætorian prefect, exercised unbounded power throughout the East, and accumulated immense wealth. Nor is any evidence of the alleged change afforded by the conduct or influence of his successors. In the West, too, Cassiodorus held the same office at that period; and in the letter to the senate, announcing his appointment (Var. ix, 25), it is spoken of in language which authorized the Benedictine editor of his works to term it (in Vit. p. 6) "culmen honoris altissimum." So also in many of his Epistles, such as Var. xi, 36, 37, he provided for subordinate officials, with a liberality which attests the means of the treasury, as well as the good feeling of its manager. These facts render very questionable the veracity of Lydus, who appears to have lost his pay, when Latin ceased to be used in the public offices at Constantinople. Private resentment or mortification

deplored by the venal or indigent courtiers as the last outrage on the majesty of the empire. The posts, the salaries of physicians, and the nocturnal illuminations, were objects of more general concern; and the cities might justly complain that he usurped the municipal revenues which had been appropriated to these useful institutions. Even the soldiers were injured; and such was the decay of military spirit that they were injured with impunity. The emperor refused, at the return of each fifth year, the customary donative of five pieces of gold, reduced his veterans to beg their bread, and suffered unpaid armies to melt away in the wars of Italy and Persia. II. The humanity of his predecessors had always remitted, in some auspicious circumstance of their reign, the arrears of public tribute; and they dexterously assumed the merit of resigning those claims which it was impracticable to enforce. "Justinian, in the space of thirty-two years, has never granted a similar indulgence; and many of his subjects have renounced the possession of those lands whose value is insufficient to satisfy the demands of the treasury. To the cities which had suffered by hostile inroads, Anastasius promised a general exemption of seven years; the provinces of Justinian have been ravaged by the Persians and Arabs, the Huns and Sclavonians; but his vain and ridiculous dispensation of a single year has been confined to those places which were actually taken by the enemy." Such is the language of the secret historian, who expressly denies that *any* indulgence was granted to Palestine after the revolt of the Samaritans; a false and odious charge, confuted by the authentic record, which attests a relief of thirteen centenaries of gold (52,000*l.*) obtained for that desolate province by the intercession of St. Sabas.* III. Procopius has not condescended to explain the system of taxation, which fell like a hail-storm upon the land, like a devouring pestilence on its inhabitants; but we should become the accomplices of his malignity, if we imputed to Justinian alone the ancient though rigorous principle, that

by its false colourings could easily beguile the people of that age.—ED.]

* One to Scythopolis, capital of the second Palestine, and twelve for the rest of the province. Aleman. (p. 59) honestly produces this fact from a MS. life of St. Sabas, by his disciple Cyril, in the Vatican library, and since published by Cotelerius.

a whole district should be condemned to sustain the partial loss of the persons or property of individuals. The *Anona*, or supply of corn for the use of the army and capital, was a grievous and arbitrary exaction, which exceeded, perhaps in a tenfold proportion, the ability of the farmer; and his distress was aggravated by the partial injustice of weights and measures, and the expense and labour of distant carriage. In a time of scarcity, an extraordinary requisition was made to the adjacent provinces of Thrace, Bithynia, and Phrygia; but the proprietors, after a wearisome journey and a perilous navigation, received so inadequate a compensation that they would have chosen the alternative of delivering both the corn and price at the doors of their granaries. These precautions might indicate a tender solicitude for the welfare of the capital; yet Constantinople did not escape the rapacious despotism of Justinian. Till his reign, the straits of the Bosphorus and Hellespont were open to the freedom of trade, and nothing was prohibited except the exportation of arms for the service of the barbarians. At each of these gates of the city, a prætor was stationed, the minister of imperial avarice; heavy customs were imposed on the vessels and their merchandise; the oppression was retaliated on the helpless consumer; the poor were afflicted by the artificial scarcity and exorbitant price of the market; and a people, accustomed to depend on the liberality of their prince, might sometimes complain of the deficiency of water and bread.* The *aerial* tribute, without a name, a law, or a definite object, was an annual gift of 120,000*l.*, which the emperor accepted from his prætorian prefect; and the means of payment were abandoned to the discretion of that powerful magistrate. IV. Even such a tax was less intolerable than the privilege of monopolies, which checked the fair competition of industry, and, for the sake of a small and dishonest gain, imposed an arbitrary burthen on the wants and luxury of the subject. "As soon," I transcribe the anecdotes, "as the exclusive sale of silk was usurped by the imperial treasurer, a whole people, the manufacturers of Tyre and Berytus, was reduced to extreme misery, and either perished with hunger, or fled

* John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 232) mentions the want of bread, and Zonaras (lib. 14, p. 63) the leaden pipes, which Justinian, or his ser-

to the hostile dominions of Persia." A province might suffer by the decay of its manufactures; but in this example of silk, Procopius has partially overlooked the inestimable and lasting benefit which the empire received from the curiosity of Justinian. His addition of one-seventh to the ordinary price of copper-money may be interpreted with the same candour; and the alteration, which might be wise, appears to have been innocent; since he neither alloyed the purity, nor enhanced the value, of the gold coin,* the legal measure of public and private payments. V. The ample jurisdiction, required by the farmers of the revenue to accomplish their engagements, might be placed in an odious light, as if they had purchased from the emperor the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. And a more direct sale of honours and offices was transacted in the palace, with the permission, or at least with the connivance, of Justinian and Theodora. The claims of merit, even those of favour, were disregarded, and it was almost reasonable to expect that the bold adventurer, who had undertaken the trade of a magistrate, should find a rich compensation for infamy, labour, danger, the debts which he had contracted, and the heavy interest which he paid. A sense of the disgrace and mischief of this venal practice at length awakened the slumbering virtue of Justinian; and he attempted, by the sanction of oaths† and penalties, to guard the integrity of his government: but at the end of a year of perjury, his rigorous edict was suspended, and corruption licentiously abused her triumph over the impotence of the laws. VI. The testament of Eulalius, count of the domestics, declared the emperor his sole heir, on condition, however, that he should discharge his debts and legacies, allow to his three daughters a decent maintenance, and bestow each of them in marriage, with a portion of ten

vants, stole from the aqueducts. * For an aureus, one-sixth of an ounce of gold, instead of two hundred and ten, he gave no more than one hundred and eighty folles, or ounces of copper. A disproportion of the mint, below the market price, must have soon produced a scarcity of small money. In England, *twelve* pence in copper would sell for no more than *seven* pence. (Smith's Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, vol. i, p. 49.) For Justinian's gold coin, see Evagrius (lib. 4, c. 30). † The oath is conceived in the most formidable words. (Novell. 8, tit. 3.) The defaulters imprecate on themselves, quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cœli; the part

pounds of gold. But the splendid fortune of Eulalius had been consumed by fire; and the inventory of his goods did not exceed the trifling sum of five hundred and sixty-four pieces of gold. A similar instance in Grecian history admonished the emperor of the honourable part prescribed for his imitation. He checked the selfish murmurs of the treasury, applauded the confidence of his friend, discharged the legacies and debts, educated the three virgins under the eye of the empress Theodora, and doubled the marriage-portion which had satisfied the tenderness of their father.* The humanity of a prince (for princes cannot be generous) is entitled to some praise; yet even in this act of virtue we may discover the inveterate custom of supplanting the legal or natural heirs, which Procopius imputes to the reign of Justinian. His charge is supported by eminent names and scandalous examples; neither widows nor orphans were spared; and the art of soliciting, or extorting, or supposing testaments, was beneficially practised by the agents of the palace. This base and mischievous tyranny invades the security of private life; and the monarch who has indulged an appetite for gain, will soon be tempted to anticipate the moment of succession, to interpret wealth as an evidence of guilt, and to proceed, from the claim of inheritance, to the power of confiscation. VII. Among the forms of rapine, a philosopher may be permitted to name the conversion of pagan or heretical riches to the use of the faithful; but in the time of Justinian this holy plunder was condemned by the sectaries alone, who became the victims of his orthodox avarice.†

Dishonour might be ultimately reflected on the character of Justinian; but much of the guilt, and still more of the profit, was intercepted by the ministers,‡ who were seldom promoted for their virtues, and not always selected for their

of Judas, the leprosy of Gehazi, the tremor of Cain, &c. besides all temporal pains.

* A similar or more generous act of friendship is related by Lucian of Eudamidas of Corinth (in Toxare, c. 22, 23, tom. ii, p. 530), and the story has produced an ingenious, though feeble, comedy of Fontenelle.

† John Malalas, tom. ii, p. 101—103.

‡ One of these, Anatolius, perished in an earthquake—doubtless a judgment! The complaints and clamours of the people in Agathias (l. 5, p. 146, 147)

talents. The merits of Tribonian the quæstor will hereafter be weighed in the reformation of the Roman law; but the economy of the East was subordinate to the prætorian prefect, and Procopius has justified his anecdotes by the portrait which he exposes in his public history, of the notorious vices of John of Cappadocia.* His knowledge was not borrowed from the schools,† and his style was scarcely legible; but he excelled in the powers of native genius, to suggest the wisest counsels, and to find expedients in the most desperate situations. The corruption of his heart was equal to the vigour of his understanding. Although he was suspected of magic and pagan superstition, he appeared insensible to the fear of God or the reproaches of man; and his aspiring fortune was raised on the death of thousands, the poverty of millions, the ruin of cities, and the desolation of provinces. From the dawn of light to the moment of dinner, he assiduously laboured to enrich his master and himself at the expense of the Roman world; the remainder of the day was spent in sensual and obscene pleasures, and the silent hours of the night were interrupted by the perpetual dread of the justice of an assassin. His abilities, perhaps his vices, recommended him to the lasting friendship of Justinian: the emperor yielded with reluctance to the fury of the people; his victory was displayed by the immediate restoration of their enemy; and they felt above ten years, under his oppressive administration, that he was stimulated by revenge, rather than instructed by misfortune. Their murmurs served only to fortify the resolution of Justinian; but the prefect, in the insolence of favour, provoked the resentment of Theo-

are almost an echo of the anecdote. The aliena pecunia reddenda of Corippus (l. 2. 381, &c.) is not very honourable to Justinian's memory.

* See the history and character of John of Cappadocia in Procopius. (Persic. l. 1, c. 24, 25; l. 2, c. 30. Vandal. l. 1, c. 13. Anecdot. c. 2. 17. 22.) The agreement of the history and anecdotes is a mortal wound to the reputation of the prefect.

† Οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν ὅτι μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς γρόψαι—a forcible expression. [When one, so notoriously illiterate, could be capable of administering the highest offices of the state, we have a criterion by which to judge how the other departments of life, public and private, were generally filled.—Ed.]

dora, disdained a power before which every knee was bent, and attempted to sow the seeds of discord between the emperor and his beloved consort. Even Theodora herself was constrained to dissemble, to wait a favourable moment, and by an artful conspiracy, to render John of Cappadocia the accomplice of his own destruction. At a time when Belisarius, unless he had been a hero, must have shown himself a rebel, his wife Antonina, who enjoyed the secret confidence of the empress, communicated his feigned discontent to Euphemia, the daughter of the prefect; the credulous virgin imparted to her father the dangerous project, and John, who might have known the value of oaths and promises, was tempted to accept a nocturnal, and almost treasonable interview with the wife of Belisarius. An ambuscade of guards and eunuchs had been posted by the command of Theodora; they rushed with drawn swords to seize or to punish the guilty minister; he was saved by the fidelity of his attendants; but, instead of appealing to a gracious sovereign, who had privately warned him of his danger, he pusillanimously fled to the sanctuary of the church. The favourite of Justinian was sacrificed to conjugal tenderness or domestic tranquillity; the conversion of a prefect into a priest extinguished his ambitious hopes, but the friendship of the emperor alleviated his disgrace, and he retained, in the mild exile of Cyzicus, an ample portion of his riches. Such imperfect revenge could not satisfy the unrelenting hatred of Theodora; the murder of his old enemy, the bishop of Cyzicus, afforded a decent pretence; and John of Cappadocia, whose actions had deserved a thousand deaths, was at last condemned for a crime of which he was innocent. A great minister, who had been invested with the honours of consul and patrician, was ignominiously scourged like the vilest of malefactors; a tattered cloak was the sole remnant of his fortunes; he was transported in a bark to the place of his banishment at Antinopolis in Upper Egypt, and the prefect of the East begged his bread through the cities which had trembled at his name. During an exile of seven years, his life was protected and threatened by the ingenious cruelty of Theodora; and when her death permitted the emperor to recall a servant, whom he had abandoned with regret, the ambition of John of Cappadocia was reduced to the humble

duties of the sacerdotal profession. His successors convinced the subjects of Justinian, that the arts of oppression might still be improved by experience and industry; the frauds of a Syrian banker were introduced into the administration of the finances; and the example of the prefect was diligently copied by the quæstor, the public and private treasurer, the governors of provinces, and the principal magistrates of the Eastern empire.*

V. The *edifices* of Justinian were cemented with the blood and treasure of his people; but those stately structures appeared to announce the prosperity of the empire, and actually displayed the skill of their architects. Both the theory and practice of the arts, which depend on mathematical science and mechanical power, were cultivated under the patronage of the emperors; the fame of Archimedes was rivalled by Proclus and Anthemius; and if their *miracles* had been related by intelligent spectators, they might now enlarge the speculations, instead of exciting the distrust, of philosophers. A tradition has prevailed, that the Roman fleet was reduced to ashes in the port of Syracuse by the burning-glasses of Archimedes;† and it is asserted, that a similar expedient was employed by Proclus to destroy the Gothic vessels in the harbour of Constantinople, and to protect his benefactor Anastasius against the bold enter-

* The chronology of Procopius is loose and obscure; but with the aid of Pagi, I can discern that John was appointed prætorian prefect of the East in the year 530; that he was removed in January 532—restored before June, 533—banished in 541—and recalled between June, 548, and April 1, 549. Aleman. (p. 96, 97) gives the list of his ten successors—a rapid series in a part of a single reign.

† This conflagration is hinted by Lucian (in Hippia, c. 2), and Galen (l. 3, de temperamentis, tom. i, p. 81, edit. Bazil.), in the second century. A thousand years afterwards, it is positively affirmed by Zonaras (l. 9, p. 424), on the faith of Dion Cassius, by Tzetzes, (Chiliad 2. 119, &c.) Eustathius, (ad Iliad. E. p. 338) and the scholiast of Lucian. See Fabricius, (Bibliot. Græc. l. 3, c. 22, tom. ii, p. 551, 552) to whom I am more or less indebted for several of these quotations. [Far more probable are the accounts of earlier writers, who attribute the injuries sustained by the ships of Marcellus during the siege of Syracuse, to the mechanical contrivances and destructive projectiles, used by Archimedes in the defence of the place. Syracuse was "the cradle of mechanical skill" (Niebuhr's Lectures, 2. 12); the catapulta was invented there 150 years before the Punic wars. —Ed.]

prise of Vitalian.* A machine was fixed on the walls of the city, consisting of an hexagon mirror of polished brass, with many smaller and moveable polygons to receive and reflect the rays of the meridian sun; and a consuming flame was darted to the distance, perhaps, of two hundred feet.† The truth of these two extraordinary facts is invalidated by the silence of the most authentic historians; and the use of burning-glasses was never adopted in the attack or defence of places.‡ Yet the admirable experiments of a French philosopher § have demonstrated the possibility of such a mirror; and, since it is possible, I am more disposed to attribute the art to the greatest mathematicians of antiquity, than to give the merit of the fiction to the idle fancy of a monk or a sophist. According to another story, Proclus applied sulphur to the destruction of the Gothic fleet:¶ in a modern imagination, the name of sulphur is instantly connected with the suspicion of gunpowder, and that suspicion is propagated by the secret arts of his disciple Anthemius.** A citizen of Tralles in Asia had five sons, who were all distinguished in their respective professions by merit and success. Olympius excelled in the knowledge and practice of the Roman jurisprudence. Dioscorus and Alexander became learned physicians; but the skill of the former was exercised for the benefit of his fellow-citizens,

* Zonaras (l. 14, p. 55) affirms the fact, without quoting any evidence.

† Tzetzes describes the artifice of these burning glasses, which he had read, perhaps with no learned eyes, in a mathematical treatise of Anthemius. That treatise, *περὶ παραδόξων μεχανημάτων*, has been lately published, translated, and illustrated, by M. Dupuys, a scholar and a mathematician. (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xlii, p. 392—451.)

‡ In the siege of Syracuse, by the silence of Polybius, Plutarch, Livy; in the siege of Constantinople, by that of Marcellinus, and all the contemporaries of the sixth century.

§ Without any previous knowledge of Tzetzes or Anthemius, the immortal Buffon imagined and executed a set of burning-glasses, with which he could inflame planks at the distance of two hundred feet. (Supplément à l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. i, p. 399—483, quarto edition.) What miracles would not his genius have performed for the public service, with royal expense, and in the strong sun of Constantinople or Syracuse!

¶ John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 120—124) relates the fact; but he seems to confound the names or persons of Proclus and Marinus.

** Agathias, l. 5, p. 149—152. The merit of Anthemius as an architect is loudly praised by Procopius (de Edif. l. 1, c. 1) and Paulus Silentiarius (part 1. 134, &c.).

while his more ambitious brother acquired wealth and reputation at Rome. The fame of Metrodorus the grammarian, and of Anthemius the mathematician and architect, reached the ears of the emperor Justinian, who invited them to Constantinople; and while the one instructed the rising generation in the schools of eloquence, the other filled the capital and provinces with more lasting monuments of his art. In a trifling dispute, relative to the walls or windows of their contiguous houses, he had been vanquished by the eloquence of his neighbour Zeno; but the orator was defeated in his turn by the master of mechanics, whose malicious, though harmless, stratagems, are darkly represented by the ignorance of Agathias. In a lower room, Anthemius arranged several vessels or cauldrons of water, each of them covered by the wide bottom of a leathern tube, which rose to a narrow top, and was artificially conveyed among the joists and rafters of the adjacent building. A fire was kindled beneath the cauldron; the steam of the boiling water ascended through the tubes; the house was shaken by the efforts of imprisoned air, and its trembling inhabitants might wonder that the city was unconscious of the earthquake, which they had felt. At another time, the friends of Zeno, as they sat at table, were dazzled by the intolerable light which flashed in their eyes from the reflecting mirrors of Anthemius; they were astonished by the noise which he produced from the collision of certain minute and sonorous particles; and the orator declared, in tragic style, to the senate, that a mere mortal must yield to the power of an antagonist, who shook the earth with the trident of Neptune, and imitated the thunder and lightning of Jove himself. The genius of Anthemius and his colleague Isidore the Milesian, was excited and employed by a prince, whose taste for architecture had degenerated into a mischievous and costly passion. His favourite architects submitted their designs and difficulties to Justinian, and discreetly confessed how much their laborious meditations were surpassed by the intuitive knowledge or celestial inspiration of an emperor, whose views were always directed to the benefit of his people, the glory of his reign, and the salvation of his soul.*

* See Procopius (de Edificiis, l. 1, c. 1, 2; l. 2, c. 3). He relates a coincidence of dreams which supposes some fraud in Justinian or his

The principal church, which was dedicated by the founder of Constantinople to St. Sophia, or the eternal Wisdom, had been twice destroyed by fire; after the exile of John Chrysostom, and during the *Nika* of the blue and green factions. No sooner did the tumult subside than the Christian populace deplored their sacrilegious rashness; but they might have rejoiced in the calamity, had they foreseen the glory of the new temple, which, at the end of forty days, was strenuously undertaken by the piety of Justinian.* The ruins were cleared away, a more spacious plan was described, and, as it required the consent of some proprietors of ground, they obtained the most exorbitant terms from the eager desires and timorous conscience of the monarch. Anthemius formed the design, and his genius directed the hands of ten thousand workmen, whose payment in pieces of fine silver was never delayed beyond the evening. The emperor himself, clad in a linen tunic, surveyed each day their rapid progress, and encouraged their diligence by his familiarity, his zeal, and his rewards. The new cathedral of St. Sophia was consecrated by the patriarch,

architect. They both saw, in a vision, the same plan for stopping an inundation at Dara. A stone quarry near Jerusalem was revealed to the emperor (l. 5, c. 6): an angel was tricked into the perpetual custody of St. Sophia. (Anonym. de Antiq. C. P. l. 4, p. 70.)

* Among the crowd of ancients and moderns, who have celebrated the edifice of St. Sophia, I shall distinguish and follow:—1. Four original spectators and historians: Procopius (de Edific. l. 1, c. 1), Agathias (l. 5, p. 152, 153), Paul Silentiarius, (in a poem of one thousand and twenty-six hexameters, ad calcem Annæ Comnen. Alexiad.) and Evagrius (l. 4, c. 31). 2. Two legendary Greeks of a later period: George Codinus (de Origin. C. P. p. 64—74) and the anonymous writer of Banduri (Imp. Orient. tom. i, l. 4, p. 65—80). 3. The great Byzantine antiquarian, Ducange (Comment. ad Paul. Silentiar. p. 525—598. and C. P. Christ. l. 3, p. 5—78). 4. Two French travellers—the one, Peter Gyllius (de Topograph. C. P. l. 2, c. 3, 4) in the sixteenth; the other, Grelot (Voyage de C. P. p. 95—164, Paris, 1680, in 4to.): he has given plans, prospects, and inside views of St. Sophia; and his plans, though on a smaller scale, appear more correct than those of Ducange. I have adopted and reduced the measures of Grelot: but as no Christian can now ascend the dome, the height is borrowed from Evagrius compared with Gyllius, Greaves, and the Oriental Geographer. [Dr. Clarke (Travels, part 2, p. 34) found that a traveller might obtain admission to see the St. Sophia for eight piastres; but that no entrance was granted to other mosques without a firmân, which could, however,

five years eleven months and ten days from the first foundation; and, in the midst of the solemn festival, Justinian exclaimed with devout vanity, "Glory be to God, who hath thought me worthy to accomplish so great a work: I have vanquished thee, O Solomon!" * But the pride of the Roman Solomon, before twenty years had elapsed, was humbled by an earthquake, which overthrew the eastern part of the dome. Its splendour was again restored by the perseverance of the same prince; and, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, Justinian celebrated the second dedication of a temple, which remains, after twelve centuries, a stately monument of his fame. The architecture of St. Sophia, which is now converted into the principal mosch, has been imitated by the Turkish sultans, and that venerable pile continues to excite the fond admiration of the Greeks, and the more rational curiosity of European travellers. The eye of the spectator is disappointed by an irregular prospect of half domes and shelving roofs: the western front, the principal approach, is destitute of simplicity and magnificence: and the scale of dimensions has been much surpassed by several of the Latin cathedrals. But the architect, who first erected an *aerial* cupola, is entitled to the praise of bold design and skilful execution. The dome of St. Sophia, illuminated by four-and-twenty windows, is formed with so small a curve, that the depth is equal only to one-sixth of its diameter; the measure of that diameter is one hundred and fifteen feet, and the lofty centre, where a crescent has supplanted the cross, rises to the perpendicular height of one hundred and eighty feet above the pavement. The circle which encompasses the dome lightly reposes on four strong arches, and their weight is firmly supported by four massy piles, whose strength is assisted on the northern and southern sides by four columns of Egyptian granite. A Greek cross, inscribed in a quadrangle, represents the

be easily procured.—ED.]

* Solomon's temple was surrounded with courts, porticoes, &c. but the proper structure of the house of God was no more (if we take the Egyptian or Hebrew cubit at twenty-two inches) than fifty-five feet in height, thirty-six and two-thirds in breadth, and one hundred and ten in length—a small parish church, says Prideaux, (Connection, vol. i, p. 144, folio) but few sanctuaries could be valued at four or five millions sterling!

form of the edifice; the exact breadth is two hundred and forty-three feet, and two hundred and sixty-nine may be assigned for the extreme length from the sanctuary in the east to the nine western doors which open into the vestibule, and from thence into the *narthex*, or exterior portico. That portico was the humble station of the penitents. The nave or body of the church was filled by the congregation of the faithful; but the two sexes were prudently distinguished, and the upper and lower galleries were allotted for the more private devotion of the women. Beyond the northern and southern piles, a balustrade, terminated on either side by the thrones of the emperor and the patriarch, divided the nave from the choir: and the space, as far as the steps of the altar, was occupied by the clergy and singers. The altar itself, a name which insensibly became familiar to Christian ears, was placed in the eastern recess, artificially built in the form of a demi-cylinder; and this sanctuary communicated by several doors with the sacristy, the vestry, the baptistery, and the contiguous buildings, subservient either to the pomp of worship, or the private use of the ecclesiastical ministers. The memory of past calamities inspired Justinian with a wise resolution, that no wood, except for the doors, should be admitted into the new edifice; and the choice of the materials was applied to the strength, the lightness, or the splendour of the respective parts. The solid piles which sustained the cupola were composed of huge blocks of freestone, hewn into squares and triangles, fortified by circles of iron, and firmly cemented by the infusion of lead and quicklime: but the weight of the cupola was diminished by the levity of its substance, which consists either of pumice-stone, that floats in the water, or of bricks from the isle of Rhodes, five times less ponderous than the ordinary sort. The whole frame of the edifice was constructed of brick; but those base materials were concealed by a crust of marble; and the inside of St. Sophia, the cupola, the two larger, and the six smaller, semi-domes, the walls, the hundred columns, and the pavement, delight even the eyes of barbarians with a rich and variegated picture. A poet,* who beheld the primitive lustre of St. Sophia, enumerates the colours, the shades, and the spots of ten or

* Paulus Silentiarius, in dark and poetic language, describes the various stones and marbles that were employed in the edifice of

twelve marbles, jaspers, and porphyries, which nature had profusely diversified, and which were blended and contrasted as it were by a skilful painter. The triumph of Christ was adorned with the last spoils of Paganism; but the greater part of these costly stones was extracted from the quarries of Asia Minor, the isles and continent of Greece, Egypt, Africa, and Gaul. Eight columns of porphyry, which Aurelian had placed in the temple of the sun, were offered by the piety of a Roman matron; eight others, of green marble, were presented by the ambitious zeal of the magistrates of Ephesus: both are admirable by their size and beauty; but every order of architecture disclaims their fantastic capitals. A variety of ornaments aad figures was curiously expressed in mosaic; and the images of Christ, of the Virgin, of saints, and of angels, which have been defaced by Turkish fanaticism, were dangerously exposed to the superstition of the Greeks. According to the sanctity of each object the precious metals were distributed in thin leaves or in solid masses. The balustrade of the choir, the capitals of the pillars, the ornaments of the doors and galleries, were of gilt bronze; the spectator was dazzled by the glittering aspect of the cupola; the sanctuary contained forty thousand pounds' weight of silver; and the holy vases and vestments of the altar were of the purest gold, enriched with inestimable gems. Before the structure of the church had risen two cubits above the ground, forty-five

St. Sophia, (P. 2, p. 129. 133, &c. &c.) 1. The *Carystian*—pale, with iron veins. 2. The *Phrygian*—of two sorts, both of a rosy hue; the one with a white shade, the other purple, with silver flowers. 3. The *Porphyry of Egypt*—with small stars. 4. The *green marble of Laconia*. 5. The *Carian*—from Mount Iassis, with oblique veins, white and red. 6. The *Lydian*—pale, with a red flower. 7. The *African* or *Mauritanian*—of a gold or saffron hue. 8. The *Celtic*—black, with white veins. 9. The *Bosphoric*—white, with black edges. Besides the *Proconnessian*, which formed the pavement: the *Thessalian*, *Molossian*, &c. which are less distinctly painted. [When Dr. Clarke visited the St. Sophia in 1799, its general appearance was gloomy. The pavement was so far below the surface of the surrounding ground, that the edifice was entered by descending a long flight of stairs or steps. The dome which Procopius described as suspended by a golden chain from heaven, "exhibited much more of a subterranean, than of an aerial character;" and its interior was defaced by the depredations of the Turks, who were daily despoiling it of the gilded tesseræ, which gave it the "glittering aspect" of its early splendour. Travels, part 2,

thousand two hundred pounds were already consumed; and the whole expense amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; each reader, according to the measure of his belief, may estimate their value either in gold or silver; but the sum of 1,000,000*l.* sterling is the result of the lowest computation. A magnificent temple is a laudable monument of national taste and religion, and the enthusiast who entered the dome of St. Sophia, might be tempted to suppose that it was the residence, or even the workmanship of the Deity. Yet how dull is the artifice, how insignificant is the labour, if it be compared with the formation of the vilest insect that crawls upon the surface of the temple!

So minute a description of an edifice which time has respected may attest the truth, and excuse the relation, of the innumerable works, both in the capital and provinces, which Justinian constructed on a smaller scale and less durable foundations.* In Constantinople alone, and the adjacent suburbs, he dedicated twenty-five churches to the honour of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints; most of these churches were decorated with marble and gold; and their various situation was skilfully chosen in a populous square, or a pleasant grove; on the margin of the sea-shore, or on some lofty eminence which overlooked the continents of Europe and Asia. The church of the holy apostles at Constantinople, and that of St. John at Ephesus, appear to have been framed on the same model: their domes aspired to imitate the cupolas of St. Sophia; but the altar was more judiciously placed under the centre of the dome, at the junction of four stately porticoes, which more accurately expressed the figure of the Greek cross. The virgin of Jerusalem might exult in the temple erected by her imperial votary on a most ungrateful spot, which afforded neither ground nor materials to the architect. A level was formed, by raising part of a deep valley to the height of the mountain. The stones of a neighbouring quarry were hewn into regular

p. 35.—Ed.] * The six books of the Edifices of Procopius are thus distributed. The *first* is confined to Constantinople; the *second* includes Mesopotamia and Syria; the *third*, Armenia and the Euxine; the *fourth*, Europe; the *fifth*, Asia Minor and Palestine; the *sixth*, Egypt and Africa. Italy is forgotten by the emperor or the historian, who published this work of adulation before the date

forms; each block was fixed on a peculiar carriage, drawn by forty of the strongest oxen, and the roads were widened for the passage of such enormous weights. Lebanon furnished her loftiest cedars for the timbers of the church; and the seasonable discovery of a vein of red marble supplied its beautiful columns, two of which, the supporters of the exterior portico, were esteemed the largest in the world. The pious munificence of the emperor was diffused over the holy land: and if reason should condemn the monasteries of both sexes which were built or restored by Justinian, yet charity must applaud the wells which he sank, and the hospitals which he founded, for the relief of the weary pilgrims. The schismatical temper of Egypt was ill entitled to the royal bounty; but in Syria and Africa some remedies were applied to the disasters of wars and earthquakes, and both Carthage and Antioch, emerging from their ruins, might revere the name of their gracious benefactor.* Almost every saint in the calendar acquired the honours of a temple; almost every city of the empire obtained the solid advantages of bridges, hospitals, and aqueducts; but the severe liberality of the monarch disdained to indulge his subjects in the popular luxury of baths and theatres. While Justinian laboured for the public service, he was not unmindful of his own dignity and ease. The Byzantine palace, which had been damaged by the conflagration, was restored with new magnificence; and some notion may be conceived of the whole edifice, by the vestibule or hall, which, from the doors perhaps, or the roof, was surnamed *chalce*, or the brazen. The dome of a spacious quadrangle was supported by massy pillars; the pavement and walls were incrusted with many coloured marbles—the emerald green of Laconia, the fiery red, and the white Phrygian stone, intersected with veins of a sea-green hue: the mosaic paintings of the dome and sides represented the glories of the African and Italian triumphs. On the Asiatic shore of the Propontis, at a small distance to the east of Chalcedon, the costly palace and gardens of Heræum† were prepared for the summer residence of Justi-

(A.D. 555) of its final conquest.

* Justinian once gave forty-five centenaries of gold, (180,000*l.*) for the repairs of Antioch after the earthquake. (John Malalas, tom. ii, p. 146—149.)

† For the Heræum, the palace of Theodora, see Gyllius (de Bosphoro Thracio, l. 3, c. 11) Aleman. (Not. ad Anecdota, p. 80, 81, who quoted

nian, and more especially of Theodora. The poets of the age have celebrated the rare alliance of nature and art, the harmony of the nymphs of the groves, the fountains, and the waves; yet the crowd of attendants who followed the court complained of their inconvenient lodgings,* and the nymphs were too often alarmed by the famous Porphyrio, a whale of ten cubits in breadth, and thirty in length, who was stranded at the mouth of the river Sangaris, after he had infested more than half a century the seas of Constantinople.†

The fortifications of Europe and Asia were multiplied by Justinian; but the repetition of those timid and fruitless precautions exposes to a philosophic eye the debility of the empire.‡ From Belgrade to the Euxine, from the conflux of the Save to the mouth of the Danube, a chain of above fourscore fortified places was extended along the banks of the great river. Single watch-towers were changed into spacious citadels; vacant walls, which the engineers contracted or enlarged according to the nature of the ground, were filled with colonies or garrisons; a strong fortress defended the ruins of Trajan's bridge,§ and several military stations affected to spread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman name. But that name was divested of its terrors; the barbarians, in their annual inroads, passed, and contemptuously repassed, before these useless bulwarks;

several epigrams of the Anthology) and Ducange (C. P. Christ. l. 4, c. 13, p. 175, 176). * Compare, in the Edifices (l. 1, c. 11), and in the Anecdotes (c. 8—15), the different styles of adulation and malevolence: stripped of the paint, or cleansed from the dirt, the object appears to be the same. † Procopius, l. 8. 29. Most probably a stranger and wanderer, as the Mediterranean does not breed whales. Balænæ quoque in nostra maria penetrant. (Plin. Hist. Natur. 9, 2.) Between the polar circle and the tropic, the cetaceous animals of the ocean grow to the length of fifty, eighty, or one hundred feet. (Hist. des Voyages, tom. xv, p. 289. Pennant's British Zoology, vol. iii, p. 35.) ‡ Montesquieu observes (tom. iii, p. 503, Considérations sur la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, c. 20) that Justinian's empire was like France in the time of the Norman inroads—never so weak as when every village was fortified.

§ Procopius affirms (l. 4, c. 6) that the Danube was stopped by the ruins of the bridge. Had Apollodorus, the architect, left a description of his own work, the fabulous wonders of Dion Cassius (l. 68, p. 1129) would have been corrected by the genuine picture. Trajan's bridge consisted of twenty or twenty-two stone piles with wooden arches; the river is shallow, the current gentle, and the whole interval no more than four hundred and forty-three (Reimar ad Dion., from Marsigli) or five hundred and fifteen *toises*. (D'Anville, Géographie

and the inhabitants of the frontier, instead of reposing under the shadow of the general defence, were compelled to guard, with incessant vigilance, their separate habitations. The solitude of ancient cities was replenished; the new foundations of Justinian acquired, perhaps too hastily, the epithets of impregnable and populous; and the auspicious place of his own nativity attracted the grateful reverence of the vainest of princes. Under the name of *Justiniana prima*, the obscure village of Tauresium became the seat of an archbishop and a prefect, whose jurisdiction extended over seven warlike provinces of Illyricum,* and the corrupt appellation of *Giustendil* still indicates, about twenty miles to the south of Sophia, the residence of a Turkish sanjak.† For the use of the emperor's countrymen, a cathedral, a palace, and an aqueduct, were speedily constructed; the public and private edifices were adapted to the greatness of a royal city; and the strength of the walls resisted, during the lifetime of Justinian, the unskilful assaults of the Huns and Sclavonians. Their progress was sometimes retarded, and their hopes of rapine were disappointed, by the innumerable castles, which in the provinces of Dacia, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, appear to cover the whole face of the country. Six hundred of these forts were built or repaired by the emperor: but it seems reasonable to believe, that the far greater part consisted only of a stone or brick tower, in the midst of a square or circular area, which was surrounded by a wall and ditch, and afforded in a moment of danger some protection to the peasants and cattle of the neighbouring villages.‡ Yet these military

Ancienne, tom. i, p. 305.)

* Of the two Dacias, *Mediterranea* and *Ripensis*, Dardania, Prævalitana, the second Mœsia and the second Macedonia. See Justinian (Novell., 11) who speaks of his castles beyond the Danube, and of homines semper bellicis sudoribus inhærentes. [When Aurelian relinquished to the Goths in 270 the original Dacia, north of the Danube (see vol. i, p. 362), he formed a new province of the same name, on the southern side of the river, to preserve the memory of Trajan's conquests. In this was situated the birth-place of Justinian.—ED.]

† See D'Anville, (Mémoires de l'Académie, &c. tom. xxxi, p. 289, 290) Ricaut (Present State of the Turkish Empire, p. 97. 316), Marsigli (Stato Militare del Imperio Ottomano, p. 130). The sanjak of Giustendil is one of the twenty under the beglerbeg of Rumelia, and his district maintains forty-eight *zaims* and five hundred and eighty-eight *timariots*.

‡ These fortifications may be compared to the castles in Mingrelia (Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. i, p. 60. 131,)—a natural picture.

works, which exhausted the public treasure, could not remove the just apprehensions of Justinian and his European subjects. The warm baths of Anchialus in Thrace were rendered as safe as they were salutary; but the rich pastures of Thessalonica were foraged by the Scythian cavalry; the delicious vale of Tempe, three hundred miles from the Danube, was continually alarmed by the sound of war;* and no unfortified spot, however distant or solitary, could securely enjoy the blessings of peace. The straits of Thermopylæ, which seemed to protect, but which had so often betrayed, the safety of Greece, were diligently strengthened by the labours of Justinian. From the edge of the seashore, through the forest and valleys, and as far as the summit of the Thessalian mountains, a strong wall was continued, which occupied every practicable entrance. Instead of a hasty crowd of peasants, a garrison of two thousand soldiers was stationed along the rampart; granaries of corn and reservoirs of water, were provided for their use; and by a precaution that inspired the cowardice which it foresaw, convenient fortresses were erected for their retreat. The walls of Corinth, overthrown by an earthquake, and the mouldering bulwarks of Athens and Platæa, were carefully restored; the barbarians were discouraged by the prospect of successive and painful sieges; and the naked cities of Peloponnesus were covered by the fortifications of the isthmus of Corinth. At the extremity of Europe, another peninsula, the Thracian Chersonesus, runs three days' journey into the sea, to form, with the adjacent shores of Asia, the straits of the Hellespont. The intervals between eleven populous towns were filled by lofty woods, fair pastures, and arable lands: and the isthmus, of thirty-seven stadia or furlongs, had been fortified by a Spartan general nine hundred years before the reign of Justinian.† In an age of freedom and valour, the slightest rampart may pre-

* The valley of Tempe is situate along the river Peneus, between the hills of Ossa and Olympus: it is only five miles long, and in some places no more than one hundred and twenty feet in breadth. Its verdant beauties are elegantly described by Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. 4, 15), and more diffusely by Ælian (Hist. Var. l. 3, c. 1).

† Xenophon, Hellenic. l. 3, c. 2. After a long and tedious conversation with the Byzantine declaimers, how refreshing is the truth, the simplicity, the elegance of an Attic writer. [During the ascendancy of the Lacedæmonians in Greece and their war with Persia, their general, Dercyllidas, in the year 398 B.C. raised the wall, described by

vent a surprise; and Procopius appears insensible of the superiority of ancient times, while he praises the solid construction and double parapet of a wall, whose long arms stretched on either side into the sea: but whose strength was deemed insufficient to guard the Chersonesus, if each city, and particularly Gallipoli and Sestus, had not been secured by their peculiar fortifications. The *long* wall as it was emphatically styled, was a work as disgraceful in the object, as it was respectable in the execution. The riches of a capital diffuse themselves over the neighbouring country, and the territory of Constantinople, a paradise of nature, was adorned with the luxurious gardens and villas of the senators and opulent citizens. But their wealth served only to attract the bold and rapacious barbarians; the noblest of the Romans, in the bosom of peaceful indolence, were led away into Scythian captivity, and their sovereign might view, from his palace, the hostile flames which were insolently spread to the gates of the imperial city. At the distance only of forty miles, Anastasius was constrained to establish a last frontier; his long wall, of sixty miles from the Propontis to the Euxine, proclaimed the impotence of his arms; and as the danger became more imminent, new fortifications were added by the indefatigable prudence of Justinian.*

Asia Minor, after the submission of the Isaurians,† remained without enemies and without fortifications. Those bold savages, who had disdained to be the subjects of Gallienus, persisted two hundred and thirty years in a life of independence and rapine. The most successful princes respected the strength of the mountains and the despair of the natives; their fierce spirit was sometimes soothed with gifts, and sometimes restrained by terror; and a military count, with three legions, fixed his permanent and ignominious station in the heart of the Roman provinces.‡

Xenophon. Clinton, F. H. ii, p. 92. It is rather remarkable, that after an interval of 2256 years, the combined armies of England and France are constructing (1854) a similar fortification on the same ground.—ED.]

* See the long wall in Evagrius. (l. 4, c. 48). This whole article is drawn from the fourth book of the Edifices, except Anchialus (l. 3, c. 7).

† Turn back to vol. i, p. 349. In the course of this history, I have sometimes mentioned, and much oftener slighted, the hasty inroads of the Isaurians, which were not attended with any consequences.

‡ Trebellius Pollio, in Hist. August. p. 107, who lived under Diocletian, or Constantine. See likewise Pancirolus ad Notit. Imp. Orient.

But no sooner was the vigilance of power relaxed or diverted, than the light-armed squadrons descended from the hills, and invaded the peaceful plenty of Asia. Although the Isaurians were not remarkable for stature or bravery, want rendered them bold, and experience made them skilful, in the exercise of predatory war. They advanced with secrecy and speed to the attack of villages and defenceless towns; their flying parties have sometimes touched the Hellespont, the Euxine, and the gates of Tarsus, Antioch, or Damascus,* and the spoil was lodged in their inaccessible mountains, before the Roman troops had received their orders, or the distant province had computed its loss. The guilt of rebellion and robbery excluded them from the rights of national enemies; and the magistrates were instructed by an edict, that the trial or punishment of an Isaurian, even on the festival of Easter, was a meritorious act of justice and piety.† If the captives were condemned to domestic slavery, they maintained, with their sword or dagger, the private quarrel of their masters; and it was found expedient for the public tranquillity, to prohibit the service of such dangerous retainers. When their countryman Trascalissæus or Zeno ascended the throne, he invited a faithful and formidable band of Isaurians, who insulted the court and city, and were rewarded by an annual tribute of five thousand pounds of gold. But the hopes of fortune depopulated the mountains, luxury enervated the hardiness of their minds and bodies, and in proportion as they mixed with mankind, they became less qualified for the enjoyment of poor and solitary freedom. After the death of Zeno, his successor Anastasius suppressed their pensions, exposed their persons to the revenge of the people, banished them from Constantinople, and prepared to sustain a war which left only the alternative of victory or servitude. A brother of the last emperor usurped the title of Augustus; his cause was powerfully supported

c. 115. 141. See Cod. Theodos. l. 9, tit. 35. leg. 37, with a copious collective Annotation of Godefroy, tom. iii, p. 256, 257.

* See the full and wide extent of their inroads in Philostorgius, (Hist. Eccles. l. 11, c. 8,) with Godefroy's learned Dissertations.

† Cod. Justinian. l. 9, tit. 12. leg. 10. The punishments are severe—a fine of a hundred pounds of gold, degradation, and even death. The public peace might afford a pretence, but Zeno was desirous of monopolizing the valour and service of the Isaurians.

by the arms, the treasures, and the magazines, collected by Zeno; and the native Isaurians must have formed the smallest portion of the hundred and fifty thousand barbarians under his standard, which was sanctified, for the first time, by the presence of a fighting bishop. Their disorderly numbers were vanquished in the plains of Phrygia by the valour and discipline of the Goths; but a war of six years almost exhausted the courage of the emperor.* The Isaurians retired to their mountains; their fortresses were successively besieged and ruined; their communication with the sea was intercepted; the bravest of their leaders died in arms; the surviving chiefs, before their execution, were dragged in chains through the Hippodrome; a colony of their youth was transplanted into Thrace, and the remnant of the people submitted to the Roman government. Yet some generations elapsed before their minds were reduced to the level of slavery. The populous villages of mount Taurus were filled with horsemen and archers; they resisted the imposition of tributes, but they recruited the armies of Justinian; and his civil magistrates, the proconsul of Cappadocia, the count of Isauria, and the prætors of Lycaonia and Pisidia, were invested with military power to restrain the licentious practice of rapes and assassinations.†

If we extend our view from the tropic to the mouth of the Tanais, we may observe on one hand, the precautions of Justinian to curb the savages of Æthiopia,‡ and on the other, the long walls which he constructed in Crimea for the protection of his friendly Goths, a colony of three

* The Isaurian war and the triumph of Anastasius are briefly and darkly represented by John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 10, 6, 107), Evagrius (l. 3, c. 35), Theophanes (p. 118—120), and the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

† Fortes ea regio (says Justinian) viros habet, nec in ullo differt ab Isauria, though Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 18,) marks an essential difference between their military character; yet in former times the Lycaonians and Pisidians had defended their liberty against the great king. (Xenophon. Anabasis, l. 3, c. 2.) Justinian introduces some false and ridiculous erudition of the ancient empire of the Pisidians, and of Lycaon, who, after visiting Rome (long before Æneas), gave a name and people to Lycaonia. (Novell. 24, 25. 27. 30.)

‡ See Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 19. The altar of national concord, of annual sacrifice and oaths, which Diocletian had erected in the isle of Elephantine, was demolished by Justinian with less policy than zeal.

thousand shepherds and warriors.* From that peninsula to Trebizond, the eastern curve of the Euxine was secured by forts, by alliance, or by religion: and the possession of *Lazica*, the Colchos of ancient, the Mingrelia of modern, geography, soon became the object of an important war. Trebizond, in after-times the seat of a romantic empire, was indebted to the liberality of Justinian for a church, an aqueduct, and a castle, whose ditches are hewn in the solid rock. From that maritime city, a frontier-line of five hundred miles may be drawn to the fortress of Circesium, the last Roman station on the Euphrates.† Above Trebizond immediately, and five days' journey to the south, the country rises into dark forests and craggy mountains, as savage, though not so lofty, as the Alps and the Pyrenees. In this rigorous climate,‡ where the snows seldom melt, the fruits are tardy and tasteless; even honey is poisonous; the most industrious tillage would be confined to some pleasant valleys; and the pastoral tribes obtained a scanty sustenance from the flesh and milk of their cattle. The *Chalybians* § derive their name and temper from the iron

* Procopius de Edificiis, l. 3, c. 7. Hist. l. 8, c. 3, 4. These unambitious Goths had refused to follow the standard of Theodoric. As late as the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the name and nation might be discovered between Caffa and the Straits of Azoph. (D'Anville, Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxx, p. 240). They well deserved the curiosity of Busbequius (p. 321—326); but seem to have vanished in the more recent account of the Missions du Levant, (tom. i,) Tott, Peyssonel, &c.

† For the geography and architecture of this Armenian border, see the Persian Wars and Edifices (l. 2, c. 4—7; l. 3, c. 2—7) of Procopius.

‡ The country is described by Tournefort (Voyage au Levant, tom. iii, lettre 17, 18). That skilful botanist soon discovered the plant that infects the honey. (Plin. 21, 44, 45.) He observes, that the soldiers of Lucullus might indeed be astonished at the cold, since, even in the plain of Erzerum, snow sometimes falls in June, and the harvest is seldom finished before September. The hills of Armenia are below the fortieth degree of latitude; but in the mountainous country which I inhabit, it is well known that an ascent of some hours carries the traveller from the climate of Languedoc to that of Norway, and a general theory has been introduced, that under the line, an elevation of two thousand four hundred *toises*, is equivalent to the cold of the polar circle. (Remond, Observations sur les Voyages de Coxe dans la Suisse, tom. ii, p. 104.)

§ The identity or proximity of the Chalybians, or Chaldæans, may be investigated in Strabo (l. 12, p. 825, 826), Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii, p. 202—204), and Freret, (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. iv, p. 594). Xenophon supposes, in his romance,

quality of the soil; and, since the days of Cyrus, they might produce, under the various appellations of Chaldeans, and Zanians, an uninterrupted prescription of war and rapine. Under the reign of Justinian, they acknowledged the God and the emperor of the Romans, and seven fortresses were built in the most accessible passes, to exclude the ambition of the Persian monarch.* The principal source of the Euphrates descends from the Chalybian mountains, and seems to flow towards the west and the Euxine; bending to the south-west, the river passes under the walls of Satala and Melitene (which were restored by Justinian as the bulwarks of the Lesser Armenia), and gradually approaches the Mediterranean sea; till at length repelled by Mount Taurus,† the Euphrates inclines his long and flexible course to the south-east and the gulf of Persia. Among the Roman cities beyond the Euphrates, we distinguish two recent foundations, which were named from Theodosius, and the relics of the martyrs, and two capitals, Amida and Edessa, which are celebrated in the history of every age. Their strength was proportioned, by Justinian, to the danger of their situation. A ditch and palisade might be sufficient to resist the artless force of the cavalry of Scythia; but more elaborate works were required to sustain a regular siege against the arms and treasures of the great king. His skilful engineers understood the methods of conducting deep mines, and of raising platforms to the level of the rampart: he shook the strong-

(Cyropæd. l. 3,) the same barbarians against whom he had fought in his retreat (Anabasis, l. 4). [Ideler (Mathematische und Technische Chronologie, i. p. 195—200) is of opinion that the Chaldæans were not a distinct people, but the priests of the Babylonian Belus. Xenophon, who knew the name from Herodotus, seems to have applied it wrongly to the Chalybians, and to have made two nations out of one. His misnomers of countries and rivers are pardonable in an age when the geography of Asia was a mystery to the Greeks, nor do they detract from his merits as a writer. The country occupied by the Chalybians appears to be the same as that which Col. Rawlinson assigns to the Illibi, mentioned in the inscriptions at Kouyunjik, among the nations conquered by Sennacherib. Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 141, 142.—Ed.]

* Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 15. De Edific. l. 3, c. 6.

† Ni Taurus obstet in nostra maria venturus (Pomponius Mela, 3, 8). Pliny, a poet as well as a naturalist, (v. 20) personifies the river and mountain, and describes their combat. See the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the excellent treatise of

est battlements with his military engines, and sometimes advanced to the assault with a line of moveable turrets on the backs of elephants. In the great cities of the East, the disadvantage of space, perhaps of position, was compensated by the zeal of the people, who seconded the garrison in the defence of their country and religion; and the fabulous promise of the Son of God, that Edessa should never be taken, filled the citizens with valiant confidence, and chilled the besiegers with doubt and dismay.* The subordinate towns of Armenia and Mesopotamia were diligently strengthened, and the posts which appeared to have any command of ground or water, were occupied by numerous forts, substantially built of stone, or more hastily erected with the obvious materials of earth and brick. The eye of Justinian investigated every spot; and his cruel precautions might attract the war into some lonely vale, whose peaceful natives, connected by trade and marriage, were ignorant of national discord and the quarrels of princes. Westward of the Euphrates, a sandy desert extends above six hundred miles to the Red sea. Nature had interposed a vacant solitude between the ambition of two rival empires: the Arabians, till Mahomet arose, were formidable only as robbers: and, in the proud security of peace, the fortifications of Syria were neglected on the most vulnerable side.

But the national enmity, at least the effects of that enmity, had been suspended by a truce, which continued above fourscore years. An ambassador from the emperor Zeno accompanied the rash and unfortunate Perozes, in his expedition against the Nepthalites or White Huns, whose conquest had been stretched from the Caspian to the heart of India, whose throne was enriched with emeralds,† and

D'Anville. * Procopius (Persic. l. 2, c. 12) tells the story, with the tone, half sceptical, half superstitious, of Herodotus. The promise was not in the primitive lie of Eusebius, but dates at least from the year 400; and a third lie, the *Veronica*, was soon raised, on the two former. (Evagrius, l. 4, c. 27.) As Edessa *has* been taken, Tillemont *must* disclaim the promise. (Mém. Ecclés. tom. i, p. 362. 383. 617.) † They were purchased from the merchants of Adulis who traded to India (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. l. 11, p. 339); yet, in the estimate of precious stones, the Scythian emerald was the first, the Bactrian the second, the Æthiopian only the third. (Hill's Theophrastus, p. 61, &c., 92.) The production, mines, &c. of emeralds, are involved in darkness; and it is doubtful whether we possess any of the twelve sorts known to the ancients. (Goguet, Origine des Lois,

whose cavalry was supported by a line of two thousand elephants.* The Persians were twice circumvented, in a situation which made valour useless and flight impossible; and the double victory of the Huns was achieved by military stratagem. They dismissed their royal captive after he had submitted to adore the majesty of a barbarian; and the humiliation was poorly evaded by the casuistical subtlety of the Magi, who instructed Perozes to direct his attention to the rising sun. The indignant successor of Cyrus forgot his danger and his gratitude; he renewed the attack with headstrong fury, and lost both his army and his life.† The death of Perozes abandoned Persia to her foreign and domestic enemies; and twelve years of confusion elapsed before his son Cabades or Kobad could embrace any designs of ambition or revenge. The unkind parsimony of Anastasius was the motive or pretence of a Roman war;‡ the Huns and Arabs marched under the Persian standard, and the fortifications of Armenia and Mesopotamia were, at that time, in a ruinous or imperfect condition. The emperor returned his thanks to the governor and people of Martyropolis, for the prompt surrender of a city which could not be successfully defended, and the conflagration of Theodosiopolis might justify the conduct of their prudent neighbours. Amida sustained a long and destructive siege; at the end of three months the loss of fifty thousand of the soldiers of Cabades was not balanced by any prospect of

&c., part 2, l. 2, c. 2, art. 3.) In this war the Huns got, or at least Perozes lost, the finest pearl in the world, of which Procopius relates a ridiculous fable.

* The Indo-Scythæ continued to reign from the time of Augustus (Dionys. Perieget. 1088, with the Commentary of Eustathius, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. iv,) to that of the elder Justin. (Cosmas, Topograph. Christ. l. 11, p. 338, 339.) On their origin and conquests, see D'Anville (sur l'Inde, p. 18. 45, &c., 69. 85. 89). In the second century they were masters of Larice or Guzerat.

† See the fate of Phirouz or Perozes, and its consequences, in Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 3—6), who may be compared with the fragments of Oriental history. (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 351, and Texeira, History of Persia, translated or abridged by Stevens, l. 1, c. 32, p. 132—138). The chronology is ably ascertained by Asseman. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii, p. 396—427.)

‡ The Persian war, under the reigns of Anastasius and Justin, may be collected from Procopius (Persic. l. 1. c. 7—9), Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 124—127), Evagrius (l. 3, c. 37), Marcellinus (in Chron. p. 47), and Josue Stylites (apud Asseman, tom. i, p. 272—281).

success, and it was in vain that the Magi deduced a flattering prediction from the indecency of the women on the ramparts, who had revealed their most secret charms to the eyes of the assailants. At length, in a silent night, they ascended the most accessible tower, which was guarded only by some monks, oppressed after the duties of a festival with sleep and wine. Scaling ladders were applied at the dawn of day; the presence of Cabades, his stern command, and his drawn sword, compelled the Persians to vanquish; and before it was sheathed, fourscore thousand of the inhabitants had expiated the blood of their companions. After the siege of Amida, the war continued three years, and the unhappy frontier tasted the full measure of its calamities. The gold of Anastasius was offered too late, the number of his troops was defeated by the number of their generals; the country was stripped of its inhabitants, and both the living and the dead were abandoned to the wild beasts of the desert. The resistance of Edessa, and the deficiency of spoil, inclined the mind of Cabades to peace; he sold his conquests for an exorbitant price: and the same line, though marked with slaughter and devastation, still separated the two empires. To avert the repetition of the same evils, Anastasius resolved to found a new colony, so strong that it should defy the power of the Persian, so far advanced towards Assyria that its stationary troops might defend the province by the menace or operation of offensive war. For this purpose, the town of Dara,* fourteen miles from Nisibis, and four days journey from the Tigris, was peopled and adorned; the hasty works of Anastasius were improved by the perseverance of Justinian; and without insisting on places less important, the fortifications of Dara may represent the military architecture of the age. The city was surrounded with two walls, and the interval between them of fifty paces, afforded a retreat to the cattle of the besieged. The inner wall was a monument of strength and beauty: it measured sixty feet from the ground, and the height of the towers was one hundred feet; the loop-holes, from whence an enemy might be annoyed with missile weapons, were

* The description of Dara is amply and correctly given by Procopius. (Persic. l. 1, c. 10; l. 2, c. 13. De Edific. l. 2, c. 1—3; l. 3, c. 5). See the situation in D'Anville (L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 53—55), though he seems to double the interval between Dara and Nisibis.

small but numerous: the soldiers were planted along the rampart, under the shelter of double galleries, and a third platform, spacious and secure, was raised on the summit of the towers. The exterior wall appears to have been less lofty, but more solid; and each tower was protected by a quadrangular bulwark. A hard rocky soil resisted the tools of the miners, and on the south-east, where the ground was more tractable, their approach was retarded by a new work, which advanced in the shape of a half-moon. The double and treble ditches were filled with a stream of water; and in the management of the river, the most skilful labour was employed to supply the inhabitants, to distress the besiegers, and to prevent the mischiefs of a natural or artificial inundation. Dara continued more than sixty years to fulfil the wishes of its founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires.

Between the Euxine and the Caspian, the countries of Colchos, Iberia, and Albania, are intersected in every direction by the branches of mount Caucasus; and the two principal *gates* or passes, from north to south, have been frequently confounded in the geography both of the ancients and moderns. The name of *Caspian* or *Albanian* gates, is properly applied to Derbend,* which occupies a short declivity between the mountains and the sea: the city, if we give credit to local tradition, had been founded by the Greeks: and this dangerous entrance was fortified by the kings of Persia with a mole, double walls, and doors of iron. The *Iberian* gates † are formed by a narrow passage of six miles in mount Caucasus, which opens from the northern side of Iberia or Georgia, into the plain that reaches to the Tanais and the Volga. A fortress, designed by Alexander, perhaps, or one of his successors, to command

* For the city and pass of Derbend, see D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 157. 291. 807), Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Gengiscan, l. 4, c. 9), Histoire Généalogique des Tatars (tom. i, p. 120), Olearius (Voyage en Perse, p. 1039—1041), and Corneille le Brune (Voyages, tom. i, p. 146, 147): his view may be compared with the plan of Olearius, who judges the wall to be of shells and gravel hardened by time.

† Procopius, though with some confusion, always denominates them Caspian (Persic. l. 1, c. 10). The pass is now styled Tatartopa, the Tartar Gates. (D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii, p. 119, 120.)

that important pass, had descended by right of conquest or inheritance to a prince of the Huns, who offered it for a moderate price to the emperor: but while Anastasius paused, while he timorously computed the cost and the distance, a more vigilant rival interposed, and Cabades forcibly occupied the straits of Caucasus. The Albanian and Iberian gates excluded the horsemen of Scythia from the shortest and most practicable roads, and the whole front of the mountains was covered by the rampart of Gog and Magog, the long wall which has excited the curiosity of an Arabian caliph * and a Russian conqueror.† According to a recent description, huge stones, seven feet thick, twenty-one feet in length, or height, are artificially joined without iron or cement, to compose a wall, which runs above three hundred miles from the shores of Derbend, over the hills and through the valleys of Daghestan and Georgia. Without a vision, such a work might be undertaken by the policy of Cabades; without a miracle, it might be accomplished by his son, so formidable to the Romans under the name of Chosroes; so dear to the Orientals, under the appellation of Nushirwan. The Persian monarch held in his hand the keys both of peace and war; but he stipulated in every treaty that Justinian should contribute to the expense of a common barrier, which equally protected the two empires from the inroads of the Scythians.‡

VII. Justinian suppressed the schools of Athens and the consulship of Rome, which had given so many sages and heroes to mankind. Both these institutions had long since degenerated from their primitive glory; yet some reproach may be justly inflicted on the avarice and jealousy of a prince, by whose hands such venerable ruins were destroyed.

* The imaginary rampart of Gog and Magog, which was seriously explored and believed by a caliph of the ninth century, appears to be derived from the gates of Mount Caucasus, and a vague report of the wall of China. (Géograph. Nubiensis, p. 267—270. Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxxi, p. 210—219.)

† See a learned dissertation of Baier, *de muro Caucaseo*, in Comment. Acad. Petropol. ann. 1726, tom. i, p. 425—463, but it is destitute of a map or plan. When the Czar Peter I. became master of Derbend in the year 1722, the measure of the wall was found to be three thousand two hundred and eighty-five Russian *orgyiæ*, or fathoms, each of seven feet English; in the whole somewhat more than four miles in length.

‡ See the fortifications and treaties of Chosroes or Nushirwan, in Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 16. 22; l. 2) and D'Herbelot (p. 682).

Athens, after her Persian triumphs, adopted the philosophy of Ionia and the rhetoric of Sicily; and these studies became the patrimony of a city whose inhabitants, about thirty thousand males, condensed within the period of a single life, the genius of ages and millions. Our sense of the dignity of human nature is exalted by the simple recollection, that Isocrates* was the companion of Plato and Xenophon; that he assisted, perhaps with the historian Thucydides, at the first representations of the Œdipus of Sophocles and the Iphigenia of Euripides; and that his pupils Æschines and Demosthenes contended for the crown of patriotism in the presence of Aristotle, the master of Theophrastus, who taught at Athens with the founders of the Stoic and Epicurean sects.† The ingenuous youth of Attica enjoyed the benefits of their domestic education, which was communicated without envy to the rival cities. Two thousand disciples heard the lessons of Theophrastus;‡ the schools of rhetoric must have been still more populous than those of philosophy; and a rapid succession of students diffused the fame of their teachers as far as the utmost limits of the Grecian language and name. Those limits were enlarged by the victories of Alexander; the arts of Athens survived her freedom and dominion; and the Greek colonies, which the Macedonians planted in Egypt, and scattered over Asia, undertook long and frequent pilgrimages to worship the Muses in their favourite temple on the banks of the Ilissus. The Latin conquerors respectfully listened to the instructions of their subjects and captives; the names of Cicero and Horace were enrolled in the schools of Athens; and after the perfect settlement of the Roman empire, the

* The life of Isocrates extends from Olymp. 86, 1. to 110, 3, (ante Christ. 436—338.) See Dionys. Halicarn. tom. ii, p. 149, 150, edit. Hudson; Plutarch (sive anonymus) in Vit. X. Oratorum, p. 1538—1543, edit. H. Steph. Phot. cod. 259, p. 1543. [What rays of glory are here concentered into one dazzling point! Yet in four centuries the work of two thousand years was undone. When the contrast stands before us in so strong a light, it invites us to look with a searching eye into the origin of the change.—Ed.]

† The schools of Athens are copiously, though concisely, represented in the Fortuna Attica of Meursius (c. 8, p. 59—73, in tom. i, Opp.). For the state and arts of the city, see the first book of Pausanias, and a small tract of Dicæarchus (in the second volume of Hudson's Geographers), who wrote about Olymp. 117. Dodwell's Dissertat. sect. 4.

‡ Diogen. Laert. de Vit. Philosoph. l. 5, segm. 37, p. 289.

natives of Italy, of Africa, and of Britain, conversed in the groves of the academy with their fellow-students of the East. The studies of philosophy and eloquence are congenial to a popular state, which encourages the freedom of inquiry, and submits only to the force of persuasion. In the republics of Greece and Rome, the art of speaking was the powerful engine of patriotism or ambition; and the schools of rhetoric poured forth a colony of statesmen and legislators. When the liberty of public debate was suppressed, the orator, in the honourable profession of an advocate, might plead the cause of innocence and justice; he might abuse his talents in the more profitable trade of panegyric; and the same precepts continued to dictate the fanciful declamations of the sophist, and the chaster beauties of historical composition. The systems, which professed to unfold the nature of God, of man, and of the universe, entertained the curiosity of the philosophic student; and according to the temper of his mind, he might doubt with the sceptics or decide with the Stoics, sublimely speculate with Plato, or severely argue with Aristotle. The pride of the adverse sects had fixed an unattainable term of moral happiness and perfection; but the race was glorious and salutary; the disciples of Zeno, and even those of Epicurus, were taught both to act and to suffer; and the death of Petronius was not less effectual than that of Seneca, to humble a tyrant by the discovery of his impotence. The light of science could not indeed be confined within the walls of Athens. Her incomparable writers address themselves to the human race; the living masters emigrated to Italy and Asia; Berytus, in later times, was devoted to the study of the law; astronomy and physic were cultivated in the museum of Alexandria; but the Attic schools of rhetoric and philosophy maintained their superior reputation from the Peloponnesian war to the reign of Justinian. Athens, though situate in a barren soil, possessed a pure air, a free navigation, and the monuments of ancient art. That sacred retirement was seldom disturbed by the business of trade or government; and the last of the Athenians were distinguished by their lively wit, the purity of their taste and language, their social manners, and some traces, at least in discourse, of the magnanimity of their fathers. In the suburbs of the city, the *academy* of the Platonists, the *lyceum* of the Peripatetics, the *portico* of the

Stoics, and the *garden* of the Epicureans, were planted with trees and decorated with statues: and the philosophers, instead of being immured in a cloister, delivered their instructions in spacious and pleasant walks, which, at different hours, were consecrated to the exercises of the mind and body. The genius of the founders still lived in those venerable seats; the ambition of succeeding to the masters of human reason, excited a generous emulation; and the merit of the candidates was determined, on each vacancy, by the free voices of an enlightened people. The Athenian professors were paid by their disciples: according to their mutual wants and abilities, the price appears to have varied from a mina to a talent; and Isocrates himself, who derides the avarice of the sophists, required, in his school of rhetoric, about thirty pounds from each of his hundred pupils. The wages of industry are just and honourable, yet the same Isocrates shed tears at the first receipt of a stipend; the Stoic might blush when he was hired to preach the contempt of money; and I should be sorry to discover, that Aristotle or Plato so far degenerated from the example of Socrates, as to exchange knowledge for gold. But some property of lands and houses was settled by the permission of the laws, and the legacies of deceased friends, on the philosophic chairs of Athens. Epicurus bequeathed to his disciples the gardens which he had purchased for eighty minæ, or two hundred and fifty pounds, with a fund sufficient for their frugal subsistence and monthly festivals;* and the patrimony of Plato afforded an annual rent, which, in eight centuries, was gradually increased from three to one thousand pieces of gold.† The schools of Athens were protected by the wisest and most virtuous of the Roman princes. The library, which Hadrian founded, was placed in a portico, adorned with pictures, statues, and a roof of alabaster, and supported by one hundred columns of Phrygian marble. The public salaries were assigned by the generous spirit of the Antonines; and each professor, of politics, of rhetoric, of the

* See the testament of Epicurus in Diogen. Laert. l. 10, segm. 16—20, p. 611, 612. A single epistle (ad Familiares, 13, 1) displays the injustice of the Areopagus, the fidelity of the Epicureans, the dexterous politeness of Cicero, and the mixture of contempt and esteem with which the Roman senators considered the philosophy and philosophers of Greece.

† Damascius, in Vit. Isidor. apud Photium,

Platonic, the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean philosophy, received an annual stipend of ten thousand drachmæ, or more than three hundred pounds sterling.* After the death of Marcus, these liberal donations, and the privileges attached to the *thrones* of science, were abolished and revived, diminished and enlarged: but some vestige of royal bounty may be found under the successors of Constantine; and their arbitrary choice of an unworthy candidate might tempt the philosophers of Athens to regret the days of independence and poverty.† It is remarkable, that the impartial favour of the Antonines was bestowed on the four adverse sects of philosophy, which they considered as equally useful, or at least as equally innocent. Socrates had formerly been the glory and the reproach of his country; and the first lessons of Epicurus so strangely scandalized the pious ears of the Athenians, that by his exile, and that of his antagonists, they silenced all vain disputes concerning the nature of the gods. But in the ensuing year, they recalled the hasty decree, restored the liberty of the schools, and were convinced, by the experience of ages, that the moral character of philosophers is not affected by the diversity of their theological speculations.‡

The Gothic arms were less fatal to the schools of Athens than the establishment of a new religion, whose ministers superseded the exercise of reason, resolved every question by an article of faith, and condemned the infidel or sceptic

cod. 242, p. 1054. * See Lucian (in Eunuch. tom ii, p. 350—359, edit. Reitz) Philostratus (in Vit. Sophist. l. 2, c. 2), and Dion Cassius, or Xiphilin (l. 71, p. 1195), with their editors Du Soul, Olearius, and Reimar, and, above all, Salmasius (ad Hist. August. p. 72). A judicious philosopher, (Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. ii, p. 340—374) prefers the free contributions of the students to a fixed stipend for the professor. † Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii, p. 310, &c. ‡ The birth of Epicurus is fixed to the year 342 before Christ, (Bayle) Olympiad 109, 3, and he opened his school at Athens, Olymp. 118, 3, three hundred and six years before the same era. This intolerant law (Athenæus, l. 13, p. 610. Diogen. Laertius, l. 5, s. 38, p. 290; Julius Pollux, 9, 5) was enacted in the same or the succeeding year. (Sigonius, Opp. tom. v, p. 62. Menagius, ad Diogen. Laert. p. 204. Corsini, Fasti Attici, tom. iv, p. 67, 68.) Theophrastus, chief of the Peripatetics, and disciple of Aristotle, was involved in the same exile. [Diogenes Laertius (x. 14.) very circumstantially fixes the birth of Epicurus to the month Gamelion of Olymp. 109, 3, which corresponds with Jan. B.C. 341. The date of the decree of Sophocles against the philosophers is uncertain. It is placed by some at B.C. 316, ten years before Epicurus arrived in

to eternal flames.* In many a volume of laborious controversy, they exposed the weakness of the understanding and the corruption of the heart, insulted human nature in the sages of antiquity, and proscribed the spirit of philosophical inquiry, so repugnant to the doctrine, or at least to the temper, of an humble believer. The surviving sect of the Platonists, whom Plato would have blushed to acknowledge, extravagantly mingled a sublime theory with the practice of superstition and magic; and, as they remained alone in the midst of a Christian world, they indulged a secret rancour against the government of the church and state; whose severity was still suspended over their heads. About a century after the reign of Julian,† Proclus ‡ was permitted to teach in the philosophic chair of the academy; and such was his industry, that he frequently, in the same day, pronounced five lessons, and composed seven hundred lines. His sagacious mind explored the deepest questions of morals and metaphysics, and he ventured to urge eighteen arguments against the Christian doctrine of the creation of the world. But, in the intervals of study, he *personally* conversed with Pan, Æsculapius, and Minerva, in whose mysteries he was secretly initiated, and whose prostrate statues he adored, in the devout persuasion that the philosopher, who is a citizen of the universe, should be the priest of its various deities. An eclipse of the sun announced his approaching end; and his life, with that of his scholar Isidore§, compiled by two of their most learned disciples,

Athens. See Clinton, F. H., ii. 169. Theophrastus succeeded Aristotle B.C. 322, and held his chair till 287.—ED.]

* [The Gothic arms were in no way fatal to the schools of Athens. We have seen (ch. 30) how they were respected by Alaric, when he was master of Greece. Nor was it by religion that they were depressed and now finally crushed. Enough has been said in former pages to show that Christianity in its early progress had philosophy for its ally and coadjutor, and that the reason which overthrew Paganism, pioneered the way for a spiritual belief.—ED.]

† This is no fanciful era; the Pagans reckoned their calamities from the reign of their hero. Proclus, whose nativity is marked by his horoscope, (A.D. 412, February 8, at C. P.) died one hundred and twenty-four years ἀπὸ Ἰουλιανοῦ Βασιλέως, A.D. 485. (Marin. in Vitâ Procli, c. 36.)

‡ The life of Proclus, by Marinus, was published by Fabricius. (Hamburgh, 1700, et ad calcem Bibliot. Latin. Lond. 1703.) See Suidas (tom. iii, p. 185, 186), Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. l. 5, c. 26, p. 449—552), and Brucker (Hist. Crit. Philosoph. tom. ii, p. 319—326).

§ The life of Isidore

exhibits a deplorable picture of the second childhood of human reason. Yet the golden chain, as it was fondly styled, of the Platonic succession, continued forty-four years from the death of Proclus, to the edict of Justinian,* which imposed a perpetual silence on the schools of Athens, and excited the grief and indignation of the few remaining votaries of Grecian science and superstition. Seven friends and philosophers, Diogenes and Hermias, Eulalius and Priscian, Damascius, Isidore, and Simplicius, who dissented from the religion of their sovereign, embraced the resolution of seeking in a foreign land the freedom which was denied in their native country. They had heard, and they credulously believed, that the republic of Plato was realized in the despotic government of Persia, and that a patriot king reigned over the happiest and most virtuous of nations. They were soon astonished by the natural discovery that Persia resembled the other countries of the globe; that Chosroes, who affected the name of a philosopher, was vain, cruel, and ambitious; that bigotry and a spirit of intolerance prevailed among the Magi; that the nobles were haughty, the courtiers servile, and the magistrates unjust; that the guilty sometimes escaped, and that the innocent were often oppressed. The disappointment of the philosophers provoked them to overlook the real virtues of the Persians; and they were scandalized, more deeply perhaps than became their profession, with the plurality of wives and concubines, the incestuous marriages, and the custom of exposing dead bodies to the dogs and vultures, instead of hiding them in the earth, or consuming them with fire. Their repentance was expressed by a precipitate return, and they loudly declared, that they had rather die on the borders of the empire, than enjoy the wealth and favour of the barbarian. From this journey, however, they derived a benefit which reflects the purest lustre on the character of Chosroes. He required

was composed by Damascius (apud Photium, cod. 242, p. 1028—1076). See the last age of the Pagan philosophers in Brucker (tom. ii, p. 341—351). [This biography is part of a general history of philosophy and philosophers, written by Damascius before A.D. 526. Besides his collection of preternatural stories referred to by Gibbon in ch. 36, he also produced commentaries on Plato and Aristotle. (Clinton, F. R. i, 743; ii, 327.)—ED.] * The suppression of the schools of Athens is recorded by John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 187, sub Decio Cos. Sol.) and an anonymous Chronicle in the Vatican library (apud. Aleman. p. 106).

that the seven sages, who had visited the court of Persia, should be exempted from the penal laws which Justinian enacted against his Pagan subjects; and this privilege, expressly stipulated in a treaty of peace, was guarded by the vigilance of a powerful mediator.* Simplicius and his companions ended their lives in peace and obscurity; and as they left no disciples, they terminate the long list of Grecian philosophers, who may be justly praised, notwithstanding their defects, as the wisest and most virtuous of their contemporaries. The writings of Simplicius are now extant. His physical and metaphysical commentaries on Aristotle have passed away with the fashion of the times; but his moral interpretation of Epictetus is preserved in the library of nations, as a classic book, most excellently adapted to direct the will, to purify the heart, and to confirm the understanding, by a just confidence in the nature both of God and man.

About the same time that Pythagoras first invented the appellation of philosopher, liberty and the consulship were founded at Rome by the elder Brutus. The revolutions of the consular office, which may be viewed in the successive lights of a substance, a shadow, and a name, have been occasionally mentioned in the present history. The first magistrates of the republic had been chosen by the people, to exercise, in the senate and in the camp, the powers of peace and war, which were afterwards translated to the emperors. But the tradition of ancient dignity was long revered by the Romans and barbarians. A Gothic historian applauds the consulship of Theodoric as the height of all temporal glory and greatness;† the king of Italy himself congratulates those annual favourites of fortune, who, without the cares, enjoyed the splendour of the throne; and at the end of a thousand years, two consuls were created by the sovereigns of Rome and Constantinople, for the sole purpose of giving a date to the year, and a festival to the people. But the expenses of this festival, in which the

* Agathias (l. 2, p. 69—71)relates this curious story. Chosroes ascended the throne in the year 531, and made his first peace with the Romans in the beginning of 533, a date most compatible with his *young* fame and the *old* age of Isidore. (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii, p. 404. Pagi, tom. ii, p. 543. 550.)

† Cassiodor. Variarum Epist. 6. 1. Jornandes, c. 57, p. 696, edit. Grot. Quod summum bonum primumque in mundo decus edicitur.

wealthy and the vain aspired to surpass their predecessors, insensibly arose to the enormous sum of four-score thousand pounds; the wisest senators declined a useless honour, which involved the certain ruin of their families; and to this reluctance I should impute the frequent chasms in the last age of the consular *Fasti*. The predecessors of Justinian had assisted from the public treasures the dignity of the less opulent candidates; the avarice of that prince preferred the cheaper and more convenient method of advice and regulation.* Seven *processions* or spectacles were the number to which his edict confined the horse and chariot-races, the athletic sports, the music, and pantomimes of the theatre, and the hunting of wild beasts; and small pieces of silver were discreetly substituted to the gold medals, which had always excited tumult and drunkenness, when they were scattered with a profuse hand among the populace. Notwithstanding these precautions and his own example, the succession of consuls finally ceased in the thirteenth year of Justinian, whose despotic temper might be gratified by the silent extinction of a title which admonished the Romans of their ancient freedom.† Yet the annual consulship still lived in the minds of the people: they fondly expected its speedy restoration; they applauded the gracious condescension of successive princes, by whom it was assumed in the first year of their reign; and three centuries elapsed, after the death of Justinian, before that obsolete dignity, which had been suppressed by custom, could be abolished by law.‡ The imperfect mode of distinguishing each year by the name of a magistrate, was usefully supplied by the date of a permanent era: the creation of the world, according to the Septuagint version, was adopted by the Greeks;§ and the Latins, since the age

* See the regulations of Justinian (Novell. 105), dated at Constantinople, July 5, and addressed to Strategius, treasurer of the empire.

† Procopius, in Anecdot. c. 26. Aleman. p. 106. In the eighteenth year after the consulship of Basilius, according to the reckoning of Marcellinus, Victor, Marius, &c. the secret history was composed, and, in the eyes of Procopius, the consulship was finally abolished.

‡ By Leo the philosopher. (Novell. 94, A.D. 886—911.) See Pagi (Dissertat. Hypatica, p. 325—362) and Ducange (Gloss. Græc. p. 1635, 1636). Even the title was vilified; consulatus codicilli . . . vilescunt, says the emperor himself.

§ According to Julius Africanus, &c. the world was created the first of September, five thousand five

of Charlemagne, have computed their time from the birth of Christ.*

CHAPTER XLI.—CONQUESTS OF JUSTINIAN IN THE WEST.—CHARACTER AND FIRST CAMPAIGNS OF BELISARIUS.—HE INVADES AND SUBDUES THE VANDAL KINGDOM OF AFRICA.—HIS TRIUMPH.—THE GOTHIC WAR.—HE RECOVERS SICILY, NAPLES, AND ROME.—SIEGE OF ROME BY THE GOTHS.—THEIR RETREAT AND LOSSES.—SURRENDER OF RAVENNA.—GLORY OF BELISARIUS.—HIS DOMESTIC SHAME AND MISFORTUNES.

When Justinian ascended the throne, about fifty years after the fall of the Western empire, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had obtained a solid, and, as it might seem, a legal establishment, both in Europe and Africa. The titles which Roman victories had inscribed, were erased with equal justice by the sword of the barbarians; and their successful rapine derived a more venerable sanction from time, from treaties, and from the oaths of fidelity, already repeated by a second or third generation of obedient subjects. Experience and Christianity had refuted the super-

hundred and eight years, three months, and twenty-five days before the birth of Christ; (see Pezron, Antiquité des Tems defendue, p. 20—28) and this era has been used by the Greeks, the Oriental Christians, and even by the Russians, till the reign of Peter I. The period, however arbitrary, is clear and convenient. Of the seven thousand two hundred and ninety-six years which are supposed to elapse since the creation, we shall find three thousand of ignorance and darkness; two thousand either fabulous or doubtful; one thousand of ancient history, commencing with the Persian empire, and the republics of Rome and Athens; one thousand from the fall of the Roman empire in the west to the discovery of America; and the remaining two hundred and ninety-six will almost complete three centuries of the modern state of Europe and mankind. I regret this chronology, so far preferable to our double and perplexed method of counting backwards and forwards the years before and after the Christian era. [The chronology of archbishop Usher (Annales Vet. Test. p. 1) fixes the day of creation on Sunday, the 23rd October, 4004 years before the commencement of the Christian era. The early state of our race must necessarily be hidden in impenetrable darkness. What we can discover, may be divided into two thousand years of progress, beginning in fable, brightening into tradition, and clearing up into history; next twelve hundred years of retrogression into an almost pristine barbarism, and then about five hundred of renewed progress.—Ed.]

* The era of the world has prevailed in the East since the sixth general council (A.D.

stitious hope, that Rome was founded by the gods to reign for ever over the nations of the earth. But the proud claims of perpetual and indefeasible dominion which her soldiers could no longer maintain, was firmly asserted by her statesmen and lawyers, whose opinions have been sometimes revived and propagated in the modern schools of jurisprudence. After Rome herself had been stripped of the imperial purple, the princes of Constantinople assumed the sole and sacred sceptre of the monarchy; demanded, as their rightful inheritance, the provinces which had been subdued by the consuls, or possessed by the Cæsars; and feebly aspired to deliver their faithful subjects of the West from the usurpation of heretics and barbarians. The execution of this splendid design was in some degree reserved for Justinian. During the five first years of his reign, he reluctantly waged a costly and unprofitable war against the Persians; till his pride submitted to his ambition, and he purchased, at the price of £440,000 sterling, the benefit of a precarious truce, which, in the language of both nations, was dignified with the appellation of the *endless* peace. The safety of the East enabled the emperor to employ his forces against the Vandals; and the internal state of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support, to the Roman arms.*

According to the testament of the founder, the African kingdom had lineally descended to Hilderic, the eldest of the Vandal princes. A mild disposition inclined the son of a tyrant, the grandson of a conqueror, to prefer the counsels of clemency and peace; and his accession was marked by the salutary edict which restored two hundred bishops to their churches, and allowed the free profession of

681). In the West the Christian era was first invented in the sixth century: it was propagated in the eighth by the authority and writings of venerable Bede: but it was not till the tenth that the use became legal and popular. See L'Art de vérifier les Dates, Dissert. Préliminaire, p. 3. 12. Dictionnaire Diplomatique, tom. i, p. 329—337, the works of a laborious society of Benedictine monks.

* The complete series of the Vandal war is related by Procopius in a regular and elegant narrative (l. 1, c. 9—25; l. 2, c. 1—13); and happy would be my lot, could I always tread in the footsteps of such a guide. From the entire and diligent perusal of the Greek text, I have a right to pronounce that the Latin and French versions of Grotius and Cousin may not be implicitly trusted: yet the president Cousin has been often praised, and Hugo Grotius was the first scholar of a

the Athanasian creed.* But the Catholics accepted, with cold and transient gratitude, a favour so inadequate to their pretensions, and the virtues of Hilderic offended the prejudices of his countrymen. The Arian clergy presumed to insinuate that he had renounced the faith, and the soldiers more loudly complained that he had degenerated from the courage, of his ancestors. His ambassadors were suspected of a secret and disgraceful negotiation in the Byzantine court: and his general, the Achilles,† as he was named, of the Vandals, lost a battle against the naked and disorderly Moors. The public discontent was exasperated by Gelimer, whose age, descent, and military fame, gave him an apparent title to the succession: he assumed, with the consent of the nation, the reins of government; and his unfortunate sovereign sank without a struggle from the throne to a dungeon, where he was strictly guarded, with a faithful counsellor, and his unpopular nephew, the Achilles of the Vandals. But the indulgence which Hilderic had shewn to his Catholic subjects had powerfully recommended him to the favour of Justinian, who, for the benefit of his own sect, could acknowledge the use and justice of religious toleration: their alliance, while the nephew of Justin remained in a private station, was cemented by the mutual exchange of gifts and letters; and the emperor Justinian asserted the cause of royalty and friendship. In two successive embassies, he admonished the usurper to repent of his treason, or to abstain, at least, from any further violence, which might provoke the displeasure of God and of the Romans; to reverence the laws of kindred and succession, and to suffer an infirm old man peaceably to end his days, either on the throne of Carthage, or in the palace of Constantinople. The passions or even the prudence of Gelimer compelled him to reject these requests, which were urged in the haughty tone of menace and command; and he justified his ambition in a language rarely spoken in the

learned age.

* See Ruinart, Hist. Persecut. Vandal. c. 12, p. 589. His best evidence is drawn from the Life of St. Fulgentius, composed by one of his disciples, transcribed in a great measure in the annals of Baronius, and printed in several great collections. (Catalog. Bibliot. Bunavianæ, tom. i, vol. ii, p. 1258.)

† For what quality of the mind or body? For speed, or beauty, or valour? In what language did the Vandals read Homer? Did he speak German? The Latins had four versions: (Fabric. tom. i, l. 2,

Byzantine court, by alleging the right of a free people to remove or punish their chief magistrate, who had failed in the execution of the kingly office. After this fruitless expostulation, the captive monarch was more rigorously treated, his nephew was deprived of his eyes, and the cruel Vandal, confident in his strength and distance, derided the vain threats and slow preparations of the emperor of the East. Justinian resolved to deliver or revenge his friend; Gelimer to maintain his usurpation; and the war was preceded, according to the practice of civilized nations, by the most solemn protestations that each party was sincerely desirous of peace.

The report of an African war was grateful only to the vain and idle populace of Constantinople, whose poverty exempted them from tribute, and whose cowardice was seldom exposed to military service. But the wiser citizens, who judged of the future by the past, revolved in their memory the immense loss, both of men and money, which the empire had sustained in the expedition of Basiliscus. The troops, which after five laborious campaigns had been recalled from the Persian frontier, dreaded the sea, the climate, and the arms, of an unknown enemy. The ministers of the finances computed, as far as they might compute, the demands of an African war; the taxes which must be found and levied to supply those insatiate demands; and the danger, lest their own lives, or at least their lucrative employments, should be made responsible for the deficiency of the supply. Inspired by such selfish motives (for we may not suspect him of any zeal for the public good), John of Cappadocia ventured to oppose, in full council, the inclinations of his master. He confessed, that a victory of such importance could not be too dearly purchased; but he represented, in a grave discourse, the certain difficulties and the uncertain event. "You undertake (said the prefect) to besiege Carthage by land; the distance is not less than one hundred and forty days' journey; on the sea, a whole year * must elapse before you can receive any intelli-

c. 3, p. 297) yet in spite of the praises of Seneca, (Consol. c. 26) they appear to have been more successful in imitating, than in translating, the Greek poets. But the name of Achilles might be famous and popular, even among the illiterate barbarians.

* *A year*—absurd exaggeration! The conquest of Africa may be dated A.D. 533, September 14: it is celebrated by Justinian in the

gence from your fleet. If Africa should be reduced, it cannot be preserved without the additional conquest of Sicily and Italy. Success will impose the obligation of new labours; a single misfortune will attract the barbarians into the heart of your exhausted empire." Justinian felt the weight of this salutary advice; he was confounded by the unwonted freedom of an obsequious servant; and the design of the war would perhaps have been relinquished, if his courage had not been revived by a voice which silenced the doubts of profane reason. "I have seen a vision (cried an artful or fanatic bishop of the East). It is the will of Heaven, O emperor! that you should not abandon your holy enterprise for the deliverance of the African church. The God of battles will march before your standard, and disperse your enemies, who are the enemies of his Son." The emperor might be tempted, and his counsellors were constrained, to give credit to this seasonable revelation: but they derived more rational hope from the revolt which the adherents of Hilderic or Athanasius had already excited on the borders of the Vandal monarchy. Pudentius, an African subject, had privately signified his loyal intentions, and a small military aid restored the province of Tripoli to the obedience of the Romans. The government of Sardinia had been intrusted to Godas, a valiant barbarian; he suspended the payment of tribute, disclaimed his allegiance to the usurper, and gave audience to the emissaries of Justinian, who found him master of that fruitful island, at the head of his guards, and proudly invested with the ensigns of royalty. The forces of the Vandals were diminished by discord and suspicion; the Roman armies were animated by the spirit of Belisarius; one of those heroic names which are familiar to every age and to every nation.

The Africanus of New Rome, was born, and perhaps educated, among the Thracian peasants,* without any of those

preface to his Institutes, which were published November 21 of the same year. Including the voyage and return, such a computation might be truly applied to *our* Indian empire.

* Ὡρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἢ Θρακῶντε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξὺ κεῖται. (Procop. Vandal. l. 1, c. 11.) Aleman, (Not. ad Anecdot. p. 5,) an Italian, could easily reject the German vanity of Giphanius and Velserus, who wished to claim the hero; but his Germania, a metropolis of Thrace, I cannot find in any civil or ecclesiastical list of

advantages which had formed the virtues of the elder and younger Scipio; a noble origin, liberal studies, and the emulation of a free state. The silence of a loquacious secretary may be admitted, to prove that the youth of Belisarius could not afford any subject of praise; he served, most assuredly with valour and reputation, among the private guards of Justinian; and when his patron became emperor, the domestic was promoted to military command. After a bold inroad into Persarmenia, in which his glory was shared by a colleague, and his progress was checked by an enemy, Belisarius repaired to the important station of Dara, where he first accepted the service of Procopius, the faithful companion, and diligent historian of his exploits.* The Mirranes of Persia advanced, with forty thousand of her best troops, to raze the fortifications of Dara; and signified the day and the hour on which the citizens should prepare a bath for his refreshment after the toils of victory.† He encountered an adversary equal to himself, by the new title of general of the East; his superior in the science of war, but much inferior in the number and quality of his troops,

the provinces and cities. [Procopius knew the situation of Thrace, at the very gates of Constantinople. The western boundary of that province was the river Nestus, while Illyricum extended no farther eastward than the river Save. Between them lay a part of Mœsia, (see Heeren's Manual, p. 324, 325,) which had long been peopled by Goths; and Procopius, having heard of Germania, placed it there. As Belisarius invaded Italy from Sicily, and when he left it embarked at Ravenna, his secretary had no opportunity of traversing the country between the Adriatic and the Euxine. If the great general had not a German origin, it is, nevertheless, most probable, that like many of the eminent characters of that period, his young faculties had been trained among Goths. The opinion of M. Von Hammer is, that the name of Belisarius is a Sclavonic word, Belitzar, the white prince, and that the place of his birth was a village of Illyricum, which still bears the name of Germania. That "a Thracian peasant" should have borne a Sclavonic name is highly improbable, and still more so is it, that he should have been called "*a white prince.*" The Germania referred to seems to have been the Germanicus Vicus, which Cellarius places (l. 918) on the Danube near Regensburg (Ratisbon). That of Procopius was no *town* or *village in* Illyricum, but evidently a *country*, which his imperfect geography supposed to lie *between* that province and Thrace.—ED.]

* The two first Persian campaigns of Belisarius are fairly and copiously related by his secretary. (Persic. l. 1, c. 12—18.)

† [Procopius (De Bell. Pers. l. 13) makes *Mirrhanes* a Persian title of honour, by which Perozes was dignified. Afterwards (l. 2, c. 30) he uses it as the name of the commandant of Petra.—ED.]

which amounted only to twenty-five thousand Romans and strangers, relaxed in their discipline, and humbled by recent disasters. As the level plain of Dara refused all shelter to stratagem and ambush, Belisarius protected his front with a deep trench, which was prolonged at first in perpendicular, and afterwards in parallel, lines, to cover the wings of cavalry, advantageously posted to command the flanks and rear of the enemy. When the Roman centre was shaken, their well-timed and rapid charge decided the conflict: the standard of Persia fell; the *immortals* fled; the infantry threw away their bucklers, and eight thousand of the vanquished were left on the field of battle. In the next campaign, Syria was invaded on the side of the desert; and Belisarius, with twenty-thousand men, hastened from Dara to the relief of the province. During the whole summer, the designs of the enemy were baffled by his skilful dispositions: he pressed their retreat, occupied each night their camp of the preceding day, and would have secured a bloodless victory, if he could have resisted the impatience of his own troops. Their valiant promise was faintly supported in the hour of battle; the right wing was exposed by the treacherous or cowardly desertion of the Christian Arabs; the Huns, a veteran band of eight hundred warriors, were oppressed by superior numbers; the flight of the Isaurians was intercepted; but the Roman infantry stood firm on the left, for Belisarius himself, dismounting from his horse, shewed them that intrepid despair was their only safety. They turned their backs to the Euphrates and their faces to the enemy; innumerable arrows glanced without effect from the compact and shelving order of their bucklers; an impenetrable line of pikes was opposed to the repeated assaults of the Persian cavalry; and, after a resistance of many hours, the remaining troops were skilfully embarked under the shadow of the night. The Persian commander retired with disorder and disgrace, to answer a strict account of the lives of so many soldiers which he had consumed in a barren victory. But the fame of Belisarius was not sullied by a defeat, in which he alone had saved his army from the consequences of their own rashness: the approach of peace relieved him from the guard of the eastern frontier, and his conduct in the sedition of Constantinople amply discharged his obligations to the emperor. When the African war be-

came the topic of popular discourse and secret deliberation, each of the Roman generals was apprehensive, rather than ambitious, of the dangerous honour; but as soon as Justinian had declared his preference of superior merit, their envy was rekindled by the unanimous applause which was given to the choice of Belisarius. The temper of the Byzantine court may encourage a suspicion, that the hero was darkly assisted by the intrigues of his wife, the fair and subtle Antonina, who alternately enjoyed the confidence, and incurred the hatred, of the empress Theodora. The birth of Antonina was ignoble; she descended from a family of charioteers; and her chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach. Yet she reigned with long and absolute power over the mind of her illustrious husband; and if Antonina disdained the merit of conjugal fidelity, she expressed a manly friendship to Belisarius, whom she accompanied with undaunted resolution in all the hardships and dangers of a military life.*

The preparations for the African war were not unworthy of the last contest between Rome and Carthage. The pride and flower of the army consisted of the guards of Belisarius, who, according to the pernicious indulgence of the times, devoted themselves by a particular oath of fidelity to the service of their patrons. Their strength and stature, for which they had been curiously selected, the goodness of their horses and armour, and the assiduous practice of all the exercises of war, enabled them to act whatever their courage might prompt; and their courage was exalted by the social honour of their rank, and the personal ambition of favour and fortune. Four hundred of the bravest of the Heruli marched under the banner of the faithful and active Pharas; their untractable valour was more highly prized than the tame submission of the Greeks and Syrians; and of such importance was it deemed to procure a reinforcement of six hundred Massagetæ, or Huns,† that they were allured by

* See the birth and character of Antonina, in the Anecdotes, c. 1, and the notes of Alemanus, p. 3.

† [The Massagetæ were not Huns. They appear in history, driving the Celtic Kymri westward, many ages before any Huns were heard of. (See Herodotus, l. 1, c. 6. 15. 16; l. 4, c. 1. 11. 12; but these chapters must be studied carefully.) They were a section of the great Gothic race. The prefix to their generic name was an early denotement of *united strength*, which may be traced through all language down to our modern word

fraud and deceit to engage in a naval expedition. Five thousand horse and ten thousand foot were embarked at Constantinople for the conquest of Africa; but the infantry, for the most part levied in Thrace and Isauria, yielded to the more prevailing use and reputation of the cavalry; and the Scythian bow was the weapon on which the armies of Rome were now reduced to place their principal dependence. From a laudable desire to assert the dignity of his theme, Procopius defends the soldiers of his own time against the morose critics, who confined that respectable name to the heavy-armed warriors of antiquity, and maliciously observed, that the word *archer* is introduced by Homer* as a term of contempt. "Such contempt might perhaps be due to the naked youths who appeared on foot in the fields of Troy, and, lurking behind a tombstone, or the shield of a friend, drew the bowstring to their breast,† and dismissed a feeble and lifeless arrow. But our archers (pursues the historian) are mounted on horses, which they manage with admirable skill; their head and shoulders are protected by a casque or buckler; they wear greaves of iron on their legs, and their bodies are guarded by a coat of mail. On their right side hangs a quiver, a sword on their left, and their hand is accus-

mass and its correlatives in other tongues. After they entered Europe, their name was latinized into Mœsi, and being found by the Romans along the southern bank of the Danube, from them the province was denominated Mœsia. We know that in Ovid's time it was peopled by Goths, and they remained there in the days of Ulphilas, when the language, into which he translated the Scriptures, was consequently called the Mœso-Gothic. Hence the erroneous idea has been entertained, that the people were so designated from the country in which they lived, instead of having originally given to it their name. This was either applied by Procopius to some of them who were serving in the army of Belisarius; or he confounded with them a mercenary band of Huns from the opposite bank of the Danube. But the fables which he relates of them, belong to other tribes and earlier times.—ED.]

* See the preface of Procopius. The enemies of archery might quote the reproaches of Diomede (Iliad, λ. 385, &c.), and the permittere vulnera ventis of Lucan (8. 384); yet the Romans could not despise the arrows of the Parthians: and in the siege of Troy, Pandarus, Paris, and Teucer, pierced those haughty warriors who insulted them as women or children.

† Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σιδηρον. (Iliad, Δ. 123.) How concise—how just—how beautiful is the whole picture! I see the attitudes of the archer—I hear the twanging of the bow,

Λίγξε βιὸς, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν ἄλτο δ' ὀϊστός.

tomed to wield a lance, or javelin, in closer combat. Their bows are strong and weighty; they shoot in every possible direction, advancing, retreating, to the front, to the rear, or to either flank; and as they are taught to draw the bowstring not to the breast, but to the right ear, firm indeed must be the armour that can resist the rapid violence of their shaft." Five hundred transports, navigated by twenty thousand mariners of Egypt, Cilicia, and Ionia, were collected in the harbour of Constantinople. The smallest of these vessels may be computed at thirty, the largest at five hundred tons; and the fair average will supply an allowance, liberal, but not profuse, of about one hundred thousand tons,* for the reception of thirty-five thousand soldiers and sailors, of five thousand horses, of arms, engines, and military stores, and of a sufficient stock of water and provisions for a voyage perhaps of three months. The proud galleys, which in former ages swept the Mediterranean with so many hundred oars, had long since disappeared; and the fleet of Justinian was escorted only by ninety-two light brigantines, covered from the missile weapons of the enemy, and rowed by two thousand of the brave and robust youth of Constantinople. Twenty-two generals are named, most of whom were afterwards distinguished in the wars of Africa and Italy: but the supreme command, both by land and sea, was delegated to Belisarius alone, with a boundless power of acting according to his discretion, as if the emperor himself were present. The separation of the naval and military professions is at once the effect and the cause of the modern improvements in the science of navigation and maritime war.

In the seventh year of the reign of Justinian, and about the time of the summer solstice, the whole fleet of six hun-

* The text appears to allow for the largest vessels fifty thousand medimni, or three thousand tons (since the *medimnus* weighed one hundred and sixty Roman, or one hundred and twenty avoirdupois, pounds). I have given a more rational interpretation, by supposing that the Attic style of Procopius conceals the legal and popular *modius*, a sixth part of the *medimnus*. (Hooper's Ancient Measures, p. 152, &c.) A contrary, and indeed a stranger, mistake has crept into an oration of Dinarchus (contra Demosthenem, in Reiske Orator. Græc. tom. iv, p. ii, p. 34.) By reducing the *number* of ships from five hundred to fifty, and translating *μεδίμνοι* by *mines* or pounds, Cousin has generously allowed five hundred tons for the whole of the imperial fleet!—Did he never think?

dred ships was ranged in martial pomp before the gardens of the palace. The patriarch pronounced his benediction, the emperor signified his last commands, the general's trumpet gave the signal of departure, and every heart, according to its fears or wishes, explored with anxious curiosity the omens of misfortune and success. The first halt was made at Perinthus or Heraclea, where Belisarius waited five days to receive some Thracian horses, a military gift of his sovereign. From thence the fleet pursued their course through the midst of the Propontis; but, as they struggled to pass the straits of the Hellespont, an unfavourable wind detained them four days at Abydus, where the general exhibited a memorable lesson of firmness and severity. Two of the Huns, who, in a drunken quarrel, had slain one of their fellow-soldiers, were instantly shewn to the army suspended on a lofty gibbet. The national indignity was resented by their countrymen, who disclaimed the servile laws of the empire, and asserted the free privilege of Scythia, where a small fine was allowed to expiate the hasty sallies of intemperance and anger. Their complaints were specious, their clamours were loud, and the Romans were not averse to the example of disorder and impunity. But the rising sedition was appeased by the authority and eloquence of the general: and he represented to the assembled troops the obligation of justice, the importance of discipline, the rewards of piety and virtue, and the unpardonable guilt of murder, which, in his apprehension, was aggravated rather than excused by the vice of intoxication.* In the navigation from the Hellespont to Peloponnesus, which the Greeks, after the siege of Troy, had performed in four days,† the fleet of Belisarius was guided in their course by his master-galley, conspicuous in the day by the redness of the sails, and in the night by the torches blazing from the mast-head. It was the duty of the pilots, as they steered between the islands, and turned the capes of Malea and Tænarum, to preserve the just order

* I have read of a Greek legislator, who inflicted a *double* penalty on the crimes committed in a state of intoxication; but it seems agreed that this was rather a political than a moral law.

† Or even in three days, since they anchored the first evening in the neighbouring isle of Tenedos: the second day they sailed to Lesbos, the third to the promontory of Eubœa, and on the fourth they reached Argos. (Homer, Odyss. Γ. 130—183. Wood's Essay on Homer, p. 40—46.) A pirate sailed from the Hellespont to the seaport of Sparta in three days. (Xenophon. Hellen. l. 2, c. 1.)

and regular intervals of such a multitude of ships; as the wind was fair and moderate, their labours were not unsuccessful, and the troops were safely disembarked at Methone on the Messenian coast, to repose themselves for awhile after the fatigues of the sea. In this place they experienced how avarice invested with authority, may sport with the lives of thousands which are bravely exposed for the public service. According to military practice, the bread or biscuit of the Romans was twice prepared in the oven, and a diminution of one-fourth was cheerfully allowed for the loss of weight. To gain this miserable profit, and to save the expense of wood, the prefect John of Cappadocia had given orders that the flour should be slightly baked by the same fire which warmed the baths of Constantinople: and when the sacks were opened, a soft and mouldy paste was distributed to the army. Such unwholesome food, assisted by the heat of the climate and season, soon produced an epidemical disease, which swept away five hundred soldiers. Their health was restored by the diligence of Belisarius, who provided fresh bread at Methone, and boldly expressed his just and humane indignation: the emperor heard his complaint; the general was praised; but the minister was not punished. From the port of Methone, the pilots steered along the western coast of Peloponnesus, as far as the isle of Zacynthus or Zante, before they undertook the voyage (in their eyes a most arduous voyage) of one hundred leagues over the Ionian sea. As the fleet was surprised by a calm, sixteen days were consumed in the slow navigation; and even the general would have suffered the intolerable hardship of thirst, if the ingenuity of Antonina had not preserved the water in glass bottles, which she buried deep in the sand in a part of the ship impervious to the rays of the sun. At length the harbour of Caucana,* on the southern side of Sicily, afforded a secure and hospitable shelter. The Gothic officers, who governed the island in the name of the daughter and grandson of Theodoric, obeyed their imprudent orders, to receive the troops of Justinian like friends and allies; provisions were liberally supplied, the cavalry was remounted,† and Procopius soon returned from Syra-

* Caucana, near Camarina, is at least fifty miles (three hundred and fifty or four hundred stadia) from Syracuse. (Cluver. Sicilia Antiqua, p. 191.)

† Procopius, Gothic. l. 1, c. 3. Tibi tollit hinnitum

cuse with correct information of the state and designs of the Vandals. His intelligence determined Belisarius to hasten his operations, and his wise impatience was seconded by the winds. The fleet lost sight of Sicily, passed before the isle of Malta, discovered the capes of Africa, ran along the coast with a strong gale from the north-east, and finally cast anchor at the promontory of Caput Vada, about five days' journey to the south of Carthage.*

If Gelimer had been informed of the approach of the enemy he must have delayed the conquest of Sardinia, for the immediate defence of his person and kingdom.

A detachment of five thousand soldiers, and one hundred and twenty galleys, would have joined the remaining forces of the Vandals; and the descendant of Genseric might have surprised and oppressed a fleet of deep-laden transports, incapable of action, and of light brigantines, that seemed only qualified for flight.† Belisarius had secretly trembled when he overheard his soldiers, in the passage, emboldening each other to confess their apprehensions; if they were once on shore, they hoped to maintain the honour of their arms; but if they should be attacked at sea, they did not blush to acknowledge that they wanted courage to contend at the same time with the winds, the waves, and the barbarians.‡ The knowledge of their sentiments decided

apta quadrigis equa, in the Sicilian pastures of Grosphus. (Horat. Carm. 2. 16). Agragas . . . . magnanimûm quondam generator equorum. (Virg. Æneid, 3. 704.) Thero's horses, whose victories are immortalized by Pindar, were bred in this country. [It does not appear, that Sicily was noted for its breed of horses in later times. Its fertility seems to have been more profitably devoted to growing corn, fruits, and table luxuries for the Romans. Even at an earlier period, as it will be found stated by Gibbon himself, in a Note to ch. 45, the steeds of Dionysius of Syracuse, which gained for him so many victories in the Olympic games, consisted, not of Sicilian, but of Venetian horses. In the Ode here quoted, Horace tells his friend indeed, that "Siculæ vaccæ" lowed around him, but not that the steeds, trained to draw his four-yoked chariot, neighed in his "Sicilian pastures."—ED.]

* The Caput Vada of Procopius, (where Justinian afterwards founded a city—de Edific. l. 6, c. 6,) is the promontory of Ammon in Strabo, the Brachodes of Ptolemy, the Capaudia of the moderns, a long narrow slip that runs into the sea. (Shaw's Travels, p. 111.) † [These "light Brigantines" were undoubtedly the *Naves Liburnæ*, which have been often referred to, as the favourite and most serviceable portion of the Roman marine force. Gibbon has here spoken of them too contemptuously.—ED.] ‡ A centurion of Mark Antony expressed,

Belisarius to seize the first opportunity of landing them on the coast of Africa, and he prudently rejected, in a council of war, the proposal of sailing with the fleet and army into the port of Carthage. Three months after their departure from Constantinople, the men and horses, the arms and military stores, were safely disembarked, and five soldiers were left as a guard on board each of the ships, which were disposed in the form of a semicircle. The remainder of the troops occupied a camp on the sea-shore, which they fortified according to ancient discipline, with a ditch and rampart; and the discovery of a source of fresh water, while it allayed the thirst, excited the superstitious confidence, of the Romans. The next morning, some of the neighbouring gardens were pillaged; and Belisarius, after chastising the offenders, embraced the slight occasion, but the decisive moment, of inculcating the maxims of justice, moderation, and genuine policy.—"When I first accepted the commission of subduing Africa, I depended much less," said the general, "on the numbers, or even the bravery, of my troops, than upon the friendly disposition of the natives, and their immortal hatred to the Vandals. You alone can deprive me of this hope: if you continue to extort by rapine what might be purchased for a little money, such acts of violence will reconcile these implacable enemies, and unite them in a just and holy league against the invaders of their country." These exhortations were enforced by a rigid discipline, of which the soldiers themselves soon felt and praised the salutary effects. The inhabitants, instead of deserting their houses, or hiding their corn, supplied the Romans with a fair and liberal market: the civil officers of the province continued to exercise their functions in the name of Justinian; and the clergy, from motives of conscience and interest, assiduously laboured to promote the cause of a Catholic emperor. The small town of Sullecte,* one day's journey from the camp, had the honour of being foremost to open her gates, and to resume her ancient

though in a more manly strain, the same dislike to the sea and to naval combats. (Plutarch in Antonio, p. 1730, edit. Hen. Steph.)

* Sullecte is perhaps the Turris Hannibalis, an old building, now as large as the tower of London. The march of Belisarius to Leptis, Adrumetum, &c., is illustrated by the campaign of Cæsar, (Hirtius de Bello Africano, with the Analyse of Guichardt,) and Shaw's Travels,

allegiance: the larger cities of Leptis and Adrumetum imitated the example of loyalty as soon as Belisarius appeared; and he advanced without opposition as far as Grasse, a palace of the Vandal kings, at the distance of fifty miles from Carthage. The weary Romans indulged themselves in the refreshment of shady groves, cool fountains, and delicious fruits; and the preference which Procopius allows to these gardens over any that he had seen, either in the East or West, may be ascribed either to the taste or the fatigue of the historian. In three generations prosperity and a warm climate had dissolved the hardy virtue of the Vandals, who insensibly became the most luxurious of mankind. In their villas and gardens, which might deserve the Persian name of *paradise*,* they enjoyed a cool and elegant repose; and, after the daily use of the bath, the barbarians were seated at a table profusely spread with the delicacies of the land and sea. Their silken robes, loosely flowing, after the fashion of the Medes, were embroidered with gold: love and hunting were the labours of their life; and their vacant hours were amused by pantomimes, chariot-races, and the music and dances of the theatre.

In a march of ten or twelve days, the vigilance of Belisarius was constantly awake and active against his unseen enemies, by whom, in every place, and at every hour, he might suddenly be attacked. An officer of confidence and merit, John the Armenian, led the vanguard of three hundred horse; six hundred Massagetæ covered at a certain distance the left flank; and the whole fleet, steering along the coast, seldom lost sight of the army, which moved each day about twelve miles, and lodged in the evening in strong camps or in friendly towns. The near approach of the Romans to Carthage filled the mind of Gelimer with anxiety and terror. He prudently wished to protract the war till his brother, with his veteran troops, should return from the conquest of Sardinia; and he now lamented the rash policy

(p. 105—113,) in the same country. * Παράδεισος κάλλιστος ἁπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. The paradises, a name and fashion adopted from Persia, may be represented by the royal garden of Ispahan. (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 774.) See, in the Greek romances, their most perfect model. (Longus, Pastoral. l. 4, p. 99. 101. Achilles Tatius, l. 1, p. 22, 23.)

of his ancestors, who, by destroying the fortifications of Africa, had left him only the dangerous resource of risking a battle in the neighbourhood of his capital. The Vandal conquerors, from their original number of fifty thousand, were multiplied, without including their women and children, to one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men: and such forces, animated with valour and union, might have crushed, at their first landing, the feeble and exhausted bands of the Roman general. But the friends of the captive king were more inclined to accept the invitations, than to resist the progress, of Belisarius; and many a proud barbarian disguised his aversion to war under the more specious name of his hatred to the usurper. Yet the authority and promises of Gelimer collected a formidable army, and his plans were concerted with some degree of military skill. An order was dispatched to his brother Ammatas, to collect all the forces of Carthage, and to encounter the van of the Roman army at the distance of ten miles from the city: his nephew Gibamund, with two thousand horse, was destined to attack their left, when the monarch himself, who silently followed, should charge their rear, in a situation which excluded them from the aid, or even the view of their fleet. But the rashness of Ammatas was fatal to himself and his country. He anticipated the hour of the attack, outstripped his tardy followers, and was pierced with a mortal wound, after he had slain with his own hand twelve of his boldest antagonists. His Vandals fled to Carthage; the highway, almost ten miles, was strewed with dead bodies; and it seemed incredible that such multitudes could be slaughtered by the swords of three hundred Romans. The nephew of Gelimer was defeated, after a slight combat, by the six hundred Massagetæ: they did not equal the third part of his numbers: but each Scythian was fired by the example of his chief, who gloriously exercised the privilege of his family, by riding foremost and alone to shoot the first arrow against the enemy. In the meanwhile, Gelimer himself, ignorant of the event, and misguided by the windings of the hills, inadvertently passed the Roman army, and reached the scene of action where Ammatas had fallen. He wept the fate of his brother and of Carthage, charged with irresistible fury the advancing squadrons, and might have pursued and perhaps decided

the victory, if he had not wasted those inestimable moments in the discharge of a vain though pious duty to the dead. While his spirit was broken by this mournful office, he heard the trumpet of Belisarius, who, leaving Antonina and his infantry in the camp, pressed forward with his guards and the remainder of the cavalry to rally his flying troops, and to restore the fortune of the day. Much room could not be found in this disorderly battle for the talents of a general; but the king fled before the hero; and the Vandals, accustomed only to a Moorish enemy, were incapable of withstanding the arms and discipline of the Romans.* Gelimer retired with hasty steps towards the desert of Numidia; but he had soon the consolation of learning, that his private orders for the execution of Hilderic and his captive friends had been faithfully obeyed. The tyrant's revenge was useful only to his enemies. The death of a lawful prince excited the compassion of his people; his life might have perplexed the victorious Romans; and the lieutenant of Justinian, by a crime of which he was innocent, was relieved from the painful alternative of forfeiting his honour or relinquishing his conquests.

As soon as the tumult had subsided, the several parts of the army informed each other of the accidents of the day; and Belisarius pitched his camp on the field of victory, to which the tenth mile-stone from Carthage had applied the Latin appellation of *decimus*. From a wise suspicion of the stratagems and resources of the Vandals, he marched the next day in order of battle, halted in the evening before the gates of Carthage, and allowed a night of repose, that he might not, in darkness and disorder, expose the city to the licence of the soldiers, or the soldiers themselves to the secret ambush of the city. But as the fears of Belisarius were the result of calm and intrepid reason, he was

* [The army of Belisarius was chiefly composed of barbarian mercenaries, whom he had trained to Roman discipline and strategy. But the inferiority of the Vandals, whose ancestors had conquered hosts still better drilled, proceeded from the degeneracy which we have seen (c. 31) already commencing, after a residence of only thirty years in Africa. Now that they had been for a century masters of the country, the cause, which was shown then to have enervated them, had operated with progressive effect, and reduced them to a state almost as helpless and hopeless as that of the people whom they had subjugated.—ED.]

soon satisfied that he might confide, without danger, in the peaceful and friendly aspect of the capital. Carthage blazed with innumerable torches, the signals of the public joy; the chain was removed that guarded the entrance of the port; the gates were thrown open, and the people, with acclamations of gratitude, hailed and invited their Roman deliverers. The defeat of the Vandals, and the freedom of Africa, were announced to the city on the eve of St. Cyprian, when the churches were already adorned and illuminated for the festival of the martyr, whom three centuries of superstition had almost raised to a local deity. The Arians, conscious that their reign had expired, resigned the temple to the Catholics, who rescued their saint from profane hands, performed the holy rites, and loudly proclaimed the creed of Athanasius and Justinian. One awful hour reversed the fortunes of the contending parties. The suppliant Vandals, who had so lately indulged the vices of conquerors, sought an humble refuge in the sanctuary of the church: while the merchants of the East were delivered from the deepest dungeon of the palace by their affrighted keeper, who implored the protection of his captives, and shewed them, through an aperture in the wall, the sails of the Roman fleet. After their separation from the army, the naval commanders had proceeded with slow caution along the coast, till they reached the Hermæan promontory, and obtained the first intelligence of the victory of Belisarius. Faithful to his instructions, they would have cast anchor about twenty miles from Carthage, if the more skilful seamen had not represented the perils of the shore, and the signs of an impending tempest. Still ignorant of the revolution, they declined however the rash attempt of forcing the chain of the port: and the adjacent harbour and suburb of Mandracium were insulted only by the rapine of a private officer who disobeyed and deserted his leaders. But the imperial fleet, advancing with a fair wind, steered through the narrow entrance of the Goletta, and occupied, in the deep and capacious lake of Tunis, a secure station about five miles from the capital.* No sooner was

* The neighbourhood of Carthage, the sea, the land, and the rivers, are changed almost as much as the works of man. The isthmus, or neck of the city, is now confounded with the continent; the harbour is a dry plain; and the lake, or stagnum, no more than a morass, with

Belisarius informed of their arrival, than he dispatched orders that the greatest part of the mariners should be immediately landed to join the triumph, and to swell the apparent numbers of the Romans. Before he allowed them to enter the gates of Carthage, he exhorted them, in a discourse worthy of himself and the occasion, not to disgrace the glory of their arms; and to remember, that the Vandals had been the tyrants, but that *they* were the deliverers of the Africans, who must now be respected as the voluntary and affectionate subjects of their common sovereign. The Romans marched through the streets in close ranks, prepared for battle if an enemy had appeared; the strict order maintained by the general, imprinted on their minds the duty of obedience; and in an age in which custom and impunity almost sanctified the abuse of conquest, the genius of one man repressed the passions of a victorious army. The voice of menace and complaint was silent; the trade of Carthage was not interrupted; while Africa changed her master and her government, the shops continued open and busy; and the soldiers, after sufficient guards had been posted, modestly departed to the houses which were allotted for their reception. Belisarius fixed his residence in the palace; seated himself on the throne of Genseric; accepted and distributed the barbaric spoil; granted their lives to the suppliant Vandals; and laboured to repair the damage which the suburb of Mandracium had sustained in the preceding night. At supper he entertained his principal officers with the form and magnificence of a royal banquet.* The victor was respectfully served by the captive officers of the household; and, in the moments of festivity, when the impartial spectators applauded the fortune and merit of Belisarius, his envious flatterers secretly shed their venom on every word and gesture which might alarm the suspicions of a jealous monarch. One day was given to these pompous scenes,

six or seven feet water in the mid-channel. See D'Anville, (Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii, p. 82.) Shaw, (Travels, p. 77—84.) Marmol, (Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii, p. 465,) and Thuanus (58. 12, tom. iii, p. 334).

* From Delphi, the name of Delphicum was given, both in Greek and Latin, to a tripod: and, by an easy analogy, the same appellation was extended at Rome, Constantinople, and Carthage, to the royal banqueting room. (Procopius, Vandal. l. 1, c. 21. Ducange, Gloss. Græc. p. 277. Δέλφικον, ad Alexiad. p. 412.)

which may not be despised as useless if they attracted the popular veneration; but the active mind of Belisarius, which in the pride of victory could suppose a defeat, had already resolved, that the Roman empire in Africa should not depend on the chance of arms, or the favour of the people. The fortifications of Carthage had alone been exempted from the general proscription; but in the reign of ninety-five years they were suffered to decay by the thoughtless and indolent Vandals. A wiser conqueror restored with incredible dispatch the walls and ditches of the city. His liberality encouraged the workmen; the soldiers, the mariners, and the citizens, vied with each other in the salutary labour; and Gelimer, who had feared to trust his person in an open town, beheld with astonishment and despair the rising strength of an impregnable fortress.

That unfortunate monarch, after the loss of his capital, applied himself to collect the remains of an army scattered, rather than destroyed, by the preceding battle; and the hopes of pillage attracted some Moorish bands to the standard of Gelimer. He encamped in the fields of Bulla, four days' journey from Carthage; insulted the capital, which he deprived of the use of an aqueduct; proposed a high reward for the head of every Roman; affected to spare the persons and property of his African subjects, and secretly negotiated with the Arian sectaries and the confederate Huns. Under these circumstances, the conquest of Sardinia served only to aggravate his distress; he reflected with the deepest anguish, that he had wasted, in that useless enterprise, five thousand of his bravest troops; and he read, with grief and shame, the victorious letters of his brother Zano, who expressed a sanguine confidence that the king, after the example of their ancestors, had already chastised the rashness of the Roman invader. "Alas! my brother (replied Gelimer), Heaven has declared against our unhappy nation. While you have subdued Sardinia, we have lost Africa. No sooner did Belisarius appear with a handful of soldiers, than courage and prosperity deserted the cause of the Vandals. Your nephew Gibamund, your brother Ammatas, have been betrayed to death by the cowardice of their followers. Our horses, our ships, Carthage itself, and all Africa, are in the power of the enemy. Yet the Vandals still prefer an ignominious repose, at the expense of their wives and children, their wealth and liberty. Nothing now remains, except the

field of Bulla, and the hope of your valour. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our relief; restore our empire, or perish by our side." On the receipt of this epistle, Zano imparted his grief to the principal Vandals; but the intelligence was prudently concealed from the natives of the island. The troops embarked in one hundred and twenty galleys at the port of Cagliari, cast anchor the third day on the confines of Mauritania, and hastily pursued their march to join the royal standard in the camp of Bulla. Mournful was the interview: the two brothers embraced; they wept in silence; no questions were asked of the Sardinian victory; no inquiries were made of the African misfortunes: they saw before their eyes the whole extent of their calamities; and the absence of their wives and children afforded a melancholy proof, that either death or captivity had been their lot. The languid spirit of the Vandals was at length awakened and united by the entreaties of their king, the example of Zano, and the instant danger which threatened their monarchy and religion. The military strength of the nation advanced to battle; and such was the rapid increase, that, before their army reached Tricameron, about twenty miles from Carthage, they might boast, perhaps with some exaggeration, that they surpassed, in a ten-fold proportion, the diminutive powers of the Romans. But these powers were under the command of Belisarius: and, as he was conscious of their superior merit, he permitted the barbarians to surprise him at an unseasonable hour. The Romans were instantly under arms: a rivulet covered their front; the cavalry formed the first line, which Belisarius supported in the centre, at the head of five hundred guards; the infantry, at some distance, was posted in the second line; and the vigilance of the general watched the separate station and ambiguous faith of the Massagetæ, who secretly reserved their aid for the conquerors. The historian has inserted, and the reader may easily supply, the speeches* of the commanders, who, by arguments the most apposite to their situation, inculcated the importance of victory, and the contempt of life. Zano, with the troops which had followed him to the conquest of Sardinia, was placed in the centre; and the throne of Genseric might have stood, if the multitude of Vandals had

* These orations always express the sense of the times, and sometimes of the actors. I have condensed that sense, and thrown away declamation.

imitated their intrepid resolution. Casting away their lances and missile weapons, they drew their swords, and expected the charge: the Roman cavalry thrice passed the rivulet; they were thrice repulsed; and the conflict was firmly maintained till Zano fell, and the standard of Belisarius was displayed. Gelimer retreated to his camp; the Huns joined the pursuit; and the victors despoiled the bodies of the slain. Yet no more than fifty Romans, and eight hundred Vandals, were found on the field of battle; so inconsiderable was the carnage of a day, which extinguished a nation, and transferred the empire of Africa. In the evening, Belisarius led his infantry to the attack of the camp; and the pusillanimous flight of Gelimer exposed the vanity of his recent declarations, that, to the vanquished, death was a relief, life a burthen, and infamy the only object of terror. His departure was secret; but as soon as the Vandals discovered that their king had deserted them, they hastily dispersed, anxious only for their personal safety, and careless of every object that is dear or valuable to mankind. The Romans entered the camp without resistance: and the wildest scenes of disorder were veiled in the darkness and confusion of the night. Every barbarian who met their swords was inhumanly massacred; their widows and daughters, as rich heirs, or beautiful concubines, were embraced by the licentious soldiers; and avarice itself was almost satiated with the treasures of gold and silver, the accumulated fruits of conquests or economy in a long period of prosperity and peace. In this frantic search, the troops, even of Belisarius, forgot their caution and respect. Intoxicated with lust and rapine, they explored in small parties, or alone, the adjacent fields, the woods the rocks, and the caverns, that might possibly conceal any desirable prize: laden with booty, they deserted their ranks, and wandered, without a guide, on the high road to Carthage; and if the flying enemies had dared to return, very few of the conquerors would have escaped. Deeply sensible of the disgrace and danger, Belisarius passed an apprehensive night on the field of victory: at the dawn of day he planted his standard on a hill, recalled his guards and veterans, and gradually restored the modesty and obedience of the camp. It was equally the concern of the Roman general to subdue the hostile, and to save the prostrate, barbarian; and the sup-

pliant Vandals, who could be found only in churches, were protected by his authority, disarmed, and separately confined, that they might neither disturb the public peace, nor become the victims of popular revenge. After dispatching a light detachment to tread the footsteps of Gelimer, he advanced with his whole army about ten days' march, as far as Hippo Regius, which no longer possessed the relics of St. Augustin.* The season, and the certain intelligence that the Vandal had fled to the inaccessible country of the Moors, determined Belisarius to relinquish the vain pursuit, and to fix his winter-quarters at Carthage. From thence he dispatched his principal lieutenant, to inform the emperor, that in the space of three months he had achieved the conquest of Africa.

Belisarius spoke the language of truth. The surviving Vandals yielded, without resistance, their arms and their freedom: the neighbourhood of Carthage submitted to his presence; and the more distant provinces were successively subdued by the report of his victory. Tripoli was confirmed in her voluntary allegiance; Sardinia and Corsica surrendered to an officer, who carried, instead of a sword, the head of the valiant Zano; and the isles of Majorca, Minorca, and Yvica, consented to remain an humble appendage of the African kingdom. Cæsarea, a royal city, which in looser geography may be confounded with the modern Algiers, was situate thirty days' march to the westward of Carthage: by land, the road was infested by the Moors; but the sea was open, and the Romans were now masters of the sea. An active and discreet tribune sailed as far as the straits, where he occupied Septem or Ceuta,† which rises opposite to Gibraltar on the African coast; that remote place was

* The relics of St. Augustin were carried by the African bishops to their Sardinian exile (A.D. 500); and it was believed in the eighth century, that Liutprand, king of the Lombards, transported them (A.D. 721) from Sardinia to Pavia. In the year 1695, the Augustin friars of that city *found* a brick arch, marble coffin, silver case, silk wrapper, bones, blood, &c., and perhaps an inscription of Agostino, in Gothic letters, But this useful discovery has been disputed by reason and jealousy. (Baronius, Annal. A.D. 725, No. 2—9. Tillemont. Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiii, p. 944. Montfaucon, Diarium Ital. p. 26—30. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Ævi. tom. v, dissert. 58, p. 9, who had composed a separate treatise before the decree of the bishop of Pavia, and pope Benedict XIII.)

† Τὰ τῆς πολιτείας προοίμια, is the expression of Procopius (de Edific. l. 6, c. 7). Ceuta, which has been defaced by the Portuguese, flourished in nobles and palaces, in

afterwards adorned and fortified by Justinian; and he seems to have indulged the vain ambition of extending his empire to the columns of Hercules. He received the messengers of victory at the time when he was preparing to publish the pandects of the Roman law; and the devout or jealous emperor celebrated the divine goodness, and confessed, in silence, the merit of his successful general.* Impatient to abolish the temporal and spiritual tyranny of the Vandals, he proceeded, without delay, to the full establishment of the Catholic church. Her jurisdiction, wealth, and immunities, perhaps the most essential part of episcopal religion, were restored and amplified with a liberal hand; the Arian worship was suppressed; the Donatist meetings were proscribed,† and the synod of Carthage, by the voice of two hundred and seventeen bishops,‡ applauded the just measure of pious retaliation. On such an occasion, it may not be presumed, that many orthodox prelates were absent; but the comparative smallness of their number, which in ancient councils had been twice or even thrice multiplied, most clearly indicates the decay both of the church and state. While Justinian approved himself the defender of the faith, he entertained an ambitious hope, that his victorious lieutenant would speedily enlarge the narrow limits of his dominion to the space which they occupied before the invasion of the Moors and Vandals; and Belisarius was instructed to establish five *dukes* or commanders in the convenient stations of Tripoli, Leptis, Cirta, Cæsarea, and Sardinia, and to compute the military force of *palatines* or *borderers* that might be sufficient for the defence of Africa. The kingdom of the Vandals was not unworthy of the presence of a prætorian prefect; and four consulars, three presidents, were

agriculture and manufactures, under the more prosperous reign of the Arabs. (L'Afrique de Marmol, tom. ii, p. 236.)

* See the second and third preambles to the Digest, or Pandects, promulgated A.D. 533, December 16. To the titles of *Vandalicus* and *Africanus*, Justinian, or rather Belisarius, had acquired a just claim: *Gothicus* was premature, and *Francicus* false, and offensive to a great nation.

† See the original acts in Baronius (A.D. 535, No. 21—54). The emperor applauds his own clemency to the heretics, cum sufficiat eis vivere.

‡ Dupin (Geograph. Sacra Africana, p. 59, ad Optat. Milev.) observes and bewails this episcopal decay. In the more prosperous age of the church, he had noticed six hundred and ninety bishoprics; but however minute were the dioceses, it is not probable that they all existed at the same time.

appointed to administer the seven provinces under his civil jurisdiction. The number of their subordinate officers, clerks, messengers, or assistants, was minutely expressed; three hundred and ninety-six for the prefect himself, fifty for each of his vicegerents; and the rigid definition of their fees and salaries was more effectual to confirm the right, than to prevent the abuse. These magistrates might be oppressive, but they were not idle: and the subtle questions of justice and revenue were infinitely propagated under the new government, which professed to revive the freedom and equity of the Roman republic. The conqueror was solicitous to extract a prompt and plentiful supply from his African subjects; and he allowed them to claim, even in the third degree, and from the collateral line, the houses and lands of which their families had been unjustly despoiled by the Vandals. After the departure of Belisarius, who acted by a high and special commission, no ordinary provision was made for a master-general of the forces; but the office of prætorian prefect was intrusted to a soldier; the civil and military powers were united, according to the practice of Justinian, in the chief governor; and the representative of the emperor in Africa, as well as in Italy, was soon distinguished by the appellation of Exarch.*

Yet the conquest of Africa was imperfect, till her former sovereign was delivered, either alive or dead, into the hands of the Romans. Doubtful of the event, Gelimer had given secret orders that a part of his treasure should be transported to Spain, where he hoped to find a secure refuge at the court of the king of the Visigoths. But these intentions were disappointed by accident, treachery, and the indefatigable pursuit of his enemies, who intercepted his flight from the sea-shore, and chased the unfortunate monarch, with some faithful followers, to the inaccessible mountain of Papua,† in the inland country of Numidia. He was immediately besieged by Pharas, an officer whose truth and sobriety were the more applauded, as such qualities

* The African laws of Justinian are illustrated by his German biographer. (Cod. l. i, tit. 27, Novell. 36, 37. 131. Vit. Justinian. p. 349—377.)

† Mount Papua is placed by D'Anville, (tom. iii, p. 92, and Tabul. Imp. Rom. Occident.) near Hippo Regius and the sea; yet this situation ill agrees with the long pursuit beyond Hippo, and the words of Procopius, (l. 2, c. 4) ἐν τοῖς Νουμιδίας

could be seldom found among the Heruli, the most corrupt of the barbarian tribes.* To his vigilance Belisarius had intrusted this important charge; and, after a bold attempt to scale the mountain, in which he lost a hundred and ten soldiers, Pharas expected, during a winter siege, the operation of distress and famine on the mind of the Vandal king. From the softest habits of pleasure, from the unbounded command of industry and wealth, he was reduced to share the poverty of the Moors,† supportable only to themselves by their ignorance of a happier condition. In their rude hovels of mud and hurdles, which confined the smoke and excluded the light, they promiscuously slept on the ground, perhaps on a sheep-skin, with their wives, their children, and their cattle. Sordid and scanty were their garments; the use of bread and wine was unknown; and their oaten or barley cakes, imperfectly baked in the ashes, were devoured almost in a crude state by the hungry savages. The health of Gelimer must have sunk under these strange and unwonted hardships, from whatsoever cause they had been endured; but his actual misery was embittered by the recollection of past greatness, the daily insolence of his protectors, and the just apprehension, that the light and venal Moors might be tempted to betray the rights of hospitality. The knowledge of his situation dictated the humane and friendly epistle of Pharas. "Like yourself (said the chief of the Heruli) I am an illiterate barbarian, but I speak the language of plain sense, and an honest heart. Why will you persist in hopeless obstinacy? Why will you ruin yourself, your family, and nation? The love of freedom and abhorrence of slavery? Alas! my dearest Gelimer, are you not already the worst of slaves, the slave of the vile nation of the Moors? Would it not be preferable to sustain at Constantinople a life of poverty and servitude rather than to reign the undoubted monarch of the mountain of Papua? Do you think it a disgrace to be the subject of Justinian? Belisarius is his subject; and we ourselves, whose birth is not inferior to your own, are

ἰσχάτοις.

* [This character of the Heruli accords with the view taken of them in a previous note (ch. 39).—Ed.]

† Shaw (Travels, p. 220) most accurately represents the manners of the Bedoweens and Kabyles, the last of whom, by their language, are the remnant of the Moors: yet how changed—how civilized are these modern savages!—provisions are plenty among them, and bread is

not ashamed of our obedience to the Roman emperor. That generous prince will grant you a rich inheritance of lands, a place in the senate, and the dignity of patrician: such are his gracious intentions, and you may depend with full assurance on the word of Belisarius. So long as Heaven has condemned us to suffer, patience is a virtue; but if we reject the proffered deliverance, it degenerates into blind and stupid despair."—"I am not insensible (replied the king of the Vandals) how kind and rational is your advice. But I cannot persuade myself to become the slave of an unjust enemy, who has deserved my implacable hatred. *Him* I had never injured, either by word or deed; yet he has sent against me, I know not from whence, a certain Belisarius, who has cast me headlong from the throne into this abyss of misery. Justinian is a man; he is a prince; does he not dread for himself a similar reverse of fortune? I can write no more; my grief oppresses me. Send me, I beseech you, my dear Pharas, send me a lyre,* a sponge, and a loaf of bread." From the Vandal messenger, Pharas was informed of the motives of this singular request. It was long since the king of Africa had tasted bread; a defluxion had fallen on his eyes, the effect of fatigue or incessant weeping; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours, by singing to the lyre the sad story of his own misfortunes. The humanity of Pharas was moved; he sent the three extraordinary gifts; but even his humanity prompted him to redouble the vigilance of his guard, that he might sooner compel his prisoner to embrace a resolution advantageous to the Romans, but salutary to himself. The obstinacy of Gelimer at length yielded to reason and necessity; the solemn assurances of safety and honourable treatment were ratified in the emperor's name, by the ambassador of Belisarius; and the king of the Vandals descended from the mountain. The first public interview was in one of the suburbs of Carthage, and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe, that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state,

common. * By Procopius it is styled a *lyre;* perhaps *harp* would have been more national. The instruments of music are thus distinguished by Venantius Fortunatus:

Romanusque *lyrâ* tibi plaudat, Barbarus *harpâ.*

unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers, that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought.*

Their contempt was soon justified by a new example of a vulgar truth; that flattery adheres to power, and envy to superior merit. The chiefs of the Roman army presumed to think themselves the rivals of a hero. Their private dispatches maliciously affirmed, that the conqueror of Africa, strong in his reputation and the public love, conspired to seat himself on the throne of the Vandals. Justinian listened with too patient an ear; and his silence was the result of jealousy rather than of confidence. An honourable alternative, of remaining in the province, or of returning to the capital, was indeed submitted to the discretion of Belisarius; but he wisely concluded, from intercepted letters, and the knowledge of his sovereign's temper, that he must either resign his head, erect his standard, or confound his enemies by his presence and submission. Innocence and courage decided his choice: his guards, captives, and treasures, were diligently embarked; and so prosperous was the navigation, that his arrival at Constantinople preceded any certain account of his departure from the port of Carthage. Such unsuspecting loyalty removed the apprehensions of Justinian: envy was silenced and inflamed by the public gratitude; and the third Africanus obtained the honours of a triumph, a ceremony which the city of Constantine had never seen, and which ancient Rome, since the reign of Tiberius, had reserved for the *auspicious* arms of the Cæsars.† From the palace of Belisarius, the procession was conducted through the principal streets to the hippodrome; and this memorable day seemed to avenge the injuries of Genseric, and to expiate the shame of the Romans. The wealth of nations was displayed, the

* Herodotus elegantly describes the strange effects of grief in another royal captive, Psammetichus of Egypt, who wept at the lesser, and was silent at the greatest, of his calamities (l. 3, c. 14). In the interview of Paullus Æmilius and Perseus, Belisarius might study his part; but it is probable that he never read either Livy or Plutarch; and it is certain that his generosity did not need a tutor.

† After the title of *imperator* had lost the old military sense, and the Roman *auspices* were abolished by Christianity, (see La Bleterie, Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxi, p. 302—332) a triumph might be given with less inconsistency to a private general.

trophies of martial or effeminate luxury; rich armour, golden thrones, and the chariots of state which had been used by the Vandal queen; the massy furniture of the royal banquet, the splendour of precious stones, the elegant forms of statues and vases, the more substantial treasure of gold, and the holy vessels of the Jewish temple, which, after their long peregrination, were respectfully deposited in the Christian church of Jerusalem. A long train of the noblest Vandals reluctantly exposed their lofty stature and manly countenance. Gelimer slowly advanced: he was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king. Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or piety derived some secret consolation from the words of Solomon,* which he repeatedly pronounced—VANITY! VANITY! ALL IS VANITY! Instead of ascending a triumphal car drawn by four horses or elephants, the modest conqueror marched on foot at the head of his brave companions; his prudence might decline an honour too conspicuous for a subject: and his magnanimity might justly disdain what had been so often sullied by the vilest of tyrants. The glorious procession entered the gate of the hippodrome, was saluted by the acclamations of the senate and people, and halted before the throne where Justinian and Theodora were seated to receive the homage of the captive monarch and the victorious hero. They both performed the customary adoration; and, falling prostrate on the ground, respectfully touched the footstool of a prince who had not unsheathed his sword, and of a prostitute who had danced on the theatre: some gentle violence was used to bend the stubborn spirit of the grandson of Genseric; and, however trained to servitude, the genius of Belisarius must have secretly rebelled. He was immediately declared consul for the ensuing year, and the day of his inauguration resembled the pomp of a second triumph; his curule chair was borne aloft on the shoulders of captive Vandals; and the spoils of war, gold cups, and rich girdles, were profusely scattered among the populace.

* If the Ecclesiastes be truly a work of Solomon, and not, like Prior's poem, a pious and moral composition of more recent times, in his name, and on the subject of his repentance. The latter is the opinion of the learned and free-spirited Grotius; (Opp. Theolog. tom. i, p. 258) and indeed the Ecclesiastes and Proverbs display a

But the purest reward of Belisarius was in the faithful execution of a treaty, for which his honour had been pledged to the king of the Vandals. The religious scruples of Gelimer, who adhered to the Arian heresy, were incompatible with the dignity of senator or patrician; but he received from the emperor an ample estate in the province of Galatia, where the abdicated monarch retired with his family and friends, to a life of peace, of affluence, and perhaps of content.* The daughters of Hilderic were entertained with the respectful tenderness due to their age and misfortune; and Justinian and Theodora accepted the honour of educating and enriching the female descendants of the great Theodosius. The bravest of the Vandal youth were distributed into five squadrons of cavalry, which adopted the name of their benefactor, and supported in the Persian wars the glory of their ancestors. But these rare exceptions, the reward of birth or valour, are insufficient to explain the fate of a nation, whose numbers before a short and bloodless war, amounted to more than six hundred thousand persons. After the exile of their king and nobles, the servile crowd might purchase their safety, by abjuring their character, religion, and language; and their degenerate posterity would be insensibly mingled with the common herd of African subjects. Yet even in the present age, and in the heart of the Moorish tribes, a curious traveller has discovered the white complexion and long flaxen hair of a northern race;† and it was formerly believed, that the boldest of the Vandals fled beyond the power, or even the knowledge, of the Romans, to enjoy their solitary freedom on the shores of the Atlantic ocean.‡ Africa had been

larger compass of thought and experience than seem to belong either to a Jew or a king.

* In the Bélisaire of Marmontel, the king and the conqueror of Africa meet, sup, and converse, without recollecting each other. It is surely a fault of that romance, that not only the hero, but all to whom he had been so conspicuously known, appear to have lost their eyes or their memory.

† Shaw, p. 59. Yet since Procopius (l. 2, c. 13) speaks of a people of mount Atlas, as already distinguished by white bodies and yellow hair, the phenomenon (which is likewise visible in the Andes of Peru, Buffon, tom. iii, p. 504) may naturally be ascribed to the elevation of the ground and the temperature of the air.

‡ The geographer of Ravenna (l. 3, c. 11, p. 129—131; Paris, 1688) describes the Mauritania *Gaditana*, (opposite to Cadiz) ubi gens Vandalorum, a Belisario devicta in Africâ, fugit, et nunquam comparuit.

their empire, it became their prison; nor could they entertain a hope, or even a wish, of returning to the banks of the Elbe, where their brethren, of a spirit less adventurous, still wandered in their native forests. It was impossible for cowards to surmount the barriers of unknown seas and hostile barbarians: it was impossible for brave men to expose their nakedness and defeat before the eyes of their countrymen, to describe the kingdoms which they had lost, and to claim a share of the humble inheritance, which, in a happier hour, they had almost unanimously renounced.* In the country between the Elbe and the Oder, several populous villages of Lusatia are inhabited by the Vandals: they still preserve their language, their customs, and the purity of their blood; support, with some impatience, the Saxon, or Prussian yoke; and serve with secret and voluntary allegiance, the descendant of their ancient kings, who in his garb and present fortune is confounded with the meanest of his vassals.† The name and situation of this unhappy people might indicate their descent from one common stock with the conquerors of Africa. But the use of a Sclavonian dialect more clearly represents them as the last remnant of the new colonies, who succeeded to the genuine Vandals, already scattered or destroyed in the age of Procopius.‡

* A single voice had protested, and Genseric dismissed, without a formal answer, the Vandals of Germany; but those of Africa derided his prudence, and affected to despise the poverty of their forests. (Procopius, Vandal. l. 1, c. 22.)

† From the mouth of the great elector (in 1687), Tollius describes the secret royalty and rebellious spirit of the Vandals of Brandenburgh, who could muster five or six thousand soldiers who have procured some cannon, &c. (Itinerar. Hungar. p. 42, apud Dubos, Hist. de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i, p. 182, 183.) The veracity, not of the elector, but of Tollius himself, may justly be suspected.

‡ Procopius (l. 1, c. 22) was in total darkness — *οὔτε μνήμη τις οὔτε ὄνομα ἐς ἐμὲ σωζέται.* Under the reign of Dagobert, (A.D. 630) the Sclavonian tribes of the Sorbi and Venedi already bordered on Thuringia. (Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, 15, 3—5.) [Gibbon trusted to Mascou, who wrote before barbarian Europe had been carefully surveyed. Germany was the great highway of migration, and the confusion in which tribes were intermingled there, is sometimes inextricable. We here find three confounded, and mistaken for one, the Venedi, Vandalen, and Wenden. The first were the Celtic *Avainach* of the Vistula, named from their *waterland* locality, who after a time became merged in the surrounding population. The second were the Gothic nation, who have

If Belisarius had been tempted to hesitate in his allegiance, he might have urged, even against the emperor himself, the indispensable duty of saving Africa from an enemy more barbarous than the Vandals. The origin of the Moors is involved in darkness; they were ignorant of the use of letters.* Their limits cannot be precisely defined: a boundless continent was open to the Libyan shepherds; the change of seasons and pastures regulated their motions; and their rude huts and slender furniture were transported with the same ease as their arms, their families, and their cattle, which consisted of sheep, oxen, and camels.† During

been so conspicuous in many parts of this history; and the third belonged to the Sclavonians, who entered Germany in the time of the emperor Heraclius, about the commencement of the seventh century. The Huns were of the latter race, as also the Bulgarians and Avars. The unfilled space, left by the numerous colonies that had planted themselves within what once was the Roman empire, was soon occupied by the outlying hordes, which pressed gradually on towards the seat of civilization and the treasury of spoil. Thus Sarmatian tribes succeeded to Gothic in the possession of various territories, in the east and north-east of Germany. Among them were the Wenden and also the Obotriten, who are noticed in ch. 30. The so-called Vandals in Brandenburg, who used a Sclavonian dialect, were evidently descendants of the ancient Wenden.—ED.]

* Sallust represents the Moors as a remnant of the army of Heracles (De Bell. Jugurth. c. 21); and Procopius (Vandal. l. 2, c. 10), as the posterity of the Cananæans who fled from the robber Joshua (λῃστης). He quotes two columns, with a Phœnician inscription. I believe in the columns—I doubt the inscription—and I reject the pedigree.

† Virgil (Georgic. 3. 339) and Pomponius Mela (1, 8), describe the wandering life of the African shepherds, similar to that of the Arabs and Tartars; and Shaw (p. 222) is the best commentator on the poet and the geographer. [These illiterate savages must not be confounded with the ancient Mauri, the people of Mauritania. See ch. 33. The wilds of mount Atlas, and the sun-burnt regions farther to the south, were undoubtedly the abodes of formidable barbarians, who, when no longer restrained by a strong arm, made predatory incursions into the cultivated lands of a milder clime. But these were not the shepherds described by Virgil and Pomponius Mela, who knew nothing of Africa but the narrow strip along its northern coast. The Moors of Procopius were, perhaps, more on a level with the negro population that now holds the interior, than with the most rustic of the tribes that border on the Mediterranean. He was betrayed into one of his usual mistakes respecting these savages. Being informed that they dwelt beyond Mount Aurasius, in Zaba, a term which in their language signified the south, or a nameless country lying in that direction, he confounded this with what he had heard of north-western Africa, and made it into a province of the empire, called Mauritania Prima, with Sitiphis, an

the vigour of the Roman power, they observed a respectful distance from Carthage and the sea-shore; under the feeble reign of the Vandals, they invaded the cities of Numidia, occupied the sea-coast from Tangier to Cæsarea, and pitched their camps, with impunity, in the fertile province of Byzacium. The formidable strength and artful conduct of Belisarius secured the neutrality of the Moorish princes, whose vanity aspired to receive, in the emperor's name, the ensigns of their regal dignity.* They were astonished by the rapid event, and trembled in the presence of their conqueror. But his approaching departure soon relieved the apprehensions of a savage and superstitious people; the number of their wives allowed them to disregard the safety of their infant hostages; and when the Roman general hoisted sail in the port of Carthage, he heard the cries, and almost beheld the flames, of the desolated province. Yet he persisted in his resolution; and, leaving only a part of his guards to reinforce the feeble garrisons, he intrusted the command of Africa to the eunuch Solomon,† who proved himself not unworthy to be the successor of Belisarius. In the first invasion, some detachments, with two officers of merit, were surprised and intercepted; but Solomon speedily assembled his troops, marched from Carthage into the heart of the country, and in two great battles destroyed sixty thousand of the barbarians. The Moors depended on their multitude, their swiftness, and their inaccessible mountains; and the aspect and smell of their camels are said to have produced some confusion in the Roman cavalry.‡ But as soon as

unknown city, for its capital. We must receive the geography of such writers with great circumspection.—ED.]

* The customary gifts were a sceptre, a crown or cap, a white cloak, a figured tunic and shoes, all adorned with gold and silver; nor were these precious metals less acceptable in the shape of coin. (Procop. Vandal. l. 1, c. 25.)

† See the African government and warfare of Solomon, in Procopius. (Vandal. l. 2, c. 10—13. 19, 20.) He was recalled, and again restored; and his last victory dates in the thirteenth year of Justinian (A.D. 539). An accident in his childhood had rendered him a eunuch (l. 1, c. 11): the other Roman generals were amply furnished with beards, πώγωνος ἐμπίπλάμενοι (l. 2, c. 8).

‡ This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel is affirmed by the ancients; (Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. 6, p. 438; l. 7, p. 483. 492, edit. Hutchinson. Polyæn. Stratagem. 7. 6. Plin. Hist. Nat. 8. 26. Ælian de Natur. Animal. l. 3, c. 7) but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals. (Voyage d'Olearius, p. 553.)

they were commanded to dismount, they derided this contemptible obstacle: as soon as the columns ascended the hills, the naked and disorderly crowd was dazzled by glittering arms and regular evolutions; and the menace of their female prophets was repeatedly fulfilled, that the Moors should be discomfited by a *beardless* antagonist. The victorious eunuch advanced thirteen days' journey from Carthage, to besiege mount Aurasius,* the citadel, and at the same time the garden, of Numidia. That range of hills, a branch of the great Atlas, contains, within a circumference of one hundred and twenty miles, a rare variety of soil and climate; the intermediate valleys and elevated plains abound with rich pastures, perpetual streams, and fruits of a delicious taste and uncommon magnitude. This fair solitude is decorated with the ruins of Lambesa, a Roman city, once the seat of a legion, and the residence of forty thousand inhabitants. The Ionic temple of Æsculapius is encompassed with Moorish huts; and the cattle now graze in the midst of an amphitheatre, under the shade of Corinthian columns. A sharp perpendicular rock rises above the level of the mountain, where the African princes deposited their wives and treasure; and a proverb is familiar to the Arabs, that the man may eat fire, who dares to attack the craggy cliffs and inhospitable natives of mount Aurasius. This hardy enterprise was twice attempted by the eunuch Solomon: from the first, he retreated with some disgrace; and in the second, his patience and provisions were almost

* Procopius is the first who describes mount Aurasius. (Vandal. l. 2, c. 13, de Edific. l. 6, c. 7.) He may be compared with Leo Africanus (dell'Africa, parte 5, in Ramusio, tom .i, fol. 77, recto), Marmol (tom. ii, p. 430), and Shaw (p. 56—59). [In the Introduction to his Travels (p. 28), Bruce relates his visit to this mountain, the Mons Audus, or Aurus, of Ptolemy, and now the Jibbel Auress of the Turks. He describes it as "an assemblage of many of the most craggy steeps in Africa," among which he found a tribe called Neardie. Like the Kabyles around them, they maintained a wild independence, rough in their manners, and fiercely courageous; their complexion fairer than that of any other people south of Britain, with red hair and blue eyes. Bruce considered them to be descendants of the Vandals, whose African kingdom was overthrown by Belisarius. (See Gibbon's note, p. 387.) They acknowledged that their ancestors had been Christians; but this would apply equally to other races that dwelt there at that time. Many ruins, with Latin inscriptions, pointed out the site of the ancient Lambesa. The French Oriental scholar, Langles, thought that the mountain of Eyre, in the south of Fez, was the Mons Aurasius.—ED.]

exhausted; and he must again have retired, if he had not yielded to the impetuous courage of his troops, who audaciously scaled, to the astonishment of the Moors, the mountain, the hostile camp, and the summit of the Geminian rock. A citadel was erected to secure this important conquest, and to remind the barbarians of their defeat: and as Solomon pursued his march to the West, the long-lost province of Mauritanian Sitifi was again annexed to the Roman empire. The Moorish war continued several years after the departure of Belisarius; but the laurels which he resigned to a faithful lieutenant, may be justly ascribed to his own triumph.

The experience of past faults, which may sometimes correct the mature age of an individual, is seldom profitable to the successive generations of mankind. The nations of antiquity, careless of each other's safety, were separately vanquished and enslaved by the Romans. This awful lesson might have instructed the barbarians of the West to oppose, with timely counsels and confederate arms, the unbounded ambition of Justinian. Yet the same error was repeated, the same consequences were felt, and the Goths both of Italy and Spain, insensible of their approaching danger, beheld with indifference, and even with joy, the rapid downfal of the Vandals. After the failure of the royal line, Theudes, a valiant and powerful chief, ascended the throne of Spain, which he had formerly administered in the name of Theodoric and his infant grandson. Under his command the Visigoths besieged the fortress of Ceuta on the African coast; but, while they spent the sabbath-day in peace and devotion, the pious security of their camp was invaded by a sally from the town; and the king himself, with some difficulty and danger, escaped from the hands of a sacrilegious enemy.* It was not long before his pride and resentment were gratified by a suppliant embassy from the unfortunate Gelimer, who implored in his distress, the aid of the Spanish monarch. But, instead of sacrificing these unworthy passions to the dictates of generosity and prudence, Theudes amused the ambassadors, till he was secretly informed of

* Isidor. Chron. p. 722, edit. Grot. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. 5, c. 8, p. 173. Yet, according to Isidore, the siege of Ceuta, and the death of Theudes, happened, A. Æ. H. 586, A.D. 548, and the place was defended, not by the Vandals, but by the Romans.

the loss of Carthage, and then dismissed them with obscure and contemptuous advice, to seek in their native country a true knowledge of the state of the Vandals.* The long continuance of the Italian war delayed the punishment of the Visigoths; and the eyes of Theudes were closed before they tasted the fruits of his mistaken policy. After his death, the sceptre of Spain was disputed by a civil war. The weaker candidate solicited the protection of Justinian; and ambitiously subscribed a treaty of alliance, which deeply wounded the independence and happiness of his country. Several cities, both on the ocean and the Mediterranean, were ceded to the Roman troops, who afterwards refused to evacuate those pledges, as it should seem, either of safety or payment; and as they were fortified by perpetual supplies from Africa, they maintained their impregnable stations, for the mischievous purpose of inflaming the civil and religious factions of the barbarians. Seventy years elapsed before this painful thorn could be extirpated from the bosom of the monarchy; and as long as the emperors retained any share of these remote and useless possessions, their vanity might number Spain in the list of their provinces, and the successors of Alaric in the rank of their vassals.†

The error of the Goths who reigned in Italy was less excusable than that of their Spanish brethren, and their punishment was still more immediate and terrible. From a motive of private revenge, they enabled their most dangerous enemy to destroy their most valuable ally. A sister of the great Theodoric had been given in marriage to Thrasi-

* Procopius, Vandal. l. 1, c. 24. [The history of Spain at this period is very obscure. After the death of Alaric II. in 507, (see ch. 38) Theudes was sent by Theodoric to guard the throne of the infant Amalarich. This he performed faithfully till the young king died in 531, when the regent or guardian became king himself, and reigned till 548. His motive for besieging Septa (Ceuta) and its date, both remain uncertain. Mariana says that it preceded the overthrow of the Vandals, and was undertaken to assist them. Gelimer's ambassadors had a very tedious voyage, and did not arrive till after the intelligence of the fall of Carthage had reached Theudes. He concealed it from them, and on their return they were made prisoners by the Romans. Clinton, F. R., i, 726; ii, 145. Mariana, v, 8.—ED.]

† See the original chronicle of Isidore, and the fifth and sixth books of the History of Spain by Mariana. The Romans were finally expelled by Suintila, the king of the Visigoths (A.D. 621—626), after their reunion to the Catholic church.

mond, the African king:* on this occasion, the fortress of Lilybæum† in Sicily was resigned to the Vandals; and the princess Amalafrida was attended by a martial train of one thousand nobles, and five thousand Gothic soldiers, who signalized their valour in the Moorish wars. Their merit was overrated by themselves, and perhaps neglected by the Vandals: they viewed the country with envy, and the conquerors with disdain; but their real or fictitious conspiracy was prevented by a massacre; the Goths were oppressed, and the captivity of Amalafrida was soon followed by her secret and suspicious death. The eloquent pen of Cassiodorus was employed to reproach the Vandal court with the cruel violation of every social and public duty; but the vengeance which he threatened, in the name of his sovereign, might be derided with impunity, as long as Africa was protected by the sea, and the Goths were destitute of a navy. In the blind impotence of grief and indignation, they joyfully saluted the approach of the Romans, entertained the fleet of Belisarius in the ports of Sicily, and were speedily delighted or alarmed by the surprising intelligence, that their revenge was executed beyond the measure of their hopes, or perhaps of their wishes. To their friendship the emperor was indebted for the kingdom of Africa, and the Goths might reasonably think that they were entitled to resume the possession of a barren rock, so recently separated as a nuptial gift from the island of Sicily. They were soon undeceived by the haughty mandate of Belisarius, which excited their tardy and unavailing repentance. "The city and promontory of Lilybæum (said the Roman general) belonged to the Vandals, and I claim them by the right of conquest. Your submission may deserve the favour of the emperor; your obstinacy will provoke his displeasure, and must kindle a war, that can terminate only in your utter ruin. If you compel us to take up arms, we shall contend, not to regain the possession of a single city, but to deprive you of all the provinces which you unjustly withhold from their lawful

* See the marriage and fate of Amalafrida in Procopius (Vandal. l. 1, c. 8, 9), and in Cassiodorus (Var. 9, 1) the expostulation of her royal brother. Compare likewise the Chronicle of Victor Tununensis.

† Lilybæum was built by the Carthaginians, Olymp. 95. 4, and in the first Punic war, a strong situation and excellent harbour rendered that place an important object to both nations.

sovereign." A nation of two hundred thousand soldiers might have smiled at the vain menace of Justinian and his lieutenant: but a spirit of discord and disaffection prevailed in Italy, and the Goths supported, with reluctance, the indignity of a female reign.*

The birth of Amalasontha, the regent and queen of Italy,† united the two most illustrious families of the barbarians. Her mother, the sister of Clovis, was descended from the long haired kings of the *Merovingian* race,‡ and the regal succession of the *Amali* was illustrated in the eleventh generation, by her father, the great Theodoric, whose merit might have ennobled a plebeian origin. The sex of his daughter excluded her from the Gothic throne; but his vigilant tenderness for his family and his people discovered the last heir of the royal line, whose ancestors had taken refuge in Spain; and the fortunate Eutharic was suddenly exalted to the rank of a consul and a prince. He enjoyed only a short time the charms of Amalasontha, and the hopes of the succession; and his widow, after the death of her husband and father, was left the guardian of her son Athalaric, and the kingdom of Italy. At the age of about twenty-eight years, the endowments of her mind and person had attained their perfect maturity. Her beauty, which, in the apprehension of Theodora herself, might have disputed the conquest of an emperor, was animated by manly sense, activity, and resolution. Education and experience had cultivated her talents; her philosophic studies were exempt from vanity; and, though she expressed herself with equal elegance and ease in the Greek, the Latin, and the Gothic tongue, the daughter of Theodoric maintained in her counsels a discreet and impenetrable silence. By a faithful imitation of the virtues, she revived the prosperity, of his reign: while she strove, with pious care, to expiate the faults, and to

* Compare the different passages of Procopius. (Vandal. l. 2, c. 5. Gothic. l. 1, c. 3.)

† For the reign and character of Amalasontha, see Procopius (Gothic. l. 1, c. 2—4, and Anecdot. c. 16, with the notes of Alemannus), Cassiodorus (Var. 8—11, 1), and Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 59, and de Successione Regnorum, in Muratori, tom. i, p. 241).

‡ The marriage of Theodoric with Audefleda, the sister of Clovis, may be placed in the year 495, soon after the conquest of Italy. (De Buat, Hist. des Peuples, tom. ix p. 213.) The nuptials of Eutharic and Amalasontha were celebrated in 515. (Cassiodor. in Chron. p. 453.)

obliterate the darker memory, of his declining age. The children of Boethius and Symmachus were restored to their paternal inheritance; her extreme lenity never consented to inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalties on her Roman subjects; and she generously despised the clamours of the Goths, who, at the end of forty years, still considered the people of Italy as their slaves or their enemies. Her salutary measures were directed by the wisdom, and celebrated by the eloquence, of Cassiodorus; she solicited and deserved the friendship of the emperor; and the kingdoms of Europe respected, both in peace and war, the majesty of the Gothic throne. But the future happiness of the queen and of Italy depended on the education of her son, who was destined, by his birth, to support the different and almost incompatible characters of the chief of a barbarian camp, and the first magistrate of a civilized nation. From the age of ten years,* Athalaric was diligently instructed in the arts and sciences, either useful or ornamental for a Roman prince; and three venerable Goths were chosen to instil the principles of honour and virtue into the mind of their young king. But the pupil who is insensible of the benefits, must abhor the restraints, of education; and the solicitude of the queen, which affection rendered anxious and severe, offended the untractable nature of her son and his subjects. On a solemn festival, when the Goths were assembled in the palace of Ravenna, the royal youth escaped from his mother's apartment, and, with tears of pride and anger, complained of a blow which his stubborn disobedience had provoked her to inflict. The barbarians resented the indignity which had been offered to their king; accused the regent of conspiring against his life and crown; and imperiously demanded that the grandson of Theodoric should be rescued from the dastardly discipline of women and pedants, and educated, like a valiant Goth, in the society of his equals, and the glorious ignorance of his ancestors. To this rude clamour, importunately urged as the voice of the nation, Amalasontha was compelled to yield her reason, and the dearest wishes of her heart. The king of Italy was abandoned to wine, to

* At the death of Theodoric, his grandson Athalaric is described by Procopius as a boy about eight years old—ὀκτὼ γεγονὼς ἔτη. Cassiodorus, with authority and reason, adds two years to his age—infantulum adhuc vix decennem.

women, and to rustic sports; and the indiscreet contempt of the ungrateful youth betrayed the mischievous designs of his favourites and her enemies. Encompassed with domestic foes, she entered into a secret negotiation with the emperor Justinian; obtained the assurance of a friendly reception, and had actually deposited at Dyrrachium in Epirus, a treasure of forty thousand pounds of gold. Happy would it have been for her fame and safety, if she had calmly retired from barbarous faction, to the peace and splendour of Constantinople. But the mind of Amalasontha was inflamed by ambition and revenge; and while her ships lay at anchor in the port, she waited for the success of a crime, which her passions excused or applauded as an act of justice. Three of the most dangerous malecontents had been separately removed, under the pretence of trust and command, to the frontiers of Italy: they were assassinated by her private emissaries; and the blood of these noble Goths rendered the queen-mother absolute in the court of Ravenna, and justly odious to a free people. But if she had lamented the disorders of her son, she soon wept his irreparable loss; and the death of Athalaric, who, at the age of sixteen, was consumed by premature intemperance, left her destitute of any firm support or legal authority. Instead of submitting to the laws of her country, which held as a fundamental maxim, that the succession could never pass from the lance to the distaff, the daughter of Theodoric conceived the impracticable design of sharing with one of her cousins the regal title, and of reserving in her own hands the substance of supreme power. He received the proposal with profound respect and affected gratitude; and the eloquent Cassiodorus announced to the senate and the emperor, that Amalasontha and Theodatus had ascended the throne of Italy. His birth (for his mother was the sister of Theodoric) might be considered as an imperfect title; and the choice of Amalasontha was more strongly directed by her contempt of his avarice and pusillanimity, which had deprived him of the love of the Italians, and the esteem of the barbarians. But Theodatus was exasperated by the contempt which he deserved; her justice had repressed and reproached the oppression which he exercised against his Tuscan neighbours; and the principal Goths, united by common guilt and resentment, conspired to instigate his slow and timid disposition. The

letters of congratulation were scarcely dispatched before the queen of Italy was imprisoned in a small island of the lake of Bolsena,* where, after a short confinement, she was strangled in the bath, by the order, or with the connivance, of the new king, who instructed his turbulent subjects to shed the blood of their sovereigns.

Justinian beheld with joy the dissensions of the Goths; and the mediation of an ally concealed and promoted the ambitious views of the conqueror. His ambassadors, in their public audience, demanded the fortress of Lilybæum, ten barbarian fugitives, and a just compensation for the pillage of a small town on the Illyrian borders; but they secretly negotiated with Theodatus, to betray the province of Tuscany, and tempted Amalasontha to extricate herself from danger and perplexity, by a free surrender of the kingdom of Italy. A false and servile epistle was subscribed by the reluctant hand of the captive queen; but the confession of the Roman senators, who were sent to Constantinople, revealed the truth of her deplorable situation; and Justinian, by the voice of a new ambassador, most powerfully interceded for her life and liberty. Yet the secret instructions of the same minister were adapted to serve the cruel jealousy of Theodora, who dreaded the presence and superior charms of a rival: he prompted, with artful and ambiguous hints, the execution of a crime so useful to the Romans;† received

* The lake, from the neighbouring towns of Etruria, was styled either Vulsiniensis (now of Bolsena) or Tarquiniensis. It is surrounded with white rocks, and stored with fish and wild fowl. The younger Pliny (Epist. 2, 96) celebrates two woody islands that floated on its waters: if a fable, how credulous the ancients!—if a fact, how careless the moderns! Yet since Pliny, the island may have been fixed by new and gradual accessions.

† Yet Procopius discredits his own evidence (Anecdot. c. 16) by confessing, that in his public history he had not spoken the truth. See the epistles from queen Gundelinda to the Empress Theodora, (Var. x. 20, 21. 23, and observe a suspicious word, de illâ personâ, &c.) with the elaborate Commentary of Buat (tom. x, p. 177—185). [In an addition to this note, M. Guizot says, that "Amalasontha was already dead, when Peter of Thessalonica arrived in Italy." At the same time he quotes the admission of M. de Sainte Croix (Archives Littéraires of M. Vandenbourg, No. 50, tom. xvii, p. 219) that there was probably "some criminal intrigue between Theodora and Gundelinda." But M. Guizot has here overlooked the fact that, in this stage of the negotiations, Peter was twice sent to Italy from Constantinople. On his return from the first of these missions, he took with

the intelligence of her death with grief and indignation, and denounced in his master's name, immortal war against the perfidious assassin. In Italy as well as in Africa, the guilt of an usurper appeared to justify the arms of Justinian; but the forces which he prepared, were insufficient for the subversion of a mighty kingdom, if their feeble numbers had not been multiplied by the name, the spirit, and the conduct of a hero. A chosen troop of guards, who served on horseback, and were armed with lances and bucklers, attended the person of Belisarius: his cavalry was composed of two hundred Huns, three hundred Moors, and four thousand *confederates*, and the infantry consisted only of three thousand Isaurians. Steering the same course as in his former expedition, the Roman consul cast anchor before Catana in Sicily, to survey the strength of the island, and to decide whether he should attempt the conquest, or peaceably pursue his voyage for the African coast. He found a fruitful land and a friendly people. Notwithstanding the decay of agriculture, Sicily still supplied the granaries of Rome; the farmers were graciously exempted from the oppression of military quarters; and the Goths, who trusted the defence of the island to the inhabitants, had some reason to complain, that their confidence was ungratefully betrayed: instead of soliciting and expecting the aid of the king of Italy, they yielded to the first summons a cheerful obedience: and this province, the first-fruits of the Punic wars, was again, after a long separation, united to the Roman empire.*

him the two letters (Var. x, 19 and 20), in the latter of which Gundelinda darkly alludes to messages which she had received more important than letters. After this, occurs the suspicious passage pointed out by Gibbon. These mysterious expressions leave no doubt that either Peter, or one of his attendants, was the bearer of secret oral instructions respecting a person whose name was not to be written, and justify the belief that this was Amalasontha. There could be no collusion between Cassiodorus and Procopius; and the former probably did not understand what he wrote, as secretary, at the dictation of his queen. These two writers thus explain and confirm each other; and from their concurrence it may be inferred that the death of Amalasontha was subsequent to Peter's first embassy. Then the second was of a different character, and elicited the two letters (Var. x, 22, 23) which are written in an altered and much humbler strain.—ED.]

* For the conquest of Sicily, compare the narrative of Procopius with the complaints of Totila. (Gothic. l. 1, c. 5; l. 3, c. 16.) The Gothic queen had lately relieved that thankless island. Var. ix, 10, 11.)

The Gothic garrison of Palermo, which alone attempted to resist, was reduced after a short siege, by a singular stratagem. Belisarius introduced his ships into the deepest recess of the harbour; their boats were laboriously hoisted with ropes and pulleys to the topmast head, and he filled them with archers, who, from that superior station commanded the ramparts of the city. After this easy, though successful campaign, the conqueror entered Syracuse in triumph, at the head of his victorious bands, distributing gold medals to the people, on the day which so gloriously terminated the year of the consulship. He passed the winter season in the palace of ancient kings, amidst the ruins of a Grecian colony, which once extended to a circumference of two-and-twenty miles;* but in the spring, about the festival of Easter, the prosecution of his designs was interrupted by a dangerous revolt of the African forces. Carthage was saved by the presence of Belisarius, who suddenly landed with a thousand guards. Two thousand soldiers of doubtful faith returned to the standard of their old commander; and he marched, without hesitation, above fifty miles to seek an enemy whom he affected to pity and despise. Eight thousand rebels trembled at his approach; they were routed at the first onset, by the dexterity of their master: and this ignoble victory would have restored the peace of Africa, if the conqueror had not been hastily recalled to Sicily, to appease a sedition which was kindled during his absence in his own camp.† Disorder and disobedience were the common malady of the times; the genius to command, and the virtue to obey, resided only in the mind of Belisarius.

Although Theodatus descended from a race of heroes, he was ignorant of the art, and averse to the dangers, of war. Although he had studied the writings of Plato and Tully, philosophy was incapable of purifying his mind from the basest passions, avarice and fear. He had purchased a

* The ancient magnitude and splendour of the five quarters of Syracuse, are delineated by Cicero (in Verrem, actio 2, l. 4, c. 52, 53), Strabo (l. 6, p. 415), and D'Orville (Sicula, tom. ii, p. 174—202). The new city, restored by Augustus, shrank towards the island.

† Procopius (Vandal. l. 2, c. 14, 15) so clearly relates the return of Belisarius into Sicily (p. 146, edit. Hoeschelii), that I am astonished at the strange misapprehension and reproaches of a learned critic. (Œuvres de la Mothe le Vayer, tom. viii, p. 162, 163.)

sceptre by ingratitude and murder: at the first menace of an enemy, he degraded his own majesty, and that of a nation, which already disdained their unworthy sovereign. Astonished by the recent example of Gelimer, he saw himself dragged in chains through the streets of Constantinople; the terrors which Belisarius inspired were heightened by the eloquence of Peter, the Byzantine ambassador; and that bold and subtle advocate persuaded him to sign a treaty, too ignominious to become the foundation of a lasting peace. It was stipulated that in the acclamations of the Roman people, the name of the emperor should be always proclaimed before that of the Gothic king; and that as often as the statue of Theodatus was erected in brass or marble, the divine image of Justinian should be placed on its right hand. Instead of conferring, the king of Italy was reduced to solicit, the honours of the senate; and the consent of the emperor was made indispensable before he could execute, against a priest or senator, the sentence either of death or confiscation. The feeble monarch resigned the possession of Sicily; offered, as the annual mark of his dependence, a crown of gold, of the weight of three hundred pounds; and promised to supply, at the requisition of his sovereign, three thousand Gothic auxiliaries for the service of the empire. Satisfied with these extraordinary concessions, the successful agent of Justinian hastened his journey to Constantinople; but no sooner had he reached the Alban Villa,* than he was recalled by the anxiety of Theodatus; and the dialogue which passed between the king and the ambassador deserves to be represented in its original simplicity:—"Are you of opinion that the emperor will ratify this treaty?"—"Perhaps." "If he refuses, what consequence will ensue?"—"War." "Will such a war be just or reasonable?"—"Most assuredly: every one should act according to his character." "What is your meaning?"—"You are a philosopher, Justinian is emperor of the Romans: it would ill become the disciple of Plato to shed the blood of thousands

* The ancient Alba was ruined in the first age of Rome. On the same spot, or at least in the neighbourhood, successively arose, 1. The villa of Pompey, &c. 2. A camp of the prætorian cohorts. 3. The modern episcopal city of Albanum or Albano. (Procop. Goth. l. 2, c. 4. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii, p. 914.)

in his private quarrel: the successor of Augustus should vindicate his rights, and recover by arms the ancient provinces of his empire." This reasoning might not convince, but it was sufficient to alarm and subdue the weakness of Theodatus; and he soon descended to his last offer, that for the poor equivalent of a pension of 48,000*l.* sterling, he would resign the kingdom of the Goths and Italians, and spend the remainder of his days in the innocent pleasures of philosophy and agriculture. Both treaties were intrusted to the hands of the ambassador, on the frail security of an oath, not to produce the second till the first had been positively rejected. The event may be easily foreseen: Justinian required and accepted the abdication of the Gothic king. His indefatigable agent returned from Constantinople to Ravenna, with ample instructions; and a fair epistle, which praised the wisdom and generosity of the royal philosopher, granted his pension, with the assurance of such honours as a subject and a Catholic might enjoy; and wisely referred the final execution of the treaty to the presence and authority of Belisarius. But in the interval of suspense two Roman generals, who had entered the province of Dalmatia, were defeated and slain by the Gothic troops. From blind and abject despair, Theodatus capriciously rose to groundless and fatal presumption,* and dared to receive with menace and contempt the ambassador of Justinian; who claimed his promise, solicited the allegiance of his subjects, and boldly asserted the inviolable privilege of his own character. The march of Belisarius dispelled this visionary pride; and as the first campaign † was employed in the reduction of Sicily, the invasion of

* A Sibylline oracle was ready to pronounce—Africâ captâ *mundus* cum nato peribit; a sentence of portentous ambiguity (Gothic. l. 1, c. 7), which has been published in unknown characters by Opsopæus, an editor of the oracles. The Père Maltret has promised a commentary; but all his promises have been vain and fruitless.

† In his chronology, imitated in some degree from Thucydides, Procopius begins each spring the years of Justinian and of the Gothic war; and his first era coincides with the first of April, 535, and not 536, according to the Annals of Baronius. (Pagi Crit. tom. ii, p. 555, who is followed by Muratori and the editors of Sigonius.) Yet in some passages we are at a loss to reconcile the dates of Procopius with himself, and with the Chronicle of Marcellinus.

Italy is applied by Procopius to the second year of the Gothic war.*

After Belisarius had left sufficient garrisons in Palermo and Syracuse, he embarked his troops at Messina, and landed them, without resistance, on the opposite shores of Rhegium. A Gothic prince, who had married the daughter of Theodatus, was stationed with an army to guard the entrance of Italy; but he imitated, without scruple, the example of a sovereign, faithless to his public and private duties. The perfidious Ebermor deserted with his followers to the Roman camp, and was dismissed to enjoy the servile honours of the Byzantine court.† From Rhegium to Naples the fleet and army of Belisarius, almost always in view of each other, advanced near three hundred miles along the sea-coast. The people of Bruttium, Lucania, and Campania, who abhorred the name and religion of the Goths, embraced the specious excuse, that their ruined walls were incapable of defence; the soldiers paid a just equivalent for a plentiful market; and curiosity alone interrupted the peaceful occupations of the husbandman or artificer. Naples, which has swelled to a great and populous capital, long cherished the language and manners of a Grecian colony,‡ and the choice of Virgil had ennobled this elegant retreat, which attracted the lovers of repose and study, from the noise, the smoke, and the laborious opulence of Rome.§ As soon as the place was invested by sea and land, Beliarisus gave audience to the deputies of the people, who exhorted him to disregard a conquest unworthy of his arms, to seek the Gothic king in a field of battle, and, after

* The series of the first Gothic war is represented by Procopius (l. 1, c. 5—29; l. 2, c. 1--30; l. 3, c. 1) till the captivity of Vitiges. With the aid of Sigonius (Opp. tom. i, de Imp. Occident. l. 17, 18) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v.) I have gleaned some few additional facts.

† Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 60, p. 702, edit. Grot. and tom. i, p. 221. Muratori, de Success. Regn. p. 241.

‡ Nero (says Tacitus, Annal. 15. 35) Neapolim quasi Græcam urbem delegit. One hundred and fifty years afterwards, in the time of Septimius Severus, the *Hellenism* of the Neapolitans is praised by Philostratus: γένος Ἕλληνες καὶ ἀστυκοὶ, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς τῶν λόγων Ἑλληνίκοι εἰσι. (Icon. l. 1, p. 763, edit. Olear.)

§ The otium of Naples is praised by the Roman poets, by Virgil, Horace, Silius Italicus, and Statius. (Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 4, p. 1149, 1150.) In an elegant epistle (Sylv. l. 3. 5, p. 94—98, edit. Markland), Statius undertakes the difficult task of drawing his wife from the

his victory, to claim, as the sovereign of Rome, the allegiance of the dependent cities.—"When I treat with my enemies," replied the Roman chief, with a haughty smile, "I am more accustomed to give than to receive counsel: but I hold in one hand inevitable ruin, and in the other, peace and freedom, such as Sicily now enjoys." The impatience of delay urged him to grant the most liberal terms; his honour secured their performance; but Naples was divided into two factions; and the Greek democracy was inflamed by their orators, who, with much spirit and some truth, represented to the multitude that the Goths would punish their defection, and that Belisarius himself must esteem their loyalty and valour. Their deliberations, however, were not perfectly free: the city was commanded by eight hundred barbarians, whose wives and children were detained at Ravenna as the pledge of their fidelity; and even the Jews, who were rich and numerous, resisted, with desperate enthusiasm, the intolerant laws of Justinian. In a much later period, the circumference of Naples* measured only two thousand three hundred and sixty-three paces:† the fortifications were defended by precipices or the sea: when the aqueducts were intercepted, a supply of water might be drawn from wells and fountains; and the stock of provisions was sufficient to consume the patience of the besiegers. At the end of twenty days, that of Belisarius was almost exhausted, and he had reconciled himself to the disgrace of abandoning the siege, that he might march, before the winter season, against Rome and the Gothic king. But his anxiety was relieved by the bold curiosity of an Isaurian, who explored the dry channel of an aqueduct, and secretly reported that a passage might be perforated to introduce a file of armed soldiers into the heart of the city. When the work had been silently executed,

pleasures of Rome to that calm retreat. * This measure was taken by Roger I. after the conquest of Naples (A.D. 1139) which he made the capital of his new kingdom. (Giannone, Istoria Civile, tom. ii, p. 169.) That city, the third in Christian Europe, is now at least twelve miles in circumference (Jul. Cæsar. Capaccii Historia Neapol. l. 1, p. 47), and contains more inhabitants (three hundred and fifty thousand) in a given space, than any other spot in the known world. † Not geometrical, but common paces or steps, of twenty-two French inches (D'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8): the two thousand three hundred and sixty-three do not make an English

the humane general risked the discovery of his secret, by a last and fruitless admonition of the impending danger. In the darkness of the night four hundred Romans entered the aqueduct, raised themselves by a rope, which they fastened to an olive tree, into the house or garden of a solitary matron, sounded their trumpets, surprised the sentinels, and gave admittance to their companions, who on all sides scaled the walls and burst open the gates of the city. Every crime which is punished by social justice was practised as the rights of war; the Huns were distinguished by cruelty and sacrilege, and Belisarius alone appeared in the streets and churches of Naples, to moderate the calamities which he predicted. "The gold and silver," he repeatedly exclaimed, "are the just rewards of your valour. But spare the inhabitants, they are Christians, they are suppliants, they are now your fellow-subjects. Restore the children to their parents, the wives to their husbands; and shew them, by your generosity, of what friends they have obstinately deprived themselves." The city was saved by the virtue and authority of its conqueror,* and when the Neapolitans returned to their houses, they found some consolation in the secret enjoyment of their hidden treasures. The barbarian garrison enlisted in the service of the emperor; Apulia and Calabria, delivered from the odious presence of the Goths, acknowledged his dominion; and the tusks of the Calydonian boar, which were still shewn at Beneventum, are curiously described by the historian of Belisarius.†

The faithful soldiers and citizens of Naples had expected their deliverance from a prince, who remained the inactive and almost indifferent spectator of their ruin. Theodatus secured his person within the walls of Rome, while his cavalry advanced forty miles on the Appian way, and encamped in the Pomptine marshes; which, by a canal of nineteen miles in length, had been recently drained and

mile.

* Belisarius was reproved by pope Sylverius for the massacre. He repeopled Naples, and imported colonies of African captives into Sicily, Calabria, and Apulia. (Hist. Miscell. l. 16. in Muratori, tom. i, p. 106, 107.)

† Beneventum was built by Diomede, the nephew of Meleager. (Cluver. tom. ii, p. 1195, 1196.) The Calydonian hunt is a picture of savage life. (Ovid. Metamorph. l. 8.) Thirty or forty heroes were leagued against a hog: the brutes (not the hog) quarrelled with a lady for the head.

converted into excellent pastures.* But the principal forces of the Goths were dispersed in Dalmatia, Venetia, and Gaul; and the feeble mind of their king was confounded by the unsuccessful event of a divination, which seemed to presage the downfal of his empire.† The most abject slaves have arraigned the guilt, or weakness, of an unfortunate master. The character of Theodatus was rigorously scrutinized by a free and idle camp of barbarians, conscious of their privilege and power: he was declared unworthy of his race, his nation, and his throne; and their general Vitiges, whose valour had been signalized in the Illyrian war, was raised, with unanimous applause, on the bucklers of his companions. On the first rumour, the abdicated monarch fled from the justice of his country; but he was pursued by private revenge. A Goth, whom he had injured in his love, overtook Theodatus on the Flaminian way, and, regardless of his unmanly cries, slaughtered him, as he lay prostrate on the ground, like a victim (says the historian) at the foot of the altar. The choice of the people is the best and purest title to reign over them: yet such is the prejudice of every age, that Vitiges impatiently wished to return to Ravenna, where he might seize, with the reluctant hand of the daughter of Amalasontha, some faint shadow of hereditary right. A national council was immediately held, and the new monarch reconciled the impatient spirit of the barbarians to a measure of disgrace, which the misconduct of his prédecessor rendered wise and indispensable. The Goths consented to retreat in the presence of a victorious enemy: to delay till the next spring the operations of offensive war; to summon their scattered forces; to relinquish their distant possessions, and to trust even Rome itself to the faith of its inhabitants. Leuderis, an

* The *Decennovium* is strangely confounded by Cluverius (tom. ii, p. 1007) with the river Ufens. It was in truth a canal of nineteen miles, from Forum Appii to Terracina, on which Horace embarked in the night. The Decennovium, which is mentioned by Lucan, Dion Cassius, and Cassiodorus, has been successively ruined, restored, and obliterated. (D'Anville, Analyse de l'Italie, p. 185, &c.)

† A Jew gratified his contempt and hatred for *all* the Christians, by inclosing three bands, each of ten hogs, and discriminated by the names of Goths, Greeks, and Romans. Of the first, almost all were found dead—almost all of the second were alive—of the third, half died, and the rest lost their bristles. No unsuitable emblem of the event.

aged warrior, was left in the capital with four thousand soldiers; a feeble garrison, which might have seconded the zeal, though it was incapable of opposing the wishes, of the Romans. But a momentary enthusiasm of religion and patriotism was kindled in their minds. They furiously exclaimed, that the apostolic throne should no longer be profaned by the triumph or toleration of Arianism; that the tombs of the Cæsars should no longer be trampled by the savages of the north; and, without reflecting that Italy must sink into a province of Constantinople, they fondly hailed the restoration of a Roman emperor as a new era of freedom and prosperity. The deputies of the pope and clergy, of the senate and people, invited the lieutenant of Justinian to accept their voluntary allegiance, and to enter the city, whose gates would be thrown open for his reception. As soon as Belisarius had fortified his new conquests, Naples and Cumæ, he advanced about twenty miles to the banks of the Vulturnus, contemplated the decayed grandeur of Capua, and halted at the separation of the Latin and Appian ways. The work of the censor, after the incessant use of nine centuries, still preserved its primeval beauty, and not a flaw could be discovered in the large polished stones, of which that solid, though narrow road, was so firmly compacted.* Belisarius, however, preferred the Latin way, which, at a distance from the sea and marshes, skirted, in a space of one hundred and twenty miles, along the foot of the mountains. His enemies had disappeared: when he made his entrance through the Asinarian gate, the garrison departed without molestation along the Flaminian way; and the city, after sixty years' servitude, was delivered from the yoke of the barbarians. Leuderis alone, from a motive of pride or discontent, refused to accompany the fugitives; and the Gothic chief, himself a trophy of the victory, was sent with the keys of Rome to the throne of the emperor Justinian.†

* Bergier (Hist. des Grands Chemins des Romains, tom. i, p. 221—228. 440—444) examines the structure and materials, while D'Anville (Analyse d'Italie, p. 200—213) defines the geographical line.

† Of the first recovery of Rome, the *year* (536) is certain, from the series of events, rather than from the corrupt or interpolated text of Procopius: the *month* (December) is ascertained by Evagrius; (l. 4, c. 19) and the *day* (the *tenth*) may be admitted on the slight evidence of Nicephorus Callistus (l. 17, c. 13). For this accurate chronology,

The first days, which coincided with the old Saturnalia, were devoted to mutual congratulation and the public joy; and the Catholics prepared to celebrate, without a rival, the approaching festival of the nativity of Christ. In the familiar conversation of a hero, the Romans acquired some notion of the virtues which history ascribed to their ancestors; they were edified by the apparent respect of Belisarius for the successor of St. Peter, and his rigid discipline secured, in the midst of war, the blessings of tranquillity and justice. They applauded the rapid success of his arms, which overran the adjacent country, as far as Narni, Perusia, and Spoleto: but they trembled, the senate, the clergy, and the unwarlike people, as soon as they understood that he had resolved, and would speedily be reduced, to sustain a siege against the powers of the Gothic monarchy. The designs of Vitiges were executed, during the winter-season, with diligence and effect. From their rustic habitations, from their distant garrisons, the Goths assembled at Ravenna for the defence of their country; and such were their numbers, that after an army had been detached for the relief of Dalmatia, one hundred and fifty thousand fighting men marched under the royal standard. According to the degrees of rank or merit, the Gothic king distributed arms and horses, rich gifts, and liberal promises; he moved along the Flaminian way, declined the useless sieges of Perusia and Spoleto, respected the impregnable rock of Narni, and arrived within two miles of Rome, at the foot of the Milvian bridge. The narrow passage was fortified with a tower, and Belisarius had computed the value of the twenty days, which must be lost in the construction of another bridge. But the consternation of the soldiers of the tower, who either fled or deserted, disappointed his hopes, and betrayed his person into the most imminent danger. At the head of one thousand horse, the Roman general sallied from the Flaminian gate to mark the ground of an advantageous position, and to survey the camp of the barbarians; but while he still believed them on the other side of the Tiber, he was suddenly encompassed and assaulted by their innumerable squadrons. The fate of Italy depended on his life; and the

we are indebted to the diligence and judgment of Pagi (tom. ii, p. 559, 560.) [According to Clinton (F. R. i, 766), Belisarius entered Rome December 9. Pagi was misled by the Latin version of Evagrius.

deserters pointed to the conspicuous horse, a bay,* with a white face, which he rode on that memorable day. *Aim at the bay horse*, was the universal cry. Every bow was bent, every javelin was directed, against that fatal object, and the command was repeated and obeyed by thousands who were ignorant of its real motive. The bolder barbarians advanced to the more honourable combat of swords and spears; and the praise of an enemy has graced the fall of Visandus, the standard-bearer,† who maintained his foremost station, till he was pierced with thirteen wounds, perhaps by the hand of Belisarius himself. The Roman general was strong, active, and dexterous: on every side he discharged his weighty and mortal strokes: his faithful guards imitated his valour, and defended his person; and the Goths, after the loss of a thousand men, fled before the arms of a hero. They were rashly pursued to their camp; and the Romans, oppressed by multitudes, made a gradual, and at length a precipitate, retreat to the gates of the city; the gates were shut against the fugitives; and the public terror was increased, by the report that Belisarius was slain. His countenance was indeed disfigured by sweat, dust, and blood; his voice was hoarse, his strength was almost exhausted; but his unconquerable spirit still remained; he imparted that spirit to his desponding companions; and their last

—Ed.] * A horse of a bay or red colour was styled φάλιος by the Greeks, balan by the barbarians, and spadix by the Romans. Honesti spadices, says Virgil (Georgic. l. 3, 72, with the observations of Martin and Heyne). Σπαδὶξ or βαιον, signifies a branch of the palm-tree, whose name, φοινὶξ, is synonymous to *red*. (Aulus Gellius, 2. 26.) [The Greek Βαιον or Βαἰς, a palm-branch, was converted by the Romans into *Bagus* or *baius*, the term by which a horse of that colour was most commonly denoted in later times. See Ducange, 1. 930. This the Goths, or Procopius for them, must have corrupted into *balan*, if they used the word in his days.—Ed.]

† I interpret βανδαλάριος, not as a proper name, but an office, standard bearer, from *bandum* (vexillum), a barbaric word adopted by the Greeks and Romans. (Paul. Diacon. l. 1, c. 20, p. 760. Grot. Nomina Gothica, p. 575. Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. i, p. 539, 540.) [The word adopted by the Romans, according to Ducange (Gloss. 1. 974) was *bandus*, from the Gothic *band*, signifying "hominum turba, sub certo duce vel vexillo collecta." Hence the vexillum was called *banderia* or *banera*, which we have in the form of *banner*, and the standard-bearer was called *banderarius*. It is very likely that Procopius changed this into *bandularius*. In another of his histories (De Bell. Vand. 2. 10), he says that the Romans gave the designation of *bandophorus* to Rufinus, who was a *vexillifer*, or standard-bearer in

desperate charge was felt by the flying barbarians, as if a new army, vigorous and entire, had been poured from the city. The Flaminian gate was thrown open to a *real* triumph; but it was not before Belisarius had visited every post, and provided for the public safety, that he could be persuaded by his wife and friends, to taste the needful refreshments of food and sleep. In the more improved state of the art of war, a general is seldom required, or even permitted, to display the personal prowess of a soldier; and the example of Belisarius may be added to the rare examples of Henry IV. of Pyrrhus, and of Alexander.

After this first and unsuccessful trial of their enemies, the whole army of the Goths passed the Tiber, and formed the siege of the city, which continued above a year, till their final departure. Whatever fancy may conceive, the severe compass of the geographer defines the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces; and that circumference, except in the Vatican, has invariably been the same from the triumph of Aurelian to the peaceful but obscure reign of the modern popes.* But in the day of her greatness, the space within her walls was crowded with habitations and inhabitants; and the populous suburbs, that stretched along the public roads, were darted like so many rays from one common centre. Adversity swept away these extraneous ornaments, and left naked and desolate a considerable part even of the seven hills. Yet Rome, in its present state, could send into the field above thirty thousand males, of a military age;† and, notwithstanding the want of discipline and exercise, the far greater part, inured to the hardships of poverty, might be capable of bearing arms for the defence of their country and religion. The prudence of Belisarius did not neglect this important resource. His soldiers

the army sent against Gelimer.—ED.]

* M. d'Anville has given in the Memoirs of the Academy for the year 1756, (tom. xxx, p. 198—236,) a plan of Rome on a smaller scale, but far more accurate than that which he had delineated in 1738 for Rollin's history. Experience had improved his knowledge; and instead of Rossi's topography, he used the new and excellent map of Nolli. Pliny's old measure of thirteen must be reduced to eight miles. It is easier to alter a text, than to remove hills or buildings.

† In the year 1709, Labat (Voyages en Italie, tom. iii, p. 218, reckoned one hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and sixty-eight Christian souls, besides eight or ten thousand Jews—without souls? In the year 1763, the numbers exceeded one hundred and

were relieved by the zeal and diligence of the people, who watched while *they* slept, and laboured while *they* reposed; he accepted the voluntary service of the bravest and most indigent of the Roman youth; and the companies of townsmen sometimes represented, in a vacant post, the presence of the troops which had been drawn away to more essential duties. But his just confidence was placed in the veterans who had fought under his banner in the Persian and African wars; and although that gallant band was reduced to five thousand men, he undertook, with such contemptible numbers, to defend a circle of twelve miles, against an army of one hundred and fifty thousand barbarians. In the walls of Rome, which Belisarius constructed or restored, the materials of ancient architecture may be discerned;* and the whole fortification was completed, except in a chasm still extant between the Pincian and Flaminian gates, which the prejudices of the Goths and Romans left under the effectual guard of St. Peter the apostle.† The battlements or bastions were shaped in sharp angles; a ditch, broad and deep, protected the foot of the rampart; and the archers on the rampart were assisted by military engines—the *balista*, a powerful cross-bow, which darted short but massy arrows; the *onagri*, or wild asses, which, on the principle of a sling, threw stones and bullets of an enormous size.‡ A chain was drawn across the Tiber; the arches of the aqueducts were made impervious, and the mole or sepulchre of Hadrian § was converted, for the

sixty thousand. * The accurate eye of Nardini (Roma Antica, l. 1, c. 8, p. 31) could distinguish the tumultuarie opere di Belisario.

† The fissure and leaning in the upper part of the wall, which Procopius observed (Goth. l. 1, c. 13), is visible to the present hour. (Donat. Roma Vetus, l. 1, c. 17, p. 53, 54). ‡ Lipsius (Opp. tom. iii. Poliorcet. l. 3,) was ignorant of this clear and conspicuous passage of Procopius. (Goth. l. 1, c. 21.) The engine was named ὄναγρος, the wild ass, a calcitrando. (Hen. Steph. Thesaur. Linguæ Græc. tom. ii, p. 1340, 1341; tom. iii, p. 877.) I have seen an ingenious model, contrived and executed by General Melville, which imitates or surpasses the art of antiquity. § The description of this mausoleum, or mole, in Procopius, (l. 1, c. 25,) is the first and best. The height above the walls σχεδόντι ἐς λίθου βολήν. On Nolli's great plan, the sides measure two hundred and sixty English feet. ["There is no pile of building in earlier Rome," Niebuhr says, (Lectures 3. 235) "more colossal, than the *Moles Hadriani*, of which we know that the tower, with all its inscriptions, was certainly still in

first time, to the uses of a citadel. That venerable structure, which contained the ashes of the Antonines, was a circular turret rising from a quadrangular basis: it was covered with the white marble of Paros, and decorated by the statues of gods and heroes; and the lover of the arts must read with a sigh, that the works of Praxiteles or Lysippus were torn from their lofty pedestals, and hurled into the ditch on the heads of the besiegers.* To each of his lieutenants, Belisarius assigned the defence of a gate, with the wise and peremptory instruction, that, whatever might be the alarm, they should steadily adhere to their respective posts, and trust their general for the safety of Rome. The formidable host of the Goths was insufficient to embrace the ample measure of the city; of the fourteen gates, seven only were invested, from the Prænestine to the Flaminian way; and Vitiges divided his troops into six camps, each of which was fortified with a ditch and rampart. On the Tuscan side of the river, a seventh encampment was formed in the field or circus of the Vatican, for the important purpose of commanding the Milvian bridge and the course of the Tiber; but they approached with devotion the adjacent church of St. Peter; and the threshold of the holy apostles was respected during the siege by a Christian enemy. In the ages of victory, as often as the senate decreed some distant conquest, the consul denounced hostilities, by unbarring, in solemn pomp, the gates of the temple of Janus.† Domestic war now ren-

existence in the middle ages. Procopius tells us that the statue of the emperor was thrown down at the siege of Rome by the Goths. The destroyer did his worst; but the huge masses are still standing, so that it is now the largest building which has been left, and even in its shattered state is still noble." The *destroyer*, it must be observed here, was the Roman defender, not the Gothic besieger.—ED.]

* Praxiteles excelled in Fauns, and that of Athens was his own masterpiece. Rome now contains above thirty of the same character. When the ditch of St Angelo was cleansed under Urban VIII., the workmen found the Sleeping Faun of the Barberini palace: but a leg, a thigh, and the right arm, had been broken from that beautiful statue. (Winckelman, Hist. de l'Art, tom. ii, p. 52, 53; tom. iii, p. 265).

† Procopius has given the best description of the temple of Janus, a national deity of Latium. (Heyne, Excurs. 5 ad l. 7, Æneid.) It was once a gate in the primitive city of Romulus and Numa. (Nardini, p. 13. 256. 329.) Virgil has described the ancient rite, like a poet and an antiquarian. [In Niebuhr's Lectures (1. 187) the following ex-

dered the admonition superfluous, and the ceremony was superseded by the establishment of a new religion. But the brazen temple of Janus was left standing in the Forum; of a size sufficient only to contain the statue of the god, five cubits in height, of a human form, but with two faces, directed to the east and west. The double gates were likewise of brass; and a fruitless effort to turn them on their rusty hinges revealed the scandalous secret, that some Romans were still attached to the superstition of their ancestors.

Eighteen days were employed by the besiegers, to provide all the instruments of attack which antiquity had invented. Fascines were prepared to fill the ditches, scaling-ladders to ascend the walls. The largest trees of the forest supplied the timbers of four battering-rams; their heads were armed with iron; they were suspended by ropes, and each of them was worked by the labour of fifty men. The lofty wooden turrets moved on wheels or rollers, and formed a spacious platform of the level of the rampart. On the morning of the nineteenth day, a general attack was made from the Prænestine gate to the Vatican: seven Gothic columns, with their military engines, advanced to the assault; and the Romans, who lined the ramparts, listened with doubt and anxiety to the cheerful assurances of their commander. As soon as the enemy approached the ditch, Belisarius himself drew the first arrow; and such was his strength and dexterity, that he transfixed the foremost of the barbarian leaders. A shout of applause and victory was re-echoed along the wall. He drew a second arrow, and the stroke was followed with the same success and the same acclamation. The Roman general then gave the word,

planation of the ancient temple of Janus is given as the result of his researches. "Old Rome was situated on the Palatine—The Pomœrium of Romulus was surrounded, not by walls, but by a rampart and ditch. At that time there was, on the Quirinal and the Tarpeian rocks, the Sabine town which likewise had its Pomœrium. Between the two ramparts and ditches there was a road, the Via Sacra. On this stood the Janus Quirini, a gateway, which was *bifrons*, turned on one side toward the Roman, and on the other toward the Sabine, town, closed in time of peace, because it was not then wished that there should be any intercourse between the two cities; open in war, because they were bound by their league to give support to each other."—Ed.]

that the archers should aim at the teams of oxen; they were instantly covered with mortal wounds; the towers which they drew remained useless and immovable, and a single moment disconcerted the laborious projects of the king of the Goths. After this disappointment, Vitiges still continued, or feigned to continue, the assault of the Salarian gate, that he might divert the attention of his adversary, while his principal forces more strenuously attacked the Prænestine gate and the sepulchre of Hadrian, at the distance of three miles from each other. Near the former, the double walls of the Vivarium * were low or broken; the fortifications of the latter were feebly guarded: the vigour of the Goths was excited by the hope of victory and spoil; and if a single post had given way, the Romans, and Rome itself, were irrecoverably lost. This perilous day was the most glorious in the life of Belisarius. Amidst tumult and dismay, the whole plan of the attack and defence was distinctly present to his mind; he observed the changes of each instant, weighed every possible advantage, transported his person to the scenes of danger, and communicated his spirit in calm and decisive orders. The contest was fiercely maintained from the morning to the evening; the Goths were repulsed on all sides, and each Roman might boast that he had vanquished thirty barbarians, if the strange disproportion of numbers were not counterbalanced by the merit of one man. Thirty thousand Goths, according to the confession of their own chiefs, perished in this bloody action; and the multitude of the wounded was equal to that of the slain. When they advanced to the assault, their close disorder suffered not a javelin to fall without effect; and as they retired, the populace of the city joined the pursuit, and slaughtered, with impunity, the backs of their flying enemies. Belisarius instantly sallied from the gates; and while the soldiers chaunted his name and victory, the hostile engines of war were reduced to ashes. Such was the loss and consternation of the Goths, that, from this day, the siege of Rome degenerated into a tedious and indolent blockade; and they were incessantly harassed by the Roman general, who, in frequent skirmishes, destroyed above five

* *Vivarium* was an angle in the new wall, enclosed for wild beasts. (Procopius, Goth. l. 1, c. 23.) The spot is still visible in Nardini, (l. 4, c. 2, p. 159, 160,) and Nolli's great plan of Rome.

thousand of their bravest troops. Their cavalry was unpractised in the use of the bow; their archers served on foot; and this divided force was incapable of contending with their adversaries, whose lances and arrows, at a distance or at hand, were alike formidable. The consummate skill of Belisarius embraced the favourable opportunities: and as he chose the ground and the moment, as he pressed the charge, or sounded the retreat,* the squadrons which he detached were seldom unsuccessful. These partial advantages diffused an impatient ardour among the soldiers and people, who began to feel the hardships of a siege, and to disregard the dangers of a general engagement. Each plebeian conceived himself to be a hero, and the infantry, who, since the decay of discipline, were rejected from the line of battle, aspired to the ancient honours of the Roman legion. Belisarius praised the spirit of his troops, condemned their presumption, yielded to their clamours, and prepared the remedies of a defeat, the possibility of which he alone had courage to suspect. In the quarter of the Vatican, the Romans prevailed; and if the irreparable moments had not been wasted in the pillage of the camp, they might have occupied the Milvian bridge, and charged in the rear of the Gothic host. On the other side of the Tiber, Belisarius advanced from the Pincian and Salarian gates. But his army, four thousand soldiers perhaps, was lost in a spacious plain; they were encompassed and oppressed by fresh multitudes, who continually relieved the broken ranks of the barbarians. The valiant leaders of the infantry were unskilled to conquer: they died: the retreat (a hasty retreat) was covered by the prudence of the general, and the victors started back with affright from the formidable aspect of an armed rampart. The reputation of Belisarius was unsullied by a defeat; and the vain confidence of the Goths was not less serviceable to his designs, than the repentance and modesty of the Roman troops.

From the moment that Belisarius had determined to sustain a siege, his assiduous care provided Rome against the

* For the Roman trumpet and its various notes, consult Lipsius, de Militiâ Romanâ. (Opp. tom. iii, l. 4. Dialog. 10. p. 125—129.) A mode of distinguishing the *charge* by the horse-trumpet of solid brass, and the *retreat* by the foot-trumpet of leather and light wood, was recommended by Procopius, and adopted by Belisarius. (Goth. l. 2, c. 23.)

danger of famine, more dreadful than the Gothic arms. An extraordinary supply of corn was imported from Sicily; the harvests of Campania and Tuscany were forcibly swept for the use of the city: and the rights of private property were infringed by the strong plea of the public safety. It might easily be foreseen that the enemy would intercept the aqueducts; and the cessation of the watermills was the first inconvenience, which was speedily removed by mooring large vessels, and fixing mill-stones in the current of the river. The stream was soon embarrassed by the trunks of trees, and polluted with dead bodies; yet so effectual were the precautions of the Roman general, that the waters of the Tiber still continued to give motion to the mills and drink to the inhabitants; the more distant quarters were supplied from domestic wells; and a besieged city might support, without impatience, the privation of her public baths. A large portion of Rome, from the Prænestine gate to the church of St. Paul, was never invested by the Goths; their excursions were restrained by the activity of the Moorish troops; the navigation of the Tiber, and the Latin, Appian, and Ostian ways, were left free and unmolested for the introduction of corn and cattle, or the retreat of the inhabitants, who sought a refuge in Campania or Sicily. Anxious to relieve himself from a useless and devouring multitude, Belisarius issued his peremptory orders for the instant departure of the women, the children, and the slaves; required his soldiers to dismiss their male and female attendants, and regulated their allowance, that one moiety should be given in provisions, and the other in money. His foresight was justified by the increase of the public distress, as soon as the Goths had occupied two important posts in the neighbourhood of Rome. By the loss of the port, or, as it is now called, the city of Porto, he was deprived of the country on the right of the Tiber, and the best communication with the sea; and he reflected with grief and anger, that three hundred men, could he have spared such a feeble band, might have defended its impregnable works. Seven miles from the capital, between the Appian and the Latin ways, two principal aqueducts, crossing and again crossing each other, enclosed within their solid and lofty arches a fortified space,* where Vitiges established a camp of seven thousand

* Procopius (Goth. l. 2, c. 3,) has forgot to name these aqueducts:

Goths to intercept the convoys of Sicily and Campania. The granaries of Rome were insensibly exhausted, the adjacent country had been wasted with fire and sword; such scanty supplies as might yet be obtained by hasty excursions were the reward of valour and the purchase of wealth: the forage of the horses, and the bread of the soldiers, never failed; but in the last months of the siege, the people were exposed to the miseries of scarcity, unwholesome food,* and contagious disorders. Belisarius saw and pitied their sufferings; but he had foreseen, and he watched, the decay of their loyalty and the progress of their discontent. Adversity had awakened the Romans from the dreams of grandeur and freedom, and taught them the humiliating lesson, that it was of small moment to their real happiness, whether the name of their master was derived from the Gothic or the Latin language. The lieutenant of Justinian listened to their just complaints, but he rejected with disdain the idea of flight or capitulation; repressed their clamorous impatience for battle; amused them with the prospect of sure and speedy relief; and secured himself and the city from the effects of their despair or treachery. Twice in each month he changed the station of the officers to whom the custody of the gates was committed: the various precautions of patrols, watchwords, lights, and music, were repeatedly employed to discover whatever passed on the ramparts; out-guards were posted beyond the ditch, and the trusty vigilance of dogs supplied the more doubtful fidelity of mankind. A letter was intercepted, which assured the king of the Goths that the Asinarian gate, adjoining to the Lateran church, should be secretly opened to his troops. On the proof or suspicion of treason, several senators were banished, and the pope Sylverius was summoned to attend the representative of his sovereign, at

nor can such a double intersection, at such a distance from Rome, be clearly ascertained from the writings of Frontinus, Fabretti, and Eschinard, de Aquis and de Agro Romano, or from the local maps of Lameti and Cingolani. Seven or eight miles from the city (fifty stadia), on the road to Albano, between the Latin and Appian ways, I discern the remains of an aqueduct (probably the Septimian), a series (six hundred and thirty paces) of arches twenty-five feet high. (ὑψηλὼ ἐσ ἄγαν). * They made sausages, ἀλλᾶντας, of mule's flesh: unwholesome, if the animals had died of the plague. Otherwise the famous Bologna sausages are said to be made of ass's

his head-quarters in the Pincian palace.* The ecclesiastics who followed their bishop, were detained in the first or second apartment,† and he alone was admitted to the presence of Belisarius. The conqueror of Rome and Carthage was modestly seated at the feet of Antonina, who reclined on a stately couch: the general was silent, but the voice of reproach and menace issued from the mouth of his imperious wife. Accused by credible witnesses, and the evidence of his own subscription, the successor of St. Peter was despoiled of his pontifical ornaments, clad in the mean habit of a monk, and embarked, without delay, for a distant exile in the East. At the emperor's command, the clergy of Rome proceeded to the choice of a new bishop; and after a solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost, elected the deacon Vigilius, who had purchased the papal throne by a bribe of two hundred pounds of gold. The profit, and consequently the guilt, of this simony was imputed to Belisarius: but the hero obeyed the orders of his wife; Antonina served the passions of the empress; and Theodora lavished her treasures, in the vain hope of obtaining a pontiff hostile or indifferent to the council of Chalcedon.‡

The epistle of Belisarius to the emperor announced his victory, his danger, and his resolution. "According to your commands, we have entered the dominions of the Goths, and reduced to your obedience, Sicily, Campania, and the city of Rome: but the loss of these conquests will be more disgraceful than their acquisition was glorious. Hitherto we have successfully fought against the multitudes of the barbarians, but their multitudes may finally prevail. Victory is the gift of

flesh. (Voyages de Labat, tom. ii, p. 218). * The name of the palace, the hill, and the adjoining gate, were all derived from the senator Pincius. Some recent vestiges of temples and churches are now smoothed in the garden of the Minims of the Trinità del Monte. (Nardini, l. 4, c. 7, p. 196. Eschinard, p. 209, 210, the old plan of Buffalino, and the great plan of Nolli.) Belisarius had fixed his station between the *Pincian* and Salarian gates. (Procop. Goth. l. 1, c. 15).

† From the mention of the primum et secundum velum, it should seem that Belisarius, even in a siege, represented the emperor, and maintained the proud ceremonial of the Byzantine palace.

‡ Of this act of sacrilege, Procopius (Goth. l. 1, c. 25,) is a dry and reluctant witness. The narratives of Liberatus (Breviarium c. 22,) and Anastasius (de Vit. Pont. p. 39) are characteristic, but passionate. Hear the execrations of cardinal Baronius, (A.D. 536, No. 123; A.D. 538, No. 4—20): portentum, facinus omni execratione dignum.

Providence, but the reputation of kings and generals depends on the success or the failure of their designs. Permit me to speak with freedom: if you wish that we should live, send us subsistence; if you desire that we should conquer, send us arms, horses, and men. The Romans have received us as friends and deliverers; but in our present distress, they will be either betrayed by their confidence, or we shall be oppressed by their treachery and hatred. For myself, my life is consecrated to your service: it is yours to reflect whether my death in this situation will contribute to the glory and prosperity of your reign." Perhaps that reign would have been equally prosperous, if the peaceful master of the East had abstained from the conquest of Africa and Italy; but as Justinian was ambitious of fame, he made some efforts, they were feeble and languid, to support and rescue his victorious general. A reinforcement of sixteen hundred Sclavonians and Huns was led by Martin and Valerian; and as they had reposed during the winter season in the harbours of Greece, the strength of the men and horses was not impaired by the fatigues of a sea voyage; and they distinguished their valour in the first sally against the besiegers. About the time of the summer solstice, Euthalius landed at Terracina with large sums of money for the payment of the troops; he cautiously proceeded along the Appian way, and this convoy entered Rome through the gate Capena,* while Belisarius, on the other side, diverted the attention of the Goths by a vigorous and successful skirmish. These seasonable aids, the use and reputation of which were dexterously managed by the Roman general, revived the courage, or at least the hopes, of the soldiers and people. The historian Procopius was dispatched with an important commission to collect the troops and provisions which Campania could furnish, or Constantinople had sent; and the secretary of Belisarius was soon followed by Antonina herself,† who boldly traversed the posts of the

* The old Capena was removed by Aurelian to, or near, the modern gate of St. Sebastian. (see Nolli's plan.) That memorable spot has been consecrated by the Egerian grove, the memory of Numa, triumphal arches, the sepulchres of the Scipios, Metelli, &c.

† The expression of Procopius has an invidious cast—*τύχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς τὴν σφίσι ξυμβησομένην καραδοκεῖν.* (Goth. l. 2, c. 4.) Yet he is speaking of a woman.

enemy, and returned with the oriental succours to the relief of her husband and the besieged city. A fleet of three thousand Isaurians cast anchor in the bay of Naples, and afterwards at Ostia. Above two thousand horse, of whom a part were Thracians, landed at Tarentum; and, after the junction of five hundred soldiers of Campania, and a train of wagons laden with wine and flour, they directed their march, on the Appian way, from Capua to the neighbourhood of Rome. The forces that arrived by land and sea were united at the mouth of the Tiber. Antonina convened a council of war: it was resolved to surmount, with sails and oars, the adverse stream of the river; and the Goths were apprehensive of disturbing, by any rash hostilities, the negotiation to which Belisarius had craftily listened. They credulously believed that they saw no more than the vanguard of a fleet and army, which already covered the Ionian sea and the plains of Campania; and the illusion was supported by the haughty language of the Roman general, when he gave audience to the ambassadors of Vitiges. After a specious discourse to vindicate the justice of his cause, they declared that, for the sake of peace, they were disposed to renounce the possession of Sicily. "The emperor is not less generous," replied his lieutenant with a disdainful smile, "in return for a gift which you no longer possess, he presents you with an ancient province of the empire—he resigns to the Goths the sovereignty of the British island." Belisarius rejected with equal firmness and contempt the offer of a tribute; but he allowed the Gothic ambassadors to seek their fate from the mouth of Justinian himself; and consented, with seeming reluctance, to a truce of three months, from the winter solstice to the equinox of spring. Prudence might not safely trust either the oaths or hostages of the barbarians, but the conscious superiority of the Roman chief was expressed in the distribution of his troops. As soon as fear or hunger compelled the Goths to evacuate Alba, Porto, and Centumcellæ, their place was instantly supplied; the garrisons of Narni, Spoleto, and Perusia, were reinforced, and the seven camps of the besiegers were gradually encompassed with the calamities of a siege. The prayers and pilgrimage of Datius, bishop of Milan, were not without effect; and he obtained one thousand Thracians and Isaurians, to assist the revolt of Liguria against her

Arian tyrant. At the same time, John the Sanguinary,* the nephew of Vitalian, was detached with two thousand chosen horse, first to Alba on the Fucine lake, and afterwards to the frontiers of Picenum on the Hadriatic sea. "In that province (said Belisarius), the Goths have deposited their families and treasures, without a guard or suspicion of danger. Doubtless they will violate the truce; let them feel your presence, before they hear of your motions. Spare the Italians; suffer not any fortified places to remain hostile in your rear; and faithfully reserve the spoil for an equal and common partition. It would not be reasonable (he added, with a laugh), that whilst we are toiling to the destruction of the drones, our more fortunate brethren should rifle and enjoy the honey."

The whole nation of the Ostrogoths had been assembled for the attack, and was almost entirely consumed in the siege, of Rome. If any credit be due to an intelligent spectator, one-third at least of their enormous host was destroyed, in frequent and bloody combats under the walls of the city. The bad fame and pernicious qualities of the summer air might already be imputed to the decay of agriculture and population; and the evils of famine and pestilence were aggravated by their own licentiousness, and the unfriendly disposition of the country. While Vitiges struggled with his fortune; while he hesitated between shame and ruin; his retreat was hastened by domestic alarms. The king of the Goths was informed by trembling messengers, that John the Sanguinary spread the devastations of war from the Apennine to the Hadriatic; that the rich spoils and innumerable captives of Picenum were lodged in the fortifications of Rimini; and that this formidable chief had defeated his uncle, insulted his capital, and seduced, by secret correspondence, the fidelity of his wife, the imperious daughter of Amalasontha. Yet, before he retired, Vitiges made a last effort either to storm or to surprise the city. A secret passage was discovered in one of the aqueducts; two citizens of the Vatican were tempted by bribes to intoxicate the guards of the Aurelian gate; an attack was meditated on the walls beyond the Tiber in a place which was not fortified with towers; and the barbarians advanced with torches,

* Anastasius (p. 40,) has preserved this epithet of *Sanguinarius*, which might do honour to a tiger.

and scaling-ladders, to the assault of the Pincian gate. But every attempt was defeated by the intrepid vigilance of Belisarius and his band of veterans, who, in the most perilous moments, did not regret the absence of their companions; and the Goths, alike destitute of hope and subsistence, clamorously urged their departure, before the truce should expire, and the Roman cavalry should again be united. One year and nine days after the commencement of the siege, an army, so lately strong and triumphant, burnt their tents, and tumultuously repassed the Milvian bridge. They repassed not with impunity: their thronging multitudes, oppressed in a narrow passage, were driven headlong into the Tiber by their own fears and the pursuit of the enemy; and the Roman general, sallying from the Pincian gate, inflicted a severe and disgraceful wound on their retreat. The slow length of a sickly and desponding host was heavily dragged along the Flaminian way; from whence the barbarians were sometimes compelled to deviate, lest they should encounter the hostile garrisons that guarded the high road to Rimini and Ravenna. Yet so powerful was this flying army, that Vitiges spared ten thousand men for the defence of the cities which he was most solicitous to preserve, and detached his nephew Uraias, with an adequate force, for the chastisement of rebellious Milan. At the head of his principal army, he besieged Rimini, only thirty-three miles distant from the Gothic capital. A feeble rampart and a shallow ditch were maintained by the skill and valour of John the Sanguinary, who shared the danger and fatigue of the meanest soldier, and emulated, on a theatre less illustrious, the military virtues of his great commander. The towers and battering engines of the barbarians were rendered useless; their attacks were repulsed; and the tedious blockade, which reduced the garrison to the last extremity of hunger, afforded time for the union and march of the Roman forces. A fleet, which had surprised Ancona, sailed along the coast of the Hadriatic, to the relief of the besieged city. The eunuch Narses landed in Picenum with two thousand Heruli and five thousand of the bravest troops of the East. The rock of the Apennine was forced; ten thousand veterans moved round the foot of the mountains, under the command of Belisarius himself; and a new army, whose encampment blazed with innumerable lights, *appeared* to

advance along the Flaminian way. Overwhelmed with astonishment and despair, the Goths abandoned the siege of Rimini, their tents, their standards, and their leaders; and Vitiges, who gave or followed the example of flight, never halted till he found a shelter within the walls and morasses of Ravenna.

To these walls, and to some fortresses destitute of any mutual support, the Gothic monarchy was now reduced. The provinces of Italy had embraced the party of the emperor; and his army, gradually recruited to the number of twenty thousand men, must have achieved an easy and rapid conquest, if their invincible powers had not been weakened by the discord of the Roman chiefs. Before the end of the siege, an act of blood, ambiguous and indiscreet, sullied the fair fame of Belisarius. Presidius, a loyal Italian, as he fled from Ravenna to Rome, was rudely stopped by Constantine, the military governor of Spoleto, and despoiled, even in a church, of two daggers richly inlaid with gold and precious stones. As soon as the public danger had subsided, Presidius complained of the loss and injury: his complaint was heard, but the order of restitution was disobeyed by the pride and avarice of the offender. Exasperated by the delay, Presidius boldly arrested the general's horse as he passed through the Forum; and, with the spirit of a citizen, demanded the common benefit of the Roman laws. The honour of Belisarius was engaged; he summoned a council; claimed the obedience of his subordinate officer; and was provoked, by an insolent reply, to call hastily for the presence of his guards. Constantine viewing their entrance as the signal of death, drew his sword, and rushed on the general, who nimbly eluded the stroke, and was protected by his friends; while the desperate assassin was disarmed, dragged into a neighbouring chamber, and executed, or rather murdered by the guards, at the arbitary command of Belisarius.* In this hasty act of violence, the guilt of Constantine was no longer remembered; the despair and death of that valiant officer

* This transaction is related in the public history (Goth. l. 2, c. 8) with candour or caution; in the Anecdotes (c. 7,) with malevolence or freedom; but Marcellinus, or rather his continuator, (in Chron.) casts a shade of premeditated assassination over the death of Constantine. He had performed good service at Rome and Spoleto, (Procop. Goth. l. 1, c. 7. 14): but Alemannus confounds him with a

were secretly imputed to the revenge of Antonina; and each of his colleagues, conscious of the same rapine, was apprehensive of the same fate. The fear of a common enemy suspended the effects of their envy and discontent: but in the confidence of approaching victory, they instigated a powerful rival to oppose the conqueror of Rome and Africa. From the domestic service of the palace, and the administration of the private revenue, Narses the eunuch was suddenly exalted to the head of an army; and the spirit of a hero, who afterwards equalled the merit and glory of Belisarius, served only to perplex the operations of the Gothic war. To his prudent counsels, the relief of Rimini was ascribed by the leaders of the discontented faction, who exhorted Narses to assume an independent and separate command. The epistle of Justinian had indeed enjoined his obedience to the general; but the dangerous exception, *as far as may be advantageous to the public service*, reserved some freedom of judgment to the discreet favourite, who had so lately departed from the *sacred* and familiar conversation of his sovereign. In the exercise of this doubtful right, the eunuch perpetually dissented from the opinions of Belisarius; and, after yielding with reluctance to the siege of Urbino, he deserted his colleague in the night, and marched away to the conquest of the Æmilian province. The fierce and formidable bands of the Heruli were attached to the person of Narses;* ten thousand Romans and confederates were persuaded to march under his banners; every malecontent embraced the fair opportunity of revenging his private or imaginary wrongs; and the remaining troops of Belisarius were divided and dispersed from the garrisons of Sicily to the shores of the

Constantianus comes stabuli.

* They refused to serve after his departure; sold their captives and cattle to the Goths; and swore never to fight against them. Procopius introduces a curious digression on the manners and adventures of this wandering nation, a part of whom finally emigrated to Thule or Scandinavia. (Goth. l. 2, c. 14, 15.) [In this digression, Procopius has mixed up so much fable and romance, that, as a history of the Heruli, it is untrustworthy. Of their origin he can only say, that they came from beyond the Danube. In their actual adventures, there is nothing that may not have occurred to *condottieri* bands, as they are supposed to have been (ch. 39), and before we can believe their emigration to Thule, we must be convinced of the existence of this wonderful island ten times larger than Britain. Procopius swells his narrative with marvellous accounts of it, which make his credulity on other subjects the more suspicious.—ED.]

Hadriatic. His skill and perseverance overcame every obstacle: Urbino was taken; the sieges of Fæsulæ, Orvieto, and Auximum, were undertaken and vigorously prosecuted; and the eunuch Narses was at length recalled to the domestic cares of the palace. All dissensions were healed, and all opposition was subdued, by the temperate authority of the Roman general, to whom his enemies could not refuse their esteem; and Belisarius inculcated the salutary lesson, that the forces of the State should compose one body, and be animated by one soul. But, in the interval of discord, the Goths were permitted to breathe; an important season was lost, Milan was destroyed, and the northern provinces of Italy were afflicted by an inundation of the Franks.

When Justinian first meditated the conquest of Italy, he sent ambassadors to the kings of the Franks, and adjured them, by the common ties of alliance and religion, to join in the holy enterprise against the Arians. The Goths, as their wants were more urgent, employed a more effectual mode of persuasion, and vainly strove, by the gift of lands and money, to purchase the friendship, or at least the neutrality, of a light and perfidious nation.* But the arms of Belisarius, and the revolt of the Italians, had no sooner shaken the Gothic monarchy, than Theodebert of Austrasia, the most powerful and warlike of the Merovingian kings, was persuaded to succour their distress by an indirect and seasonable aid. Without expecting the consent of their sovereign, ten thousand Burgundians, his recent subjects, descended from the Alps, and joined the troops which Vitiges had sent to chastise the revolt of Milan. After an obstinate siege, the capital of Liguria was reduced by famine, but no capitulation could be obtained, except for the safe retreat of the Roman garrison. Datius, the orthodox bishop, who had seduced his countrymen to rebellion † and ruin, escaped to the luxury and honours of the Byzantine court,‡ but the clergy, perhaps the Arian clergy,

* The national reproach of perfidy (Procop. Goth. l. 2, c. 25) offends the ear of la Mothe le Vayer, tom. viii, p. 163—165,) who criticises, as if he had not read, the Greek historian. † Baronius applauds his treason, and justifies the Catholic bishops—qui ne sub heretico principe degant omnem lapidem movent—a useful caution. The more rational Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 54) hints at the guilt of perjury, and blames at least the *imprudence* of Datius.

‡ St. Datius was more successful against devils than against bar-

were slaughtered at the foot of their own altars by the defenders of the Catholic faith. Three hundred thousand males were *reported* to be slain;* the female sex, and the more precious spoil, was resigned to the Burgundians; and the houses, or at least the walls of Milan, were levelled with the ground. The Goths, in their last moments, were revenged by the destruction of a city second only to Rome in size and opulence, in the splendour of its buildings, or the number of its inhabitants; and Belisarius sympathized alone in the fate of his deserted and devoted friends. Encouraged by this successful inroad, Theodebert himself, in the ensuing spring, invaded the plains of Italy with an army of one hundred thousand barbarians.† The king, and some chosen followers, were mounted on horseback, and armed with lances; the infantry, without bows or spears, were satisfied with a shield, a sword, and a double-edged battle-axe, which, in their hands, became a deadly and unerring weapon. Italy trembled at the march of the Franks; and both the Gothic prince and the Roman general, alike ignorant of their designs, solicited, with hope and terror, the friendship of these dangerous allies. Till he had secured the passage of the Po on the bridge of Pavia, the grandson of Clovis dissembled his intentions, which he at length declared, by assaulting, almost at the same instant, the hostile camps of the Romans and Goths. Instead of unit-

barians. He travelled with a numerous retinue, and occupied at Corinth a large house. (Baronius, A. D. 538, No. 89; A. D. 539, No. 20).

* Μυριάδες τριάκοντα. (compare Procopius, Goth. l. 2, c. 7. 21). Yet such population is incredible; and the second or third city of Italy need not repine if we only decimate numbers of the present text. Both Milan and Genoa revived in less than thirty years. (Paul. Diacon. de Gestis Langobard. l. 2, c. 38.) [This note ought to shake our faith in ancient historians, when they state numbers, or tell us the extent of victory or disaster.—ED.]

† Besides Procopius, perhaps too Roman, see the Chronicles of Marius and Marcellinus, Jornandes, (in success. Regn. in Muratori, tom. i, p. 241), and Gregory of Tours (l. 3, c. 32, in tom. ii, of the Historians of France). Gregory supposes a defeat of Belisarius, who, in Aimoin, (de Gestis Franc. l. 2, c. 23, in tom. iii, p. 59,) is slain by the Franks. The author of the De Gestis Francorum, was a Benedictine monk, of the abbey of Fleury on the Loire, born at Villefranche in the Perigord. After his death, his history was continued, and the first part interpolated, by some anonymous scribe. The whole work is full of inaccuracies and blunders, many of which have been exposed by Pasquier

ing their arms, they fled with equal precipitation; and the fertile, though desolate, provinces of Liguria and Æmilia, were abandoned to a licentious host of barbarians, whose rage was not mitigated by any thoughts of settlement or conquest. Among the cities which they ruined, Genoa, not yet constructed of marble, is particularly enumerated: and the deaths of thousands, according to the regular practice of war, appear to have excited less horror than some idolatrous sacrifices of women and children, which were performed with impunity in the camp of the most Christian king. If it were not a melancholy truth, that the first and most cruel sufferings must be the lot of the innocent and helpless, history might exult in the misery of the conquerors, who, in the midst of riches, were left destitute of bread or wine, reduced to drink the waters of the Po, and to feed on the flesh of distempered cattle. The dysentery swept away one-third of their army; and the clamours of his subjects, who were impatient to pass the Alps, disposed Theodebert to listen with respect to the mild exhortations of Belisarius. The memory of this inglorious and destructive warfare was perpetuated on the medals of Gaul: and Justinian, without unsheathing his sword, assumed the title of conqueror of the Franks. The Merovingian prince was offended by the vanity of the emperor; he affected to pity the fallen fortunes of the Goths; and his insidious offer of a federal union was fortified by the promise or menace of descending from the Alps at the head of five hundred thousand men. His plans of conquest were boundless, and perhaps chimerical. The king of Austrasia threatened to chastise Justinian, and to march to the gates of Constantinople:* he was overthrown and slain † by a wild bull ‡ as he hunted in the Belgic or German forests.

As soon as Belisarius was delivered from his foreign and

in his Recherches (liv. 5, c. 27), and by Le Comte (Annal. An. 654, n. 25—27.—Ed.]

* Agathias, l. 1, p. 14, 15. Could he have seduced or subdued the Gepidæ or Lombards of Pannonia, the Greek historian is confident that he must have been destroyed in Thrace.

† The king pointed his spear—the bull overturned a tree on his head—he expired the same day. Such is the story of Agathias; but the original historians of France (tom. ii, p. 202. 403. 558. 667.) impute his death to a fever.

‡ Without losing myself in a labyrinth of species and names—the aurochs, urus, bisons, bubalus, bonasus,

domestic enemies, he seriously applied his forces to the final reduction of Italy. In the siege of Osimo, the general was nearly transpierced with an arrow, if the mortal stroke had not been intercepted by one of his guards, who lost, in that pious office, the use of his hand. The Goths of Osimo, four thousand warriors, with those of Fæsulæ and the Cottian Alps, were among the last who maintained their independence; and their gallant resistance, which almost tired the patience, deserved the esteem of the conqueror. His prudence refused to subscribe the safe conduct which they asked, to join their brethren of Ravenna; but they saved, by an honourable capitulation, one moiety at least of their wealth, with the free alternative of retiring peaceably to their estates, or enlisting to serve the emperor in his Persian wars. The multitudes which yet adhered to the standard of Vitiges far surpassed the number of the Roman troops; but neither prayers, nor defiance, nor the extreme danger of his most faithful subjects, could tempt the Gothic king beyond the fortifications of Ravenna. These fortifications were, indeed, impregnable to the assaults of art or violence; and when Belisarius invested the capital he was soon convinced that famine only could tame the stubborn spirit of the barbarians. The sea, the land, and the channels of the Po, were guarded by the vigilance of the Roman general; and his morality extended the rights of war to the practice of poisoning the waters,* and secretly firing the granaries † of a besieged city.‡ While he pressed

buffalo, &c. (Buffon, Hist. Nat. tom. xi, and Supplement, tom. iii. vi,) it is certain, that in the sixth century a large wild species of horned cattle was hunted in the great forests of the Vosges in Lorraine, and the Ardennes. (Greg. Turon. tom. ii, l. 10, c. 10, p. 369.)

* In the siege of Auximum, he first laboured to demolish an old aqueduct, and then cast into the stream, 1. dead bodies: 2. mischievous herbs: and 3, quicklime, which is named (says Procopius, l. 2, c. 29,) τίτανος by the ancients: by the moderns ἄσβεστος. Yet both words are used as synonymous in Galen, Dioscorides, and Lucian. (Hen. Steph. Thesaur. Ling. Græc. tom. iii, p. 748.)

† The Goths suspected Mathasuintha as an accomplice in the mischief, which perhaps was occasioned by accidental lightning.

‡ In strict philosophy, a limitation of the rights of war seems to imply nonsense and contradiction. Grotius himself is lost in an idle disinction between the jus naturæ and the jus gentium, between poison and infection. He balances in one scale the passages of Homer (Odyss.

the blockade of Ravenna, he was surprised by the arrival of two ambassadors from Constantinople, with a treaty of peace, which Justinian had imprudently signed, without deigning to consult the author of his victory. By this disgraceful and precarious agreement, Italy and the Gothic treasure were divided, and the provinces beyond the Po were left with the regal title to the successor of Theodoric. The ambassadors were eager to accomplish their salutary commission; the captive Vitiges accepted, with transport, the unexpected offer of a crown; honour was less prevalent among the Goths than the want and appetite of food; and the Roman chiefs, who murmured at the continuance of the war, professed implicit submission to the commands of the emperor. If Belisarius had possessed only the courage of a soldier, the laurel would have been snatched from his hand by timid and envious counsels; but, in this decisive moment, he resolved, with the magnanimity of a statesman, to sustain alone the danger and merit of generous disobedience. Each of his officers gave a written opinion, that the siege of Ravenna was impracticable and hopeless: the general then rejected the treaty of partition, and declared his own resolution of leading Vitiges in chains to the feet of Justinian. The Goths retired with doubt and dismay: this peremptory refusal deprived them of the only signature which they could trust, and filled their minds with a just apprehension, that a sagacious enemy had discovered the full extent of their deplorable state. They compared the fame and fortune of Belisarius with the weakness of their ill-fated king; and the comparison suggested an extraordinary project, to which Vitiges, with apparent resignation, was compelled to acquiesce. Partition would ruin the strength, exile would disgrace the honour, of the nation; but they offered their arms, their treasures, and the fortifications of Ravenna, if Belisarius would disclaim the authority of a master, accept the choice of the Goths, and assume, as he had deserved, the kingdom

A. 259, &c.) and Florus (l. 2, c. 20, No. 7, ult.); and in the other, the examples of Solon (Pausanias, l. 10, c. 37) and Belisarius. See his great work De Jure Belli et Pacis, l. 3, c. 4, s. 15—17, and in Barbeyrac's version, tom. ii, p. 257, &c. Yet I can understand the benefit and validity of an agreement, tacit or express, mutually to abstain from certain modes of hostility. See the Amphictyonic oath in Eschines, de Falsâ Legatione.

of Italy. If the false lustre of a diadem could have tempted the loyalty of a faithful subject, his prudence must have foreseen the inconstancy of the barbarians, and his rational ambition would prefer the safe and honourable station of a Roman general. Even the patience and seeming satisfaction with which he entertained a proposal of treason, might be susceptible of a malignant interpretation. But the lieutenant of Justinian was conscious of his own rectitude: he entered into a dark and crooked path, as it might lead to the voluntary submission of the Goths; and his dexterous policy persuaded them that he was disposed to comply with their wishes, without engaging an oath or a promise for the performance of a treaty which he secretly abhorred. The day of the surrender of Ravenna was stipulated by the Gothic ambassadors: a fleet, laden with provisions, sailed as a welcome guest into the deepest recess of the harbour: the gates were opened to the fancied king of Italy; and Belisarius, without meeting an enemy, triumphantly marched through the streets of an impregnable city.* The Romans were astonished by their success; the multitudes of tall and robust barbarians were confounded by the image of their own patience; and the masculine females, spitting in the faces of their sons and husbands, most bitterly reproached them for betraying their dominion and freedom to these pigmies of the south, contemptible in their numbers, diminutive in their stature. Before the Goths could recover from their first surprise, and claim the accomplishment of their doubtful hopes, the victor established his power in Ravenna, beyond the danger of repentance and revolt. Vitiges, who perhaps had attempted to escape, was honourably guarded in his palace;† the flower of the Gothic

* Ravenna was taken, not in the year 540, but in the latter end of 539; and Pagi (tom. ii, p. 569) is rectified by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v, p. 62), who proves, from an original act on papyrus, (Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii, dissert. 32, p. 999—1007. Maffei, Istoria Diplomat. p. 155—160,) that before the 3d of January, 540, peace and free correspondence were restored between Ravenna and Faenza.

† He was seized by John the Sanguinary, but an oath or sacrament was pledged for his safety in the Basilica Julii. (Hist. Miscell. l. 17, in Muratori, tom. i, p. 107.) Anastasius (in Vit. Pont. p. 40,) gives a dark but probable account. Montfaucon is quoted by Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, 12, 21) for a votive shield representing the captivity of Vitiges, and now in the collection of Signor Landi at Rome.

youth was selected for the service of the emperor; the remainder of the people was dismissed to their peaceful habitations in the southern provinces; and a colony of Italians was invited to replenish the depopulated city. The submission of the capital was imitated in the towns and villages of Italy, which had not been subdued, or even visited, by the Romans; and the independent Goths, who remained in arms at Pavia and Verona, were ambitious only to become the subjects of Belisarius. But his inflexible loyalty rejected, except as the substitute of Justinian, their oaths of allegiance; and he was not offended by the reproach of their deputies, that he rather chose to be a slave than a king.

After the second victory of Belisarius, envy again whispered, Justinian listened, and the hero was recalled. "The remnant of the Gothic war was no longer worthy of his presence: a gracious sovereign was impatient to reward his services, and to consult his wisdom: and he alone was capable of defending the East against the innumerable armies of Persia." Belisarius understood the suspicion, accepted the excuse, embarked at Ravenna his spoils and trophies; and proved, by his ready obedience, that such an abrupt removal from the government of Italy was not less unjust than it might have been indiscreet. The emperor received, with honourable courtesy, both Vitiges and his more noble consort: and as the king of the Goths conformed to the Athanasian faith, he obtained with a rich inheritance of lands in Asia, the rank of senator and patrician.* Every spectator admired, without peril, the strength and stature of the young barbarians: they adored the majesty of the throne, and promised to shed their blood in the service of their benefactor. Justinian deposited in the Byzantine palace the treasures of the Gothic monarchy. A flattering senate was sometimes admitted to gaze on the magnificent spectacle; but it was enviously secluded from the public view; and the conqueror of Italy renounced, without a murmur, perhaps without a sigh, the well-earned honours of a second triumph. His glory was indeed ex-

* Vitiges lived two years at Constantinople, and, imperatoris in affectu *convictus* (or conjunctus) rebus excessit humanis. His widow, *Mathasuintha*, the wife and mother of the patricians, the elder and younger Germanus, united the streams of Anician and Amali blood.

alted above all external pomp; and the faint and hollow praises of the court were supplied, even in a servile age, by the respect and admiration of his country. Whenever he appeared in the streets and public places of Constantinople, Belisarius attracted and satisfied the eyes of the people. His lofty stature and majestic countenance fulfilled their expectations of a hero; the meanest of his fellow-citizens were emboldened by his gentle and gracious demeanour; and the martial train which attended his foosteps left his person more accessible than in a day of battle. Seven thousand horsemen, matchless for beauty and valour, were maintained in the service, and at the private expense, of the general.* Their prowess was always conspicuous in single combats, or in the foremost ranks; and both parties confessed, that in the siege of Rome, the guards of Belisarius had alone vanquished the barbarian host. Their numbers were continually augmented by the bravest and most faithful of the enemy; and his fortunate captives, the Vandals, the Moors, and the Goths, emulated the attachment of his domestic followers. By the union of liberality and justice, he acquired the love of the soldiers, without alienating the affections of the people. The sick and wounded were relieved with medicines and money; and still more efficaciously, by the healing visits and smiles of their commander. The loss of a weapon or a horse was instantly repaired, and each deed of valour was rewarded by the rich and honourable gifts of a bracelet or a collar, which were rendered more precious by the judgment of Belisarius. He was endeared to the husbandmen, by the peace and plenty which they enjoyed under the shadow of his standard. Instead of being injured, the country was enriched by the march of the Roman armies; and such was the rigid discipline of their camp, that not an apple was gathered from the tree, not a path could be traced in the fields of corn. Belisarius was chaste and sober. In the license of a military life, none could boast that they had

(Jornandes, c. 60, p. 221, in Muratori, tom. i.) * Procopius, Goth. l. 3, c. 1. Aimoin, a French monk of the eleventh century, who had obtained, and has disfigured, some authentic information of Belisarius, mentions, in his name, twelve thousand *pueri* or slaves— quos propriis alimus stipendiis—besides eighteen thousand soldiers. (Historians of France, tom. iii. De Gestis Franc. l. 2, c. 6, p. 48.)

seen him intoxicated with wine: the most beautiful captives of Gothic or Vandal race were offered to his embraces; but he turned aside from their charms, and the husband of Antonina was never suspected of violating the laws of conjugal fidelity. The spectator and historian of his exploits has observed, that amidst the perils of war, he was daring without rashness, prudent without fear, slow or rapid according to the exigencies of the moment; that in the deepest distress he was animated by real or apparent hope, but that he was modest and humble in the most prosperous fortune. By these virtues, he equalled or excelled the ancient masters of the military art. Victory, by sea and land, attended his arms, He subdued Africa, Italy, and the adjacent islands; led away captives the successors of Genseric and Theodoric; filled Constantinople with the spoils of their palaces, and in the space of six years recovered half the provinces of the Western empire. In his fame and merit, in wealth and power, he remained without a rival, the first of the Roman subjects: the voice of envy could only magnify his dangerous importance; and the emperor might applaud his own discerning spirit which had discovered and raised the genius of Belisarius.

It was the custom of the Roman triumphs, that a slave should be placed behind the chariot to remind the conqueror of the instability of fortune, and the infirmities of human nature. Procopius, in his Anecdotes, has assumed that servile and ungrateful office. The generous reader may cast away the libel, but the evidence of facts will adhere to his memory; and he will reluctantly confess, that the fame, and even the virtue, of Belisarius, were polluted by the lust and cruelty of his wife; and that the hero deserved an appellation which may not drop from the pen of the decent historian. The mother of Antonina * was a theatrical prostitute, and both her father and grandfather exercised at Thessalonica and Constantinople the vile, though lucrative, profession of charioteers. In the various situations of their fortune, she became the companion, the enemy, the servant, and the favourite of the

* The diligence of Alemannus could add but little to the four first and most curious chapters of the Anecdotes. Of these strange Anecdotes, a part may be true, because probable—and a part true, because improbable. Procopius must have known the former, and the latter

empress Theodora; these loose and ambitious females had been connected by similar pleasures; they were separated by the jealousy of vice, and at length reconciled by the partnership of guilt. Before her marriage with Belisarius, Antonina had one husband and many lovers; Photius, the son of her former nuptials, was of an age to distinguish himself at the siege of Naples; and it was not till the autumn of her age and beauty * that she indulged a scandalous attachment to a Thracian youth. Theodosius had been educated in the Eunomian heresy; the African voyage was consecrated by the baptism and auspicious name of the first soldier who embarked; and the proselyte was adopted into the family of his spiritual parents,† Belisarius and Antonina. Before they touched the shores of Africa, this holy kindred degenerated into sensual love; and as Antonina soon overleaped the bounds of modesty and caution, the Roman general was alone ignorant of his own dishonour. During their residence at Carthage, he surprised the two lovers in a subterraneous chamber, solitary, warm, and almost naked. Anger flashed from his eyes. "With the help of this young man (said the unblushing Antonina), I was secreting our most precious effects from the knowledge of Justinian." The youth resumed his garments, and the pious husband consented to disbelieve the evidence of his own senses. From this pleasing and perhaps voluntary delusion, Belisarius was awakened at Syracuse, by the officious information of Macedonia: and that female attendant, after requiring an oath for her security, produced two chamberlains, who, like herself, had often beheld the adulteries of Antonina. A hasty flight into Asia saved Theodosius from the justice of an injured husband, who had signified to one of his guards the order of his death; but the tears of Antonina, and her artful seductions, assured the credulous hero of her innocence; and he stooped, against his faith and judgment, to abandon those imprudent friends who had presumed to accuse or doubt the chastity of his

he could scarcely *invent*.

* Procopius insinuates (Anecdot. c. 4) that, when Belisarius returned to Italy, (A.D. 543) Antonina was sixty years of age. A forced, but more polite construction, which refers that date to the moment when he was writing (A.D. 559), would be compatible with the manhood of Photius (Gothic. l. 1, c. 10.) in 536.

† Compare the Vandalic War (l. 1, c. 12,) with the Anecdotes (c. 1), and Alemannus (p. 2, 3). This mode of baptismal adoption was

wife. The revenge of a guilty woman is implacable and bloody: the unfortunate Macedonia, with the two witnesses, were secretly arrested by the minister of her cruelty: their tongues were cut out, their bodies were hacked into small pieces, and their remains were cast into the sea of Syracuse. A rash, though judicious saying of Constantine, "I would sooner have punished the adultress than the boy," was deeply remembered by Antonina: and two years afterwards, when despair had armed that officer against his general, her sanguinary advice decided and hastened his execution. Even the indignation of Photius was not forgiven by his mother: the exile of her son prepared the recall of her lover; and Theodosius condescended to accept the pressing and humble invitation of the conqueror of Italy. In the absolute direction of his household, and the important commissions of peace and war,* the favourite youth most rapidly acquired a fortune of four hundred thousand pounds sterling; and, after their return to Constantinople, the passion of Antonina, at least, continued ardent and unabated. But fear, devotion, and lassitude, perhaps, inspired Theodosius with more serious thoughts. He dreaded the busy scandal of the capital, and the indiscreet fondness of the wife of Belisarius; escaped from her embraces, and, retiring to Ephesus, shaved his head, and took refuge in the sanctuary of a monastic life. The despair of the new Ariadne could scarcely have been excused by the death of her husband. She wept, she tore her hair, she filled the palace with her cries; "she had lost the dearest of friends, a tender, a faithful, a laborious friend!" But her warm entreaties, fortified by the prayers of Belisarius, were insufficient to draw the holy monk from the solitude of Ephesus. It was not till the general moved forward for the Persian war, that Theodosius could be tempted to return to Constantinople; and the short interval before the departure of Antonina herself was boldly devoted to love and pleasure.

A philosopher may pity and forgive the infirmities of female nature, from which he receives no real injury; but

revived by Leo the philosopher. Photius arrested the pope. (Liberat. Brev. c. 22. Pagi, tom. ii. 562.)

* In November, 537, About the end of 539, Belisarius sent Theodosius—*τὸν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐφίστωτα*—on an important and lucrative commission to Ra-

contemptible is the husband who feels, and yet endures, his own infamy in that of his wife. Antonina pursued her son with implacable hatred; and the gallant Photius* was exposed to her secret persecutions in the camp beyond the Tigris. Enraged by his own wrongs, and by the dishonour of his blood, he cast away in his turn the sentiments of nature, and revealed to Belisarius the turpitude of a woman who had violated all the duties of a mother and a wife. From the surprise and indignation of the Roman general, his former credulity appears to have been sincere: he embraced the knees of the son of Antonina, adjured him to remember his obligations rather than his birth, and confirmed at the altar their holy vows of revenge and mutual defence. The dominion of Antonina was impaired by absence; and when she met her husband, on his return from the Persian confines, Belisarius, in his first and transient emotions, confined her person, and threatened her life. Photius was more resolved to punish, and less prompt to pardon: he flew to Ephesus; extorted from a trusty eunuch of his mother the full confession of her guilt; arrested Theodosius and his treasures in the church of St. John the apostle, and concealed his captives, whose execution was only delayed, in a secure and sequestered fortress of Cilicia. Such a daring outrage against public justice could not pass with impunity; and the cause of Antonina was espoused by the empress, whose favour she had deserved by the recent services of the disgrace of a prefect, and the exile and murder of a pope. At the end of the campaign, Belisarius was recalled; he complied as usual, with the imperial mandate. His mind was not prepared for rebellion; his obedience, however adverse to the dictates of honour, was consonant to the wishes of his heart; and when he embraced his wife, at the command, and perhaps in the presence, of the empress, the tender husband was disposed to forgive or to be forgiven. The bounty of Theodora reserved for her companion a more precious favour. "I have found (she said), my dearest patrician, a pearl of inestimable value; it has not yet been viewed by any mortal eye; but the sight and the possession of this jewel are destined for my

venna. (Goth. l. 2, c. 18.)

* Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 204) styles him *Photinus*, the son-in-law of Belisarius; and he is copied by the Historia Miscella and Anastasius.

friend." As soon as the curiosity and impatience of Antonina were kindled, the door of a bedchamber was thrown open, and she beheld her lover, whom the diligence of the eunuchs had discovered in his secret prison. Her silent wonder burst into passionate exclamations of gratitude and joy, and she named Theodora her queen, her benefactress, and her saviour. The monk of Ephesus was nourished in the palace with luxury and ambition; but, instead of assuming, as he was promised, the command of the Roman armies, Theodosius expired in the first fatigues of an amorous interview. The grief of Antonina could only be assuaged by the sufferings of her son. A youth of consular rank, and a sickly constitution, was punished, without a trial, like a malefactor and a slave: yet such was the constancy of his mind, that Photius sustained the tortures of the scourge and the rack, without violating the faith which he had sworn to Belisarius. After this fruitless cruelty, the son of Antonina, while his mother feasted with the empress, was buried in her subterraneous prisons, which admitted not the distinction of night and day. He twice escaped to the most venerable sanctuaries of Constantinople, the churches of St. Sophia and of the Virgin: but his tyrants were insensible of religion as of pity; and the helpless youth, amidst the clamours of the clergy and people, was twice dragged from the altar to the dungeon. His third attempt was more successful. At the end of three years, the prophet Zachariah, or some mortal friend, indicated the means of an escape; he eluded the spies and guards of the empress, reached the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem, embraced the profession of a monk; and the abbot Photius was employed, after the death of Justinian, to reconcile and regulate the churches of Egypt. The son of Antonina suffered all that an enemy can inflict: her patient husband imposed on himself the more exquisite misery of violating his promise and deserting his friend.

In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius was again sent against the Persians; he saved the East, but he offended Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself. The malady of Justinian had countenanced the rumour of his death; and the Roman general, on the supposition of that probable event, spoke the free language of a citizen and a soldier. His colleague Buzes, who concurred in the same sentiments,

lost his rank, his liberty, and his health, by the persecution of the empress: but the disgrace of Belisarius was alleviated by the dignity of his own character, and the influence of his wife, who might wish to humble, but could not desire to ruin, the partner of her fortunes. Even his removal was coloured by the assurance, that the sinking state of Italy would be retrieved by the single presence of its conqueror. But no sooner had he returned, alone and defenceless, than a hostile commission was sent to the East, to seize his treasures and criminate his actions: the guards and veterans, who followed his private banner, were distributed among the chiefs of the army, and even the eunuchs presumed to cast lots for the partition of his martial domestics. When he passed with a small and sordid retinue through the streets of Constantinople, his forlorn appearance excited the amazement and compassion of the people. Justinian and Theodora received him with cold ingratitude; the servile crowd with insolence and contempt; and in the evening he retired with trembling steps to his deserted palace. An indisposition, feigned or real, had confined Antonina to her apartment; and she walked disdainfully silent in the adjacent portico, while Belisarius threw himself on his bed, and expected, in an agony of grief and terror, the death which he had so often braved under the walls of Rome. Long after sunset a messenger was announced from the empress; he opened with anxious curiosity the letter which contained the sentence of his fate. "You cannot be ignorant how much you have deserved my displeasure. I am not insensible of the services of Antonina. To her merits and intercession I have granted your life, and permit you to retain a part of your treasures, which might be justly forfeited to the state. Let your gratitude where it is due, be displayed, not in words, but in your future behaviour." I know not how to believe or to relate the transports with which the hero is said to have received this ignominious pardon. He fell prostrate before his wife, he kissed the feet of his saviour, and he devoutly promised to live the grateful and submissive slave of Antonina. A fine of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling was levied on the fortunes of Belisarius; and with the office of count, or master of the royal stables, he accepted the conduct of the Italian war. At his departure from Con-

stantinople, his friends, and even the public, were persuaded that as soon as he regained his freedom, he would renounce his dissimulation; and that his wife, Theodora, and perhaps the emperor himself, would be sacrificed to the just revenge of a virtuous rebel. Their hopes were deceived; and the unconquerable patience and loyalty of Belisarius appear either *below* or *above* the character of a MAN.*

CHAPTER XLII.

CHAPTER XLII.—STATE OF THE BARBARIC WORLD.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LOMBARDS ON THE DANUBE.—TRIBES AND INROADS OF THE SCLAVONIANS.—ORIGIN, EMPIRE, AND EMBASSIES OF THE TURKS.—THE FLIGHT OF THE AVARS.—CHOSROES I. OR NUSHIRVAN, KING OF PERSIA.—HIS PROSPEROUS REIGN AND WARS WITH THE ROMANS.—THE COLCHIAN OR LAZIC WAR.—THE ÆTHIOPIANS.

OUR estimate of personal merit is relative to the common faculties of mankind. The aspiring efforts of genius or virtue, either in active or speculative life, are measured, not so much by their real elevation, as by the height to which they ascend above the level of their age or country; and the same stature, which in a people of giants would pass unnoticed, must appear conspicuous in a race of pigmies. Leonidas, and his three hundred companions, devoted their lives at Thermopylæ; but the education of the infant, the boy, and the man, had prepared, and almost ensured, this memorable sacrifice; and each Spartan would approve, rather than admire, an act of duty, of which himself and eight thousand of his fellow-citizens were equally capable.† The great Pompey might inscribe on his trophies, that he had defeated in battle two millions of enemies, and reduced

* The continuator of the chronicle of Marcellinus gives, in a few decent words, the substance of the Anecdotes.—Belisarius de Oriente evocatus, in offensam periculumque incurrens grave, et invidiæ subjacens, rursus remittitur in Italiam. (p. 54.)

† It will be a pleasure, not a task, to read Herodotus (l. 7, c. 104. 134, p. 550. 615). The conversation of Xerxes and Demaratus at Thermopylæ, is one of the most interesting and moral scenes in history. It was the torture of the royal Spartan to behold, with anguish and remorse, the virtue

fifteen hundred cities from the lake Mæotis to the Red Sea;* but the fortune of Rome flew before his eagles; the nations were oppressed by their own fears, and the invincible legions which he commanded had been formed by the habits of conquest, and the discipline of ages. In this view, the character of Belisarius may be deservedly placed above the heroes of the ancient republics. His imperfections flowed from the contagion of the times; his virtues were his own, the free gift of nature or reflection; he raised himself without a master or a rival; and so inadequate were the arms committed to his hand, that his sole advantage was derived from the pride and presumption of his adversaries. Under his command, the subjects of Justinian often deserved to be called Romans: but the unwarlike appellation of Greeks was imposed as a term of reproach by the haughty Goths; who affected to blush, that they must dispute the kingdom of Italy with a nation of tragedians, pantomimes, and pirates.† The climate of Asia has indeed been found less congenial than that of Europe, to military spirit: those populous countries were enervated by luxury, despotism, and superstition; and the monks were more expensive and more numerous than the soldiers of the East. The regular force of the empire had once amounted to six hundred and forty-five thousand men: it was reduced, in the time of Justinian, to one hundred and fifty thousand; and this number, large as it may seem, was thinly scattered over the sea and land; in Spain and Italy, in Africa and Egypt, on the banks of the Danube, the coast of the Euxine, and the frontiers of Persia. The citizen was exhausted, yet the soldier was unpaid; his poverty was mischievously soothed by the privilege of rapine and indolence; and the tardy payments were detained and intercepted by the fraud of those agents who usurp, without courage or danger, the emoluments of war. Public and private distress recruited the armies of the state; but in the field, and still more in the presence of the enemy, their numbers were always defec-

of his country.

* See this proud inscription in Pliny. (Hist. Natur. 7. 27.) Few men have more exquisitely tasted of glory and disgrace: nor could Juvenal (Satir. 10,) produce a more striking example of the vicissitudes of fortune, and the vanity of human wishes.

† Γραικοὺς ἐξ ὧν τὰ πρότερα οὐδένα ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἥκοντα εἶδον, ὅτι μὴ τραγῳδοὺς, καὶ ναύτας λωποδύτας. This last epithet of Procopius is too nobly translated by pirates; naval thieves is the proper words:

tive. The want of national spirit was supplied by the precarious faith and disorderly service of barbarian mercenaries. Even military honour, which has often survived the loss of virtue and freedom, was almost totally extinct. The generals, who were multiplied beyond the example of former times, laboured only to prevent the success, or to sully the reputation, of their colleagues; and they had been taught by experience, that if merit sometimes provoked the jealousy, error or even guilt would obtain the indulgence, of a gracious emperor.* In such an age the triumphs of Belisarius, and afterwards of Narses, shine with incomparable lustre; but they are encompassed with the darkest shades of disgrace and calamity. While the lieutenant of Justinian subdued the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals, the emperor,† timid, though ambitious, balanced the forces of the barbarians, fomented their divisions by flattery and falsehood, and invited by his patience and liberality the repetition of injuries.‡ The keys of Carthage, Rome, and Ravenna, were presented to their conqueror, while Antioch was destroyed by the Persians, and Justinian trembled for the safety of Constantinople.

Even the Gothic victories of Belisarius were prejudicial to the state, since they abolished the important barrier of the Upper Danube, which had been so faithfully guarded by Theodoric and his daughter. For the defence of Italy, the Goths evacuated Pannonia and Noricum, which they left in a peaceful and flourishing condition: the sovereignty was claimed by the emperor of the Romans: the actual possession was abandoned to the boldness of the first invader. On the opposite banks of the Danube, the plains of Upper Hungary and the Transylvanian hills were possessed, since the death of Attila, by the tribes of the Gepidæ, who respected the Gothic arms, and despised, not indeed the gold of the Romans, but the secret motive of their annual subsidies. The vacant fortifications of the river were in-

strippers of garments, either for injury or insult. (Demosthenes contra Conon., in Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. ii, p. 1264.)

* See the third and fourth books of the Gothic war: the writer of the Anecdotes cannot aggravate these abuses. † Agathias, l. 5, p. 157, 158. He confines this weakness of the emperor and the empire to the old age of Justinian; but, alas! he was never young.

‡ This mischievous policy which Procopius (Anecdot. c. 19) imputes to the emperor, is revealed in his epistle to a Scythian prince

stantly occupied by these barbarians: their standards were planted on the walls of Sirmium and Belgrade; and the ironical tone of their apology aggravated this insult on the majesty of the empire. "So extensive, O Cæsar, are your dominions; so numerous are your cities; that you are continually seeking for nations to whom, either in peace or war, you may relinquish these useless possessions. The Gepidæ are your brave and faithful allies; and if they have anticipated your gifts, they have shown a just confidence in your bounty." Their presumption was excused by the mode of revenge which Justinian embraced. Instead of asserting the rights of a sovereign for the protection of his subjects, the emperor invited a strange people to invade and possess the Roman provinces between the Danube and the Alps; and the ambition of the Gepidæ was checked by the rising power and fame of the Lombards.* This corrupt appellation

who was capable of understanding it. *Ἄγαν προμηθῆ καὶ ἀγχινούστατον*, says Agathias. (l. 5, p. 170, 171.)

* Gens Germanâ feritate ferocior, says Velleius Paterculus of the Lombards (2. 106). Langobardos paucitas nobilitat. Plurimis ac valentissimis nationibus cincti non per obsequium sed præliis et periclitando tuti sunt. (Tacit. de Moribus German. c. 40.) See likewise Strabo (l. 7, p. 446). The best geographers place them beyond the Elbe, in the bishopric of Magdeburgh and the middle march of Brandenburgh; and their situation will agree with the patriotic remark of the count de Hertzburg, that most of the barbarian conquerors issued from the same countries which still produce the armies of Prussia. [Easy submission to authority long accepted the derivation of the name of Longobardi from the length of their beards. A more judicious criticism has of late deduced it from the long-handled battle-axe, which armed them. (See Latham's Germania of Tacitus, p. 139.) *Barthe*, from *baerja, bären*, to strike, was an ancient German term for a hatchet or axe. (See Adelung, Wörterbuch, 1. 659. 2. 1095. 3. 971.) *Lange barthen* were, therefore, long axes, which, in reduced dimensions have descended to later times as *halberds*. The patronymic given to the bearers of these, exercised the ingenuity of Leibnitz, in his Brunswick Antiquities, Von Ludwig, in his Life of Justinian, Spangenberg, and many others. Their Scandinavian origin was added by Paulus Diaconus to the numerous fables of the age respecting a trans-Baltic nursery of nations. It has been doubted by many writers, whether they were at first a distinct tribe, or only differently armed sections of others, for some have found them among Sueves, Vandals, Herulians, Goths, and even Saxons. Tacitus (Germ. 40) having only heard the name, might mistake it for that of a people. No early abode has been satisfactorily ascertained for them. When they at last united into one body, and made their way

has been diffused in the thirteenth century by the merchants and bankers, the Italian posterity of these savage warriors: but the original name of *Langobards* is expressive only of the peculiar length and fashion of their beards. I am not disposed either to question or to justify their Scandinavian origin;* nor to pursue the migrations of the Lombards through unknown regions and marvellous adventures. About the time of Augustus and Trajan, a ray of historic light breaks on the darkness of their antiquities, and they are discovered, for the first time, between the Elbe and the Oder. Fierce beyond the example of the Germans, they delighted to propagate the tremendous belief, that their heads were formed like the heads of dogs, and that they drank the blood of their enemies whom they vanquished in battle. The smallness of their numbers was recruited by the adoption of their bravest slaves; and alone, amidst their powerful neighbours, they defended by arms their high-spirited independence. In the tempest of the north, which overwhelmed so many names and nations, this little bark of the Lombards still floated on the surface: they gradually descended towards the south and the Danube: and at the end of four hundred years they again appear with their ancient valour and renown. Their manners were not less ferocious. The assassination of a royal guest was executed in the presence, and by the command, of the king's daughter, who had been provoked by some words of insult, and disappointed by his diminutive stature; and a tribute, the price of blood, was imposed on the Lombards, by his brother, the king of the Heruli. Adversity revived a sense of moderation and justice, and the insolence of conquest was chastised by the signal defeat and irreparable dispersion of the Heruli,

southward, they had to fight for a passage through the intermediate tracts, the occupiers of which first attempted to arrest their progress and then joined in their enterprise. Thus when Alboin entered Italy, he was the leader, not only of his own Langebarthen, but also of a mixed band of Suevi, Pannonians, Noricians, and even Bulgarians. Niebuhr (Lectures, 3. 230. 287) supposed the Juthungi, who never appear but in the time of Gallienus, to have been the "reigning dynasty of the Lombards." But this name was only another form of the Gruthungi or Guthungi, for whom see vol. iii, p. 203.—Ed.]

* The Scandinavian origin of the Goths and Lombards, as stated by Paul Warnefrid, surnamed the Deacon, is attacked by Cluverius, (Germania Antiq. l. 3, c. 23, p. 102, &c.) a native of Prussia, and

who were seated in the southern provinces of Poland.* The victories of the Lombards recommended them to the friendship of the emperors; and at the solicitation of Justinian, they passed the Danube, to reduce, according to their treaty, the cities of Noricum and the fortresses of Pannonia. But the spirit of rapine soon tempted them beyond these ample limits; they wandered along the coast of the Hadriatic as far as Dyrrachium, and presumed, with familiar rudeness, to enter the towns and houses of their Roman allies, and to seize the captives who had escaped from their audacious hands. These acts of hostility, the sallies, as it might be pretended, of some loose adventurers, were disowned by the nation, and excused by the emperor; but the arms of the Lombards were more seriously engaged by a contest of thirty years, which was terminated only by the extirpation of the Gepidæ. The hostile nations often pleaded their cause before the throne of Constantinople; and the crafty Justinian, to whom the barbarians were almost equally odious, pronounced a partial and ambiguous sentence, and dexterously protracted the war by slow and ineffectual succours. Their strength was formidable, since the Lombards, who sent into the field several *myriads* of soldiers, still claimed, as the weaker side, the protection of the Romans. Their spirit was intrepid; yet such is the uncertainty of courage, that the two armies were suddenly struck with a panic: they fled from each other, and the rival kings remained with their guards in the midst of an empty plain. A short truce was obtained; but their mutual resentment again kindled; and the remembrance of their shame rendered the next encounter more desperate and bloody. Forty thousand of the barbarians perished in the decisive battle, which broke the power of the Gepidæ, transferred the fears and wishes of Justinian, and first displayed the character of Alboin, the youthful prince of the Lombards, and the future conqueror of Italy:†

defended by Grotius (Prolegom. ad Hist. Goth. p. 28, &c.) the Swedish ambassador. * Two facts in the narrative of Paul. Diaconus (l. 1, c. 20) are expressive of national manners. 1. Dum *ad tabulam* luderet—while he played at draughts. 2. Camporum viridantia *lina*. The cultivation of flax supposes property, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. † I have used, without undertaking to reconcile, the facts in Procopius (Goth. l. 2, c. 14; l. 3, c. 33, 34; l. 4

The wild people who dwelt or wandered in the plains of Russia, Lithuania, and Poland, might be reduced, in the age of Justinian, under the two great families of the BULGARIANS * and the SCLAVONIANS. According to the Greek

c. 18. 25), Paul Diaconus (de Gestis Langobard. l. 1, c. 1—23, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i, p. 405—419), and Jornandes (de Success. Regnorum, p. 242). The patient reader may draw some light from Mascou (Hist. of the Germans, and Annotat. 23) and De Buat. (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. ix—xi.)

* I adopt the appellation of Bulgarians, from Ennodius, (in Panegyr. Theodorici, Opp. Sirmond. tom. i, p. 1598, 1599) Jornandes, (de Rebus Geticis, c. 5, p. 194, et de Regn. Successione, p. 242) Theophanes, (p. 185) and the Chronicles of Cassiodorus and Marcellinus. The name of Huns is too vague; the tribes of the Cutturgurians and Utturgurians are too minute and too harsh. ["The Bulgarians, according to the Byzantine writers, were a branch of the Ongri. (Thunmann, History of Eastern Europe, p. 36.) But they more nearly resemble the Turks (Engel. Hist. Germ. xxix, 252. 298). Their name was undoubtedly derived from the river near which they dwelt. Great Bulgaria, their original seat, was watered by the Wolga. Near Kasan, the remains of their capital are seen. They afterwards took up their abode on the Kuban and then on the Danube, where, about the year 500, they subjugated the Slavonic Servians, who had established themselves on the Lower Danube. Overcome in their turn by the Avars, they regained their independence in 635. Their empire then comprehended the Cutturguri, a remnant of the Huns, near the Palus Mœotis. Danubian Bulgaria, a dismembered portion of this large state, was long formidable to the Byzantine empire." Malte Brun, i, 35.—GUIZOT.] [To this it should be added that the third European stem-race were the Slaven or Sclavonians (see vol. i, p. 271—273), whom the Greeks called Sauromatæ, and the Romans Sarmatæ. In their own language, their name denotes *the Renowned.* Of this race the Bulgarians were a division or tribe. Schlözer admits this (Nordische Geschichte, l. 240), and says that the ancient people of this name were Turks. So long as the power of Rome kept the Gothic nations back, the Slaven were also fixed in their positions about the Wolga and the Caspian Sea, extending towards the Carpathian mountains and the Vistula. But as room was made for them, they advanced gradually farther into Europe. The extent of country over which they spread, is indicated by still-existing names. Sclavonia, to the south of Hungary, now confined to the district within the Danube, the Save and the Drave, once included all Croatia, Dalmatia, Romania, Servia, and Bulgaria. On the shores of the Baltic and the banks of the Niemen, the tracts around Memel and Tilsit are called Schlauen or Sclavonien. Considerable territories in the northern and eastern parts of Germany were also possessed by them. They had three main divisions, the Wenden, Anten, and Czechen, who were again subdivided into minor sections. The Bulgarians were among them. They came from the neighbourhood of

writers, the former, who touched the Euxine and the lake of Mæotis, derived from the Huns their name or descent; and it is needless to renew the simple and well-known picture of Tartar manners. They were bold and dexterous archers, who drank the milk, and feasted on the flesh, of their fleet and indefatigable horses; whose flocks and herds followed, or rather guided, the motions of their roving camps; to whose inroads no country was remote or impervious, and who were practised in flight, though incapable of fear. The nation was divided into two powerful and hostile tribes, who pursued each other with fraternal hatred. They eagerly disputed the friendship or rather the gifts of the emperor; and the distinction which nature had fixed between the faithful dog and the rapacious wolf, was applied by an ambassador who received only verbal instructions from the mouth of his illiterate prince.* The Bulgarians, of whatsoever species, were equally attracted by Roman wealth: they assumed a vague dominion over the Sclavonian name, and their rapid marches could only be stopped by the Baltic sea, or the extreme cold and poverty of the north. But the same race of Sclavonians appears to have maintained, in every age, the possession of the same countries. Their numerous tribes, however distant or adverse, used one common language (it was harsh and irregular), and were known by the resemblance of their form, which deviated from the swarthy Tartar, and approached without attaining, the lofty stature and fair complexion of the German. Four thousand six hundred villlages† were scattered over the provinces of

Kasan, in Asiatic Russia, where the ruins and inscriptions found in the village of Bolgharu, attest their long ancient residence. (Ersch and Gruber, 14. 2.) The name of the Wolga is most probably derived from them. This river had only been heard of as the Rha by Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela and Ammianus Marcellinus, as quoted by Cellarius (2. 755), who admits, however, that the Romans knew little of what existed north of the Caspian sea. It was called Edel by the Tartars, and Thamar by the Armenians. The Bulgarians had appeared long before it was known by the name of Wolga.—ED.]

* Procopius. (Goth. l. 4, c. 19.) His verbal message (he owns himself an illiterate barbarian) is delivered as an epistle. The style is savage, figurative, and original.

† This sum is the result of a particular list, in a curious MS. fragment of the year 550, found in the library of Milan. The obscure geography of the times provokes and exercises the patience of the count de Buat (tom. xi, p. 69—189). The French minister often loses himself in a wilderness which requires

Russia and Poland, and their huts were hastily built of rough timber, in a country deficient both in stone and iron. Erected, or rather concealed, in the depth of forests, on the banks of rivers, or the edge of morasses, we may, not perhaps without flattery, compare them to the architecture of the beaver; which they resembled in a double issue to the land and water, for the escape of the savage inhabitants, an animal less cleanly less diligent, and less social, than that marvellous quadruped. The fertility of the soil, rather than the labour of the natives, supplied the rustic plenty of the Sclavonians. Their sheep and horned cattle were large and numerous, and the fields which they sowed with millet and panic,* afforded in the place of bread, a coarse and less nutritive food. The incessant rapine of their neighbours compelled them to bury this treasure in the earth; but on the appearance of a stranger, it was freely imparted, by a people whose unfavourable character is qualified by the epithets of chaste, patient, and hospitable. As their supreme god, they adored an invisible master of the thunder. The rivers and the nymphs obtained their subordinate honours, and the popular worship was expressed in vows and sacrifice. The Sclavonians disdained to obey a despot, a prince, or even a magistrate; but their experience was too narrow, their passions too headstrong, to compose a system of equal law or general defence. Some voluntary respect was yielded to age and valour; but each tribe or village existed as a separate republic, and all must be persuaded where none could be compelled. They fought on foot, almost naked, and, except an unwieldy shield, without any defensive armour: their weapons of offence were a bow, a quiver of small poisoned arrows, and a long rope, which they dexter-

a Saxon and Polish guide.

* *Panicum, milium.* See Columella, l. 2, c. 9, p. 430, edit. Gesner. Plin. Hist. Natur. 18. 24, 25. The Sarmatians made a pap of millet, mingled with mare's milk or blood. In the wealth of modern husbandry, our millet feeds poultry, and not heroes. See the dictionaries of Bomare and Miller. [Millet and panic were not the peculiar food of the Bulgarians, but were commonly used in ancient times. The latter, especially, is said by Pliny (18. 25) to have been preferred by the people of Pontus to any other kind of sustenance; and to have been largely consumed in Aquitanian Gaul; to the south of the Po also, it was eaten by the Italians, mixed with beans. Husbandmen were forbidden to sow both these grains among vines or fruit-trees, because they exhausted the soil. The modern Germans introduce millet into soups, but it is not a nutritious

ously threw from a distance, and entangled their enemy in a running noose. In the field the Sclavonian infantry was dangerous by their speed, agility, and hardiness: they swam, they dived, they remained under water, drawing their breath through a hollow cane; and a river or lake was often the scene of their unsuspected ambuscade. But these were the achievements of spies and stragglers; the military art was unknown to the Sclavonians; their name was obscure, and their conquests were inglorious.*

I have marked the faint and general outline of the Sclavonians and Bulgarians, without attempting to define their intermediate boundaries, which were not accurately known, or respected, by the barbarians themselves. Their importance was measured by their vicinity to the empire; and the level country of Moldavia and Walachia was occupied by the Antes,† a Sclavonian tribe, which swelled the titles of Justinian with an epithet of conquest.‡ Against the Antes he erected the fortifications of the Lower Danube; and laboured to secure the alliance of a people seated in the direct channel of northern inundation, an interval of two hundred miles between the mountains of Transylvania and the Euxine sea. But the Antes wanted power and inclination to stem the fury of the torrent: and the light-armed Sclavonians, from a hundred tribes, pursued with almost equal speed the footsteps of the Bulgarian horse. The payment of one piece of gold for each soldier, procured a safe and easy retreat through the country of the Gepidæ, who

viand.—ED.]

* For the name and nation, the situation and manners, of the Sclavonians, see the original evidence of the sixth century, in Procopius (Goth. l. 2, c. 26; l. 3, c. 14), and the emperor Mauritius or Maurice. (Stratagemat. l. 2, c. 5, apud Mascou, Annotat. 31.) The Stratagems of Maurice have been printed, only, as I understand, at the end of Scheffer's edition of Arrian's Tactics, at Upsal, 1664 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. 4, c. 8, tom. iii, p. 278), a scarce and hitherto, to me, an inaccessible book.

† Antes eorum fortissimi . . . Taysis qui rapidus et vorticosus in Histri fluenta furens devolvitur. (Jornandes, c. 5, p. 194, edit. Murator. Procopius, Goth. l. 3, c. 14, et de Edific. l. 4, c. 7.) Yet the same Procopius mentions the Goths and Huns as neighbours, γειτονοῦντα, to the Danube. (De Edific. l. 4,c. 1.) [Procopius here may have been right, for there were still Goths not expelled from Mœsia, and Huns on the northern side of the Danube.—ED.]

‡ The national title of *Anticus*, in the laws and inscriptions of Justinian, was adopted by his successors, and is justified by the pious

commanded the passage of the Upper Danube.* The hopes or fears of the barbarians; their intestine union or discord; the accident of a frozen or shallow stream; the prospect of harvest or vintage; the prosperity or distress of the Romans; were the causes which produced the uniform repetition of annual visits,† tedious in the narrative, and destructive in the event. The same year, and possibly the same month, in which Ravenna surrendered, was marked by an invasion of the Huns or Bulgarians, so dreadful, that it almost effaced the memory of their past inroads. They spread from the suburbs of Constantinople to the Ionian Gulf, destroyed thirty-two cities or castles, erased Potidæa, which Athens had built and Philip had besieged, and repassed the Danube, dragging at their horses' heels one hundred and twenty thousand of the subjects of Justinian. In a subsequent inroad they pierced the wall of the Thracian Chersonesus, extirpated the habitations and the inhabitants, boldly traversed the Hellespont, and returned to their companions, laden with the spoils of Asia. Another party, which seemed a multitude in the eyes of the Romans, penetrated, without opposition, from the straits of Thermopylæ to the isthmus of Corinth; and the last ruin of Greece has appeared an object too minute for the attention of history. The works which the emperor raised for the protection, but at the expense, of his subjects served only to disclose the weakness of some neglected part; and the walls, which by flattery had been deemed impregnable, were either deserted by the garrison, or scaled by the barbarians. Three thousand Sclavonians, who insolently divided themselves into two bands, discovered the weakness and misery of a triumphant reign. They passed the Danube and the Hebrus, vanquished the Roman generals who dared to oppose their progress, and plundered with impunity the cities of Illyricum and Thrace, each of which had arms and numbers to overwhelm their contemptible assailants. Whatever praise the boldness of the Sclavonians may deserve, it is sullied by the wanton and deliberate cruelty which they are accused of exercising on their prisoners. Without distinction of rank,

Ludewig (in Vit. Justinian, p. 515). It had strangely puzzled the civilians of the middle age.

* Procopius, Goth. l. 4, c. 25.

† An inroad of the Huns is connected, by Procopius, with a comet; perhaps that of 531. (Persic. l. 2, c. 4.) Agathias (l. 5, p. 154, 155 borrows from his predecessor some early facts.

or age, or sex, the captives were impaled or flayed alive, or suspended between four posts, and beaten with clubs till they expired, or enclosed in some spacious building, and left to perish in the flames with the spoil and cattle which might impede the march of these savage victors.* Perhaps a more impartial narrative would reduce the number, and qualify the nature, of these horrid acts; and they might sometimes be excused by the cruel laws of retaliation. In the siege of Topirus,† whose obstinate defence had enraged the Sclavonians, they massacred fifteen thousand males; but they spared the women and children; the most valuable captives were always reserved for labour or ransom; the servitude was not rigorous, and the terms of their deliverance were speedy and moderate. But the subject, or the historian of Justinian, exhaled his just indignation in the language of complaint and reproach; and Procopius has confidently affirmed, that in a reign of thirty-two years, each *annual* inroad of the barbarians consumed two hundred thousand of the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The entire population of Turkish Europe, which nearly corresponds with the provinces of Justinian, would perhaps be incapable of supplying six millions of persons, the result of this incredible estimate.‡

* The cruelties of the Sclavonians are related or magnified by Procopius. (Goth. l. 3, c. 29. 38.) For their mild and liberal behaviour to their prisoners, we may appeal to the authority, somewhat more recent, of the emperor Maurice. (Stratagem. l. 2, c. 5). [Is not human nature itself a still better authority? Wanton destruction of its own property was never its characteristic. The slave was more valuable to his owner than the horse or the ox, which he fed and tended with care. Like them, the rational chattel was also preserved, if not from kind, at least from selfish, motives.—ED.]

† Topirus was situate near Philippi in Thrace, or Macedonia, opposite to the isle of Thasos, twelve days' journey from Constantinople. (Cellarius, tom. i, p. 676. 840.) [Procopius was probably attending Belisarius in the East or the West, when these transactions took place. Such slaughter as he asserts to have been committed at Topirus, bespeaks a population totally incompatible with a town scarcely named in history or marked on a map. So obscure was it, that Ptolemy assigned to it an inland, instead of a maritime, situation, and it has been confounded with Doberus, now Dibra, on the coast of Epirus. Cellarius (l. 1057). The small Turkish town of Rusio in Romania is the modern descendant of the ancient Topirus.—ED.]

‡ According to the malevolent testimony of the Anecdotes (c. 18) these inroads had reduced the provinces south of the Danube to the

In the midst of these obscure calamities, Europe felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed to the world the name and nation of the TURKS. Like Romulus, the founder of that martial people was suckled by a she-wolf, who afterwards made him the father of a numerous progeny; and the representation of that animal in the banners of the Turks preserved the memory, or rather suggested the idea, of a fable, which was invented, without any mutual intercourse, by the shepherds of Latium and those of Scythia. At the equal distance of two thousand miles from the Caspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal seas, a ridge of mountains is conspicuous, the centre and perhaps the summit, of Asia; which, in the language of different nations, has been styled Imaus, and Caf,* and Altai, and the Golden Mountains, and the Girdle of the Earth. The sides of the hills were productive of minerals; and the iron forges,† for the purpose of war, were exercised by the Turks, the

state of a Scythian wilderness. * From Caf to Caf; which a more rational geography would interpret, from Imaus, perhaps, to mount Atlas. According to the religious philosophy of the Mahometans, the basis of mount Caf is an emerald, whose reflection produces the azure of the sky. The mountain is endowed with a sensitive action in its roots or nerves; and their vibration, at the command of God, is the cause of earthquakes. (D'Herbelot, p. 230, 231.) [Imaus was called by the Tartars Mathega and Belgium, and by the Mongols, Delanguer and De Nangracut. One of these names may be traced in the Delaghir of Tiefenthalen and the Dhawalagiri of Humboldt. (Views of Nature. p. 70, edit. Bohn.) Its long chain divides the land to which the ancients gave the indefinite appellation of Scythia, into two parts, the Intra, and the Extra, Imaum; and one of its wide spread branches formed the northern boundary of India, now the Himalaya mountains. This, rather than Scandinavia, appears to have been the nursery of nations, for hence the course of emigration may be largely traced. The workers in the mines of Imaus were called Turks, because the term, in their language, denotes a rough, unmannerly boor, a common labourer. After they had raised themselves to be an independent people, it became so odious to them, that they cast it off, and styled themselves Moslem or Musselmen.—ED.]

† The Siberian iron is the best and most plentiful in the world; and in the southern parts, above sixty mines are now worked by the industry of the Russians. (Strahlenberg, Hist. of Siberia, p. 342. 387. Voyage en Siberie, par l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche, p. 603—608, edit. in 12mo. Amsterdam, 1770.) The Turks offered iron for sale; yet the Roman ambassadors, with strange obstinacy, persisted in believing that it was all a trick, and that their country produced none. (Me-

most despised portion of the slaves of the great khan of the Geougen. But their servitude could only last till a leader, bold and eloquent, should arise, to persuade his countrymen that the same arms which they forged for their masters might become, in their own hands, the instruments of freedom and victory. They sallied from the mountain;* a sceptre was the reward of his advice; and the annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire and a smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession and rational pride of the Turkish nation. Bertezena, their first leader, signalized their valour and his own in successful combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when he presumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the insolent demand of a slave and a mechanic was contemptuously rejected. The disgrace was expiated by a more noble alliance with a princess of China; and the decisive battle, which almost extirpated the nation of the Geougen, established in Tartary the new and more powerful empire of the Turks. They reigned over the north; but they confessed the vanity of conquest, by their faithful attachment to the mountain of their fathers. The royal encampment seldom lost sight of mount Altai, from whence the river Irtish descends to water the rich pastures of the Calmucks,† which nourish the largest sheep and oxen in the world. The soil is fruitful, and the climate mild and temperate: the happy region was ignorant of earthquake and pestilence; the emperor's throne was turned towards the east, and a golden wolf on the top of a spear, seemed to guard the entrance of his tent. One of the successors of Bertezena was tempted by the luxury and superstition of China; but his design of building cities and temples was defeated by the simple wisdom of a barbarian counsellor. "The Turks," he said, "are not equal in number

nander, in Excerpt. Leg. p. 152.) * Of Irgana-kon (Abulghazi Khan, Hist. Généalogique des Tatars, p. 2, c. 5; p. 71—77, c. 15; p. 155). The tradition of the Moguls, of the four hundred and fifty years which they passed in the mountains, agrees with the Chinese periods of the history of the Huns and Turks, (De Guignes, tom. i, part 2, p. 376,) and the twenty generations, from the restoration to Zingis. † The country of the Turks, now of the Calmucks, is well described in the Genealogical History, p. 521—562. The curious notes of the French translator are enlarged and digested in the

to one hundredth part of the inhabitants of China. If we balance their power, and elude their armies, it is because we wander without any fixed habitations, in the exercise of war and hunting. Are we strong? we advance and conquer: are we feeble? we retire and are concealed. Should the Turks confine themselves within the walls of cities, the loss of a battle would be the destruction of their empire. The Bonzes preach only patience, humility, and the renunciation of the world. Such, O king! is not the religion of heroes." They entertained with less reluctance the doctrines of Zoroaster; but the greatest part of the nation acquiesced, without inquiry, in the opinions, or rather in the practice, of their ancestors. The honours of sacrifice were reserved for the supreme Deity; they acknowledged, in rude hymns, their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth; and their priests derived some profit from the art of divination. Their unwritten laws were rigorous and impartial: theft was punished by a tenfold restitution: adultery, treason, and murder, with death: and no chastisement could be inflicted too severe for the rare and inexpiable guilt of cowardice. As the subject nations marched under the standard of the Turks, their cavalry, both men and horses, were proudly computed by millions; one of their effective armies consisted of four hundred thousand soldiers, and in less than fifty years they were connected in peace and war with the Romans, the Persians, and the Chinese. In their northern limits, some vestige may be discovered of the form and situation of Kamtschatka, of a people of hunters and fishermen, whose sledges were drawn by dogs, and whose habitations were buried in the earth. The Turks were ignorant of astronomy; but the observation taken by some learned Chinese, with a gnomon of eight feet, fixes the royal camp in the latitude of forty-nine degrees, and marks their extreme progress within three, or at least ten degrees, of the polar circle.* Among their southern conquests, the most splendid was that of the Nepthalites or White Huns, a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bochara and Samarcand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the

second volume of the English version. * Visdelou, p. 141. 151. The fact, though it strictly belongs to a subordinate and suc-

mouth, of the Indus. On the side of the west, the Turkish cavalry advanced to the lake Mæotis. They passed that lake on the ice. The khan, who dwelt at the foot of mount Altai, issued his commands for the siege of Bosphorus,* a city, the voluntary subject of Rome, and whose princes had formerly been the friends of Athens.† To the east, the Turks invaded China, as often as the vigour of the government was relaxed: and I am taught to read in the history of the times, that they mowed down their patient enemies like hemp or grass; and that the mandarins applauded the wisdom of an emperor who repulsed these barbarians with golden lances. This extent of savage empire compelled the Turkish monarch to establish three subordinate princes of his own blood, who soon forgot their gratitude and allegiance. The conquerors were enervated by luxury, which is always fatal, except to an industrious people; the policy of China solicited the vanquished nations to resume their independence; and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two hundred years. The revival of their name and dominion in the southern countries of Asia, are the events of a later age; and the dynasties which succeeded to their native realms may sleep in oblivion, since *their* history bears no relation to the decline and fall of the Roman empire.‡

In the rapid career of conquest, the Turks attacked and subdued the nation of the Ogors or Varchonites on the banks of the river Til, which derived the epithet of black from its dark water or gloomy forests.§ The khan of the

cessive tribe, may be introduced here.

* Procopius, Persic. (l. 1, c. 12; l. 2, c. 3). Peyssonnel (Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, p. 99, 100) defines the distance between Caffa and the old Bosphorus at sixteen long Tartar leagues.

† See, in a Memoir of M. de Boze, (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. vi, p. 549—565,) the ancient kings and medals of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the gratitude of Athens, in the oration of Demosthenes against Leptines. (In Reiske, Orator. Græc. tom. i, p. 466, 467).

‡ For the origin and revolutions of the first Turkish empire, the Chinese details are borrowed from De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i, part 2, p. 367—462), and Visdelou (Supplément à la Bibliothèque Orient. d'Herbelot, p. 82—114). The Greek or Roman hints are gathered in Menander (p. 108—164,) and Theophylact Simocatta. (l. 7, c. 7, 8.)

§ The river Til, or Tula, according to the geography of De Guignes, (tom. i, part 2, p. 58, and 352,) is a small though grateful, stream of the desert, that falls into the Orhon, Selinga, &c.

Ogors was slain with three hundred thousand of his subjects, and their bodies were scattered over the space of four days' journey; their surviving countrymen acknowledged the strength and mercy of the Turks; and a small portion, about twenty thousand warriors, preferred exile to servitude. They followed the well-known road of the Volga, cherished the error of the nations who confounded them with the AVARS, and spread the terror of that false though famous appellation, which had not, however, saved its lawful proprietors from the yoke of the Turks.* After a long and

See Bell, Journey from Petersburg to Pekin (vol. ii, p. 124); yet his own description of the Keat, down which he sailed into the Oby, represents the name and attributes of the *black river* (p. 139).

* Theophylact, l. 7, c. 7, 8. And yet his *true* Avars are invisible even to the eyes of M. de Guignes; and what can be more illustrious than the *false?* The right of the fugitive Ogors to that national appellation is confessed by the Turks themselves (Menander, p. 108). [The writer of a learned article in Ersch and Gruber's Allg. Encyc. (6. 509) makes the Avars descendants of a people, known to the ancients by the name of Aorsi. Strabo (l. 11, p. 753) placed them on the shore of the Caspian sea, to the east of the Rha or Wolga, and (p. 773) extended them, probably a migrating colony, westward to the Tanais. Within the century before he wrote, their king Spadines had assisted Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates. But they preferred the pursuits of commerce to that of war. Their camels were sent to Bactriana, and brought the wares of India and Babylon, to supply the wants of Europe. In Pliny's time, while they still retained their original territory on the Caspian (Hist. Nat. 6. 18) their offshoots had reached the neighbourhood of the Danube (4. 18 and 25) and were bordering on the Daci, Mœsi, and Getæ. They are supposed also to be the Adorsi, whom Tacitus (Ann. 12, c. 15, 16 and 19) makes allies of the Romans, in their eastern wars during the reign of Claudius. At last, they performed, as Avars, the conspicuous part recorded of them in history, till in the year 803, they were subdued by Charlemagne, and their name, if not extinguished in Europe, at least merged in that of Hungarians. During the season of their power and prosperity, they still indulged the ancient habits of their race, and were the medium of carrying on an active trade between Constantinople and Germany. Modern travellers have however discovered, that a remnant of this people still occupies their early location. Güldenstadt and Klaproth describe, in the eastern Caucasus, on the Koisu, a river of Lëoghistan, a numerous tribe, called Aor or Awar, distinct from other Tartars, by peculiar manners and language. Their district has the name of Awar, as well as their principal town, which contains 4000 houses. Their chief has the title of Awarkhan, and in 1807, his friendship was cultivated by the emperor of Russia. The same

victorious march, the new Avars arrived at the foot of mount Caucasus, in the country of the Alani * and Circassians, where they first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. They humbly requested their confederate, the prince of the Alani, to lead them to this source of riches; and their ambassador, with the permission of the governor of Lazica, was transported by the Euxine sea to Constantinople. The whole city was poured forth to behold with curiosity and terror the aspect of a strange people; their long hair, which hung in tresses down their backs, was gracefully bound with ribbons, but the rest of their habit appeared to imitate the fashion of the Huns. When they were admitted to the audience of Justinian, Candish, the first of the ambassadors, addressed the Roman emperor in these terms,—"You see before you, O mighty prince, the representatives of the strongest and most populous of nations, the invincible, the irresistible Avars. We are willing to devote ourselves to your service: we are able to vanquish and destroy all the enemies who now disturb your repose. But we expect, as the price of our alliance, as the reward of our valour, precious gifts, annual subsidies, and fruitful possessions." At the time of this embassy, Justinian had reigned above thirty, he had lived above seventy-five years; his mind, as well as his body, was feeble and languid; and the conqueror of Africa and Italy, careless of the permanent interest of his people, aspired only to end his days in the bosom even of inglorious peace. In a studied oration, he imparted to the senate his resolution to dissemble the insult, and to purchase the friendship, of the Avars; and the whole senate, like the mandarins of China, applauded the incomparable wisdom and foresight of their sovereign. The instruments of luxury were immediately prepared to captivate the barbarians: silken garments, soft and splendid beds, and chains and collars incrusted with gold. The ambassadors, content with such liberal reception, de-

modern tribe are noticed, but not so fully, by Schlözer. (Nordische Geschichte. 1. 523).—ED.]

* The Alani are still found in the Genealogical History of the Tartars (p. 617,) and in D'Anville's maps. They opposed the march of the generals of Zingis round the Caspian sea, and were overthrown in a great battle. (Hist. de Gengiscan, l. 4, c. 9, p. 447.)

parted from Constantinople, and Valentin, one of the emperor's guards, was sent with a similar character to their camp at the foot of mount Caucasus. As their destruction or their success must be alike advantageous to the empire, he persuaded them to invade the enemies of Rome; and they were easily tempted, by gifts and promises, to gratify their ruling inclinations. These fugitives, who fled before the Turkish arms, passed the Tanais and Borysthenes, and boldly advanced into the heart of Poland and Germany, violating the law of nations, and abusing the rights of victory. Before ten years had elapsed, their camps were seated on the Danube and the Elbe, many Bulgarian and Sclavonian names were obliterated from the earth, and the remainder of their tribes are found, as tributaries and vassals, under the standard of the Avars. The chagan, the peculiar title of their king, still affected to cultivate the friendship of the emperor; and Justinian entertained some thoughts of fixing them in Pannonia, to balance the prevailing power of the Lombards. But the virtue or treachery of an Avar betrayed the secret enmity and ambitious designs of their countrymen: and they loudly complained of the timid, though jealous, policy of detaining their ambassadors, and denying the arms which they had been allowed to purchase in the capital of the empire.*

Perhaps the apparent change in the dispositions of the emperors may be ascribed to the embassy which was received from the conquerors of the Avars.† The immense distance, which eluded their arms, could not extinguish their resentment: the Turkish ambassadors pursued the footsteps of the vanquished to the Jaik, the Volga, mount Caucasus, the Euxine, and Constantinople, and at length appeared before the successor of Constantine, to request

* The embassies and first conquests of the Avars may be read in Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 99—101. 154, 155), Theophanes (p. 196), the Historia Miscella (l. 16, p. 109), and Gregory of Tours (l. 4, c. 23. 29; in the Historians of France, tom. ii, p. 214. 217).

† Theophanes (Chron. p. 204) and the Hist. Miscella (l. 16, p. 110), as understood by De Guignes (tom. i, part 2, p. 354), *appear* to speak of a Turkish embassy to Justinian himself; but that of Maniach, in the fourth year of his successor Justin, is positively the first that reached Constantinople. (Menander, p. 108.)

that he would not espouse the cause of rebels and fugitives. Even commerce had some share in this remarkable negotiation: and the Sogdoites, who were now the tributaries of the Turks, embraced the fair occasion of opening, by the north of the Caspian, a new road for the importation of Chinese silk into the Roman empire. The Persian, who preferred the navigation of Ceylon, had stopped the caravans of Bochara and Samarcand: their silk was contemptuously burnt: some Turkish ambassadors died in Persia, with a suspicion of poison; and the great khan permitted his faithful vassal Maniach, the prince of the Sogdoites, to propose, at the Byzantine court, a treaty of alliance against their common enemies. Their splendid apparel and rich presents, the fruit of Oriental luxury, distinguished Maniach and his colleagues from the rude savages of the north: their letters, in the Scythian character and language, announced a people who had attained the rudiments of science;* they enumerated the conquests, they offered the friendship and military aid, of the Turks; and their sincerity was attested by direful imprecations (if they were guilty of falsehood) against their own head, and the head of Disabul their master. The Greek prince entertained with hospitable regard the ambassadors of a remote and powerful monarch:

* The Russians have found characters, rude hieroglyphics, on the Irtish and Yenisei, on medals, tombs, idols, rocks, obelisks, &c. (Strahlenberg, Hist. of Siberia, p. 324. 346. 406. 429.) Dr. Hyde (de Religione Veterum Persarum, p. 521, &c.) has given two alphabets of Thibet and of the Eygours. I have long harboured a suspicion that *all* the Scythian, and *some*, perhaps *much*, of the Indian science, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana. [These Greeks were planted there by Alexander, in the cities built by him when the country, after the fall of Persia, became subject to him. (Strabo. 11, p. 786. Q. Curtius, l. 7. 3; l. 9. 8. Arrian. l. 3. 28; l. 5. 27.) He probably designed his Alexandria of the Oxus to be for the East, what that of the Nile was for the South; but it wanted the same facilities for extensive commerce; and still more it wanted the talents and energy of a Ptolemy. The land was watered by many fertilizing streams, the soil rich, and the climate genial. (Arrian, 7. 4.) Gibbon's conjecture in this note is very probably correct. The *real* Scythians were advanced too far westward to profit by such instruction; nor can any traces of it be found among them. But it is most likely that the Slavonians derived from this source some rudiments of art and science.—ED.]

the sight of silkworms and looms disappointed the hopes of the Sogdoites; the emperor renounced, or seemed to renounce, the fugitive Avars, but he accepted the alliance of the Turks; and the ratification of the treaty was carried by a Roman minister to the foot of mount Altai. Under the successors of Justinian, the friendship of the two nations was cultivated by frequent and cordial intercourse; the most favoured vassals were permitted to imitate the example of the great khan, and one hundred and six Turks, who, on various occasions had visited Constantinople, departed at the same time for their native country. The duration and length of the journey from the Byzantine court to mount Altai are not specified: it might have been difficult to mark a road through the nameless deserts, the mountains, rivers, and morasses of Tartary; but a curious account has been preserved of the reception of the Roman ambassadors at the royal camp. After they had been purified with fire and incense, according to a rite still practised under the sons of Zingis, they were introduced to the presence of Disabul. In a valley of the Golden Mountain, they found the great khan in his tent, seated in a chair with wheels, to which a horse might be occasionally harnessed. As soon as they had delivered their presents, which were received by the proper officers, they exposed, in a florid oration, the wishes of the Roman emperor, that victory might attend the arms of Turks, that their reign might be long and prosperous, and that a strict alliance, without envy or deceit, might for ever be maintained between the two most powerful nations of the earth. The answer of Disabul corresponded with these friendly professions, and the ambassadors were seated by his side, at a banquet which lasted the greatest part of the day: the tent was surrounded with silk hangings, and a Tartar liquor was served on the table, which possessed at least the intoxicating qualities of wine. The entertainment of the succeeding day was more sumptuous; the silk hangings of the second tent were embroidered in various figures; and the royal seat, the cups, and the vases, were of gold. A third pavilion was supported by columns of gilt wood; a bed of pure and massy gold was raised on four peacocks of the same metal; and before the entrance of the tent, dishes, basins, and statues, of

solid silver, and admirable art, were ostentatiously piled in wagons, the monuments of valour rather than of industry. When Disabul led his armies against the frontiers of Persia, his Roman allies followed many days the march of the Turkish camp, nor were they dismissed till they had enjoyed their precedency over the envoy of the great king, whose loud and intemperate clamours interrupted the silence of the royal banquet. The power and ambition of Chosroes cemented the union of the Turks and Romans, who touched his dominions on either side: but those distant nations, regardless of each other, consulted the dictates of interest, without recollecting the obligations of oaths and treaties. While the successor of Disabul celebrated his father's obsequies, he was saluted by the ambassadors of the emperor Tiberius, who proposed an invasion of Persia, and sustained with firmness, the angry, and perhaps the just, reproaches of that haughty barbarian. "You see my ten fingers (said the great khan, and he applied them to his mouth). You Romans speak with as many tongues, but they are tongues of deceit and perjury. To me you hold one language, to my subjects another: and the nations are successively deluded by your perfidious eloquence. You precipitate your allies into war and danger, you enjoy their labours, and you neglect your benefactors. Hasten your return, inform your master that a Turk is incapable of uttering or forgiving falsehood, and that he shall speedily meet the punishment which he deserves. While he solicits my friendship with flattering and hollow words, he is sunk to a confederate of my fugitive Varchonites. If I condescend to march against those contemptible slaves, they will tremble at the sound of our whips; they will be trampled, like a nest of ants, under the feet of my innumerable cavalry. I am not ignorant of the road which they have followed to invade your empire; nor can I be deceived by the vain pretence, that mount Caucasus is the impregnable barrier of the Romans. I know the course of the Niester, the Danube, and the Hebrus; the most warlike nations have yielded to the arms of the Turks; and from the rising to the setting sun the earth is my inheritance." Notwithstanding this menac, a sense of mutual advantage soon renewed the alliance of the Turks and Romans: but the pride of the

great khan survived his resentment: and when he announced an important conquest to his friend the emperor Maurice, he styled himself the master of the seven races, and the lord of the seven climates of the world.*

Disputes have often arisen between the sovereigns of Asia, for the title of king of the world; while the contest has proved that it could not belong to either of the competitors. The kingdom of the Turks was bounded by the Oxus or Gihon; and *Touran* was separated by that great river from the rival monarchy of *Iran*, or Persia, which, in a smaller compass, contained perhaps a larger measure of power and population. The Persians, who alternately invaded and repulsed the Turks and the Romans, were still ruled by the house of Sassan, which ascended the throne three hundred years before the accession of Justinian. His contemporary, Cabades, or Kobad, had been successful in war against the emperor Anastasius; but the reign of that prince was distracted by civil and religious troubles. A prisoner in the hands of his subjects; an exile among the enemies of Persia; he recovered his liberty by prostituting the honour of his wife, and regained his kingdom with the dangerous and mercenary aid of the barbarians, who had slain his father. His nobles were suspicious that Kobad never forgave the authors of his expulsion, or even those of his restoration. The people were deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism of Mazdak,† who asserted the community of women,‡ and the equality of mankind, whilst he appropri-

* All the details of these Turkish and Roman embassies, so curious in the history of human manners, are drawn from the Extracts of Menander (p. 106—110. 151—154. 161—164), in which we often regret the want of order and connection.

† See D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 568. 929), Hyde (de Religione Vet. Persarum, c. 21, p. 290, 291), Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 70, 71), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 176), Texeira (in Stevens, Hist. of Persia, l. 1, c. 34).

‡ The fame of the new law for the community of women was soon propagated in Syria (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii, p. 402) and Greece (Procop. Persic. l. 1, c. 5). [Mazdak was either one of those visionary enthusiasts who believe that mankind can be rendered at once virtuous and happy, or an artful impostor, who, under this pretence, concealed the most nefarious designs. The latter appears to have been most probably his character. He took for his fundamental principle a truth which cannot be con-

ated the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use of his sectaries. The view of these disorders, which had been fomented by his laws and example,* imbittered the declining age of the Persian monarch; and his fears were increased by the consciousness of his design to reverse the natural and customary order of succession, in favour of his third and most favoured son, so famous under the names of Chosroes and Nushirvan. To render the youth more illustrious in the eyes of the nations, Kobad was desirous that he should be adopted by the emperor Justin: the hope of peace inclined the Byzantine court to accept this singular proposal; and Chosroes might have acquired a specious claim to the inheritance of his Roman parent. But the future mischief was diverted by the advice of the quæstor Proclus: a difficulty was started, whether the adoption should be performed as a civil or military rite; † the treaty was abruptly dissolved; and the sense of this indignity sank deep into the mind of Chosroes, who had already advanced to the Tigris on his road to Constantinople. His

troverted, that the passions of man for wealth and women have been the sources of all the hatred, discord, and wars, which have produced the misery of the world; and from this he deduced his false and pernicious conclusions, that no remedy was to be found for these evils but in a community of goods and unrestricted sexual intercourse. Nushirvan, on the other hand, seeing the necessity for checking the licentious disorders, created by these doctrines, sought to repress them, not by "temperate chastisement," but by violence alone. Muzdak and his followers, as well as all Manichæans, who were confounded with them, were indiscriminately slaughtered; and the unoffending offspring of those promiscuous embraces, which the delusion had authorized, were given as slaves to the more sensible, who had not been seduced by the specious sophistry. The cruelties of the Persian monarch, on this and other occasions, made him hated by his subjects; and though obsequious flatterers and time-serving writers styled him "the Just," his people were disposed to think "the Blood-stained" a more appropriate surname.—ED.]

* He offered his own wife and sister to the prophet; but the prayers of Nushirvan saved his mother, and the indignant monarch never forgave the humiliation to which his filial piety had stooped: pedes tuos deosculatus (said he to Mazdak) cujus fætor adhuc nares occupat. (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 71.)

† Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 11. Was not Proclus over-wise? Was not the danger imaginary? The excuse, at least, was injurious to a nation not ignorant of letters: οὐ γράμμασιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς παῖδας ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' ὅπλων σκευῇ. Whether any mode of adoption was practised in Persia, I much doubt.]

father did not long survive the disappointment of his wishes; the testament of their deceased sovereign was read in the assembly of the nobles; and a powerful faction, prepared for the event, and regardless of the priority of age, exalted Chosroes to the throne of Persia. He filled that throne during a prosperous period of forty-eight years;* and the JUSTICE of Nushirvan is celebrated as the theme of immortal praise by the nations of the East.

But the justice of kings is understood by themselves, and even by their subjects, with an ample indulgence for the gratification of passion and interest. The virtue of Chosroes was that of a conqueror, who, in the measures of peace and war, is excited by ambition and restrained by prudence; who confounds the greatness with the happiness of a nation, and calmly devotes the lives of thousands to the fame, or even the amusement, of a single man. In his domestic administration, the just Nushirvan would merit, in our feelings, the appellation of a tyrant. His two elder brothers had been deprived of their fair expectations of the diadem: their future life, between the supreme rank and the condition of subjects, was anxious to themselves and formidable to their master; fear, as well as revenge, might tempt them to rebel; the slightest evidence of a conspiracy satisfied the author of their wrongs; and the repose of Chosroes was secured by the death of these unhappy princes, with their families and adherents. One guiltless youth was saved and dismissed by the compassion of a veteran general; and this act of humanity, which was revealed by his son, overbalanced the merit of reducing twelve nations to the obedience of Persia. The zeal and prudence of Mebodes had fixed the diadem on the head of Chosroes himself; but he delayed to attend the royal summons, till he had performed the duties of a military review: he was instantly commanded to repair to the iron tripod,

* From Procopius and Agathias, Pagi (tom. ii, p. 543. 626) has proved that Chosroes Nushirvan ascended the throne in the fifth year of Justinian (A.D. 531, April 1;—A.D. 532, April 1). But the true chronology, which harmonizes with the Greeks and Orientals, is ascertained by John Malalas (tom. ii, 211). Cabades, or Kobad, after a reign of forty-three years and two months, sickened the 8th, and died the 13th of September, A.D. 531, aged eighty-two years. According to the annals of Eutychius, Nushirvan reigned forty-seven years and six months; and his death must consequently be placed in March, A.D. 579.

which stood before the gate of the palace,* where it was death to relieve or approach the victim; and Mebodes languished several days before his sentence was pronounced, by the inflexible pride and calm ingratitude of the son of Kobad. But the people, more especially in the East, is disposed to forgive, and even to applaud, the cruelty which strikes at the loftiest heads; at the slaves of ambition, whose voluntary choice has exposed them to live in the smiles, and to perish by the frown, of a capricious monarch. In the execution of the laws which he had no temptation to violate; in the punishment of crimes which attacked his own dignity, as well as the happiness of individuals; Nushirvan or Chosroes deserved the appellation of *just*. His government was firm, rigorous, and impartial. It was the first labour of his reign to abolish the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions: the lands and women which the sectaries of Mazdak had usurped were restored to their lawful owners; and the temperate chastisement of the fanatics or impostors confirmed the domestic rights of society. Instead of listening with blind confidence to a favourite minister, he established four viziers over the four great provinces of his empire, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Bactriana. In the choice of judges, prefects, and counsellors, he strove to remove the mask which is always worn in the presence of kings; he wished to substitute the natural order of talents for the accidental distinctions of birth and fortune; he professed, in specious language, his intention to prefer those men who carried the poor in their bosoms, and to banish corruption from the seat of justice, as dogs were excluded from the temples of the Magi. The code of laws of the first Artaxerxes was revived and published as the rule of the magistrates; but the assurance of speedy punishment was the best security of their virtue. Their behaviour was inspected by a thousand eyes, their words were overheard by a thousand ears, the secret or public agents of the throne; and the provinces, from the Indian to the Arabian confines, were enlightened by the frequent visits of a sovereign, who affected to emulate his celestial brother in his rapid and salutary career. Educa-

* Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 23. Brisson de Regn. Pers. p. 494. The gate of the palace of Ispahan, is, or was, the fatal scene of disgrace or death. (Chardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. iv, p. 312, 313.)

tion and agriculture he viewed as the two objects most deserving of his care. In every city of Persia, orphans and the children of the poor were maintained and instructed at the public expense; the daughters were given in marriage to the richest citizens of their own rank; and the sons, according to their different talents, were employed in mechanic trades, or promoted to more honourable service. The deserted villages were relieved by his bounty; to the peasants and farmers, who were found incapable of cultivating their lands, he distributed cattle, seed, and the instruments of husbandry; and the rare and inestimable treasure of fresh water was parsimoniously managed and skilfully dispersed over the arid territory of Persia.* The prosperity of that kingdom was the effect and the evidence of his virtues: his vices are those of Oriental despotism; but in the long competition between Chosroes and Justinian, the advantage both of merit and fortune is almost always on the side of the barbarian.†

To the praise of justice, Nushirvan united the reputation of knowledge; and the seven Greek philosophers who visited his court were invited and deceived by the strange assurance, that a disciple of Plato was seated on the Persian throne. Did they expect that a prince, strenuously exercised in the toils of war and government, should agitate, with dexterity like their own, the abstruse and profound questions which amused the leisure of the schools of Athens? Could they hope that the precepts of philosophy should direct the life, and control the passions, of a despot, whose infancy had been taught to consider *his* absolute and fluctuating will as the only rule of moral obligation? ‡ The

* In Persia, the prince of the waters is an officer of state. The number of wells and subterraneous channels is much diminished, and with it the fertility of the soil: four hundred wells have been recently lost near Tauris, and forty-two thousand were once reckoned in the province of Khorasan. (Chardin, tom. iii, p. 99, 100. Tavernier, tom. i, p. 416.)

† The character and government of Nushirvan is represented sometimes in the words of D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, &c. from Khondemir), Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii, p. 179, 180—very rich), Abulpharagius (Dynast. 7, p. 94, 95—very poor), Tarikh Schikard (p. 144—150), Texeira (in Stevens, l. 1, c. 35), Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii, p. 404—410), and the Abbé Fourmont (Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. vii, p. 325—334), who has translated a spurious or genuine testament of Nushirvan.

‡ A thousand years before his birth, the judges of Persia had given

studies of Chosroes were ostentatious and superficial; but his example awakened the curiosity of an ingenious people, and the light of science was diffused over the dominions of Persia.* At Gondi Sapor, in the neighbourhood of the royal city of Susa, an academy of physic was founded, which insensibly became a liberal school of poetry, philosophy, and rhetoric.† The annals of the monarchy ‡ were composed; and while recent and authentic history might afford some useful lessons both to the prince and people, the darkness of the first ages was embellished by the giants, the dragons,

a solemn opinion — τῷ Βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιέειν τὸ ἂν Βούληται. (Herodot. l. 3, c. 31, p. 210, edit. Wesseling.) Nor had this constitutional maxim been neglected as a useless and barren theory.

* On the literary state of Persia, the Greek versions, philosophers, sophists, the learning or ignorance of Chosroes, Agathias (l. 2, c. 66—71) displays much information and strong prejudices. [The value of Nushirvan's studies, and the influence of his example, are to be estimated rather by his nation's subsequent progress, than by any statements even of contemporary historians. Let Persia's share in the improvement of the world index the scale. The excesses of Mazdak and his disciples had most probably filled Nushirvan with an aversion for learning, except of the lightest kind, or such as the Sadder sanctioned; and to this may be attributed the cold reception given to the fugitive philosophers of Athens. The Persians and the Goths had one common origin; but the two tribes diverged while language and intellect were yet young, and they had very different courses of training. The latter, in the wild freedom of mountain and forest, slowly developed solid principles; the former, in the forcing atmosphere of a southern latitude, precociously matured more showy, but less enduring powers. Something of a spirit kindred to the Gothic, may be perceived in the primæval efforts of Persia; but it soon evaporated. The religious tendencies which Zoroaster had called forth, were perverted by the Magi into means of establishing their own dominion on the crushed energies of a people. Like all wealth-holding and ambitious priesthoods, they, too, inculcated the absolutism of civil sway. Pressed down by both, Persia sank to the lowest depth of mental humiliation. Poets and romancers might indulge at will their light fancies, but serious thought and truth-advancing inquiry, were forbidden. A calm, sedate, virtue-nurturing religion, is the best of social aids; but fanaticism and dogmatic ambition are alike, in all times and all faiths, the uncompromising foes of human progress.—Ed.]

† Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv, p. 745—747.

‡ The Shah Nameh, or Book of Kings, is perhaps the original record of history which was translated into Greek by the interpreter Sergius (Agathias, l. 5, p. 141), preserved after the Mahometan conquest, and versified in the year 994, by the national poet Ferdoussi. See D'Anquetil (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xxxi, p. 379) and Sir William Jones (Hist. of Nadir Shah, p. 161.)

and the fabulous heroes of Oriental romance.* Every learned or confident stranger was enriched by the bounty, and flattered by the conversation, of the monarch: he nobly rewarded a Greek physician,† by the deliverance of three thousand captives; and the Sophists, who contended for his favour, were exasperated by the wealth and insolence of Uranius, their more successful rival. Nushirvan believed, or at least respected, the religion of the Magi; and some traces of persecution may be discovered in his reign.‡ Yet he allowed himself freely to compare the tenets of the various sects; and the theological disputes in which he frequently presided, diminished the authority of the priest, and enlightened the minds of the people. At his command, the most celebrated writers of Greece and India were translated into the Persian language; a smooth and elegant idiom, recommended by Mahomet to the use of paradise; though it is branded by the epithets of savage and unmusical, by the ignorance and presumption of Agathias.§ Yet the Greek historian might reasonably wonder, that it should be found possible to execute an entire version of Plato and Aristotle in a foreign dialect, which had not been framed to express the spirit of freedom and the subtleties of philosophic disquisition. And, if the reason of the Stagyrite might be equally dark, or equally intelligible, in every tongue, the dramatic art and verbal argumentation of the disciple of Socrates,¶ appear to be indissolubly

* In the fifth century, the name of Restom or Rostam, a hero who equalled the strength of twelve elephants, was familiar to the Armenians. (Moses Choronensis, Hist. Armen. l. 2, c. 7, p. 96, edit. Whiston.) In the beginning of the seventh, the Persian romance of Rostam and Isfendiar was applauded at Mecca. (Sale's Koran, c. 31, p. 335.) Yet this exposition of ludicrum novæ historiæ, is not given by Maracci. (Refutat. Alcoran. p. 544—548.)

† Procop. Goth. l. 4, c. 10. Kobad had a favourite Greek physician, Stephen of Edessa. (Persic. l. 2, c. 26.) The practice was ancient; and Herodotus relates the adventures of Democedes of Crotona (l. 3, c. 125—137).

‡ See Pagi, tom. ii, p. 626. In one of the treaties an honourable article was inserted for the toleration and burial of the Catholics. (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 142.) Nushizad, a son of Nushirvan, was a Christian, a rebel, and a martyr! (D'Herbelot, p. 681.)

§ On the Persian language, and its three dialects, consult D'Anquetil (p. 339—343) and Jones (p. 153—185): ἀγρίᾳ τινὶ γλώττῃ καὶ ἀμουσοτάτῃ, is the character which Agathias (l. 2, p. 66) ascribes to an idiom renowned in the east for poetical softness.

¶ Agathias specifies the Gorgias, Phædon, Parmenides, and Timæus.

mingled with the grace and perfection of his Attic style. In the search of universal knowledge, Nushirvan was informed that the moral and political fables of Pilpay, an ancient Brachman, were preserved with jealous reverence among the treasures of the kings of India. The physician Perozes was secretly dispatched to the banks of the Ganges, with instructions to procure, at any price, the communication of this valuable work. His dexterity obtained a transcript, his learned diligence accomplished the translation; and the fables of Pilpay * were read and admired in the assembly of Nushirvan and his nobles. The Indian original, and the Persian copy, have long since disappeared: but this venerable monument has been saved by the curiosity of the Arabian caliphs, revived in the modern Persic, the Turkish, the Syriac, the Hebrew, and the Greek idioms, and transfused through successive versions into the modern languages of Europe. In their present form, the peculiar character, the manners, and religion of the Hindoos, are completely obliterated; and the intrinsic merit of the fables of Pilpay is far inferior to the concise elegance of Phædrus and the native graces of La Fontaine. Fifteen moral and political sentences are illustrated in a series of apologues: but the composition is intricate, the narrative prolix, and the precept obvious and barren. Yet the Brachman may assume the merit of *inventing* a pleasing fiction, which adorns the nakedness of truth, and alleviates, perhaps, to a royal ear, the harshness of instruction. With a similar design, to admonish kings that they are strong only in the strength of their subjects, the same Indians invented the game of chess, which was likewise introduced into Persia under the reign of Nushirvan.†

Renaudot (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii, p. 246—261) does not mention this barbaric version of Aristotle.

* Of these fables, I have seen three copies in three different languages:—1. In *Greek*, translated by Simeon Seth (A.D. 1100) from the Arabic, and published by Starck, at Berlin, in 1697, in 12mo. 2. In *Latin*, a version from the Greek, Sapientia Indorum, inserted by Père Poussin at the end of his edition of Pachymer (p. 547—620, edit. Roman.). 3. In *French*, from the Turkish, dedicated, in 1540, to sultan Soliman. Contes et Fables Indiennes de Pidpai et de Lokman, par MM. Galland et Cardonne, Paris, 1778, three vols. in 12mo. Mr. Wharton (History of English Poetry, vol. i, p. 129—131) takes a larger scope. [More correct information on this subject will be found in ch. 46.—ED.]

† See the Historia Shahiludii of Dr. Hyde. Syntagm. Dissertat. tom. ii, p. 61—69.)

The son of Kobad found his kingdom involved in a war with the successor of Constantine; and the anxiety of his domestic situation inclined him to grant the suspension of arms, which Justinian was impatient to purchase. Chosroes saw the Roman ambassadors at his feet. He accepted eleven thousand pounds of gold, as the price of an *endless* or indefinite peace;* some mutual exchanges were regulated; the Persian assumed the guard of the gates of Caucasus, and the demolition of Dara was suspended, on condition that it should never be made the residence of the general of the East. This interval of repose had been solicited, and was diligently improved, by the ambition of the emperor: his African conquests were the first-fruits of the Persian treaty; and the avarice of Chosroes was soothed by a large portion of the spoils of Carthage, which his ambassadors required in a tone of pleasantry, and under the colour of friendship.† But the trophies of Belisarius disturbed the slumbers of the great king; and he heard with astonishment, envy, and fear, that Sicily, Italy, and Rome itself, had been reduced, in three rapid campaigns, to the obedience of Justinian. Unpractised in the art of violating treaties, he secretly excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira,‡ had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Gassan, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an

* The endless peace (Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 21) was concluded or ratified in the sixth year and third consulship of Justinian (A.D. 533, between January 1 and April 1, Pagi, tom. ii, p. 550.) Marcellinus, in his Chronicle, uses the style of Medes and Persians.

† Procopius, Persic. l. 1, c. 26.

‡ Almondar, king of Hira, was deposed by Kobad, and restored by Nushirvan. His mother, from her beauty, was surnamed *Celestial Water*, an appellation which became hereditary, and was extended for a more noble cause (liberality in famine) to the Arab princes of Syria. (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 69, 70.) [This independent Arabian state was founded about the year 220 by Malek Ben Fahm Elasdi. For more than four centuries, a succession of petty kings maintained it under the protection of Persia. In 632 the Mahometan forces of Abubeker over-ran it, and it became part of his dominions. Its chief city was also called Hira, which fell into decay, and its former site is now occupied by Medschid Ali. Of Aretas, a very different account is given by Bruce, in his Abyssinian Annals. It will be found in a subsequent page of this chapter, where Gibbon has somewhat varied his statement. See also ch. 50 for Hira and Medschid Ali.—ED.]

extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the licence of pasture appeared to attest the rights of Almondar, while the Gassanite appealed to the Latin name of strata, a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans.* The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassals; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria. Instead of repelling the arms, Justinian attempted to seduce the fidelity of Almondar, while he called from the extremities of the earth, the nations of Æthiopia and Scythia to invade the dominions of his rival. But the aid of such allies was distant and precarious, and the discovery of this hostile correspondence justified the complaints of the Goths and Armenians, who implored, almost at the same time, the protection of Chosroes. The descendants of Arsaces, who were still numerous in Armenia, had been provoked to assert the last relics of national freedom and hereditary rank; and the ambassadors of Vitiges had secretly traversed the empire to expose the instant, and almost inevitable, danger of the kingdom of Italy. Their representations were uniform, weighty, and effectual. "We stand before your throne, the advocates of your interest as well as of our own. The ambitious and faithless Justinian aspires to be the sole master of the world. Since the endless peace which betrayed the common freedom of mankind, that prince, your ally in words, your enemy in actions, has alike insulted his friends and foes, and has filled the earth with blood and confusion. Has he not violated the privileges of Armenia, the independence of Colchos, and the wild liberty of the Tzanian mountains? Has he not usurped, with equal avidity, the city of Bosphorus on the frozen Mæotis, and the vale of palm-trees on the shores of the Red sea? The Moors, the Vandals, the Goths, have been successively oppressed, and each nation has calmly remained the spectator of their neighbour's ruin. Embrace, O king! the favourable moment; the East is left without defence, while the armies of Justinian and his renowned general are detained in the distant regions of the West. If

* Procopius, Persic. l. 2, c. 1. We are ignorant of the origin and object of this *strata*, a paved road of ten days' journey from Auranitis to Babylonia. (See a Latin note in Delisle's Map, Imp. Orient.)

you hesitate and delay, Belisarius and his victorious troops will soon return from the Tiber to the Tigris, and Persia may enjoy the wretched consolation of being the last devoured."* By such arguments, Chosroes was easily persuaded to imitate the example which he condemned: but the Persian, ambitious of military fame, disdained the inactive warfare of a rival, who issued his sanguinary commands from the secure station of the Byzantine palace.

Whatever might be the provocations of Chosroes, he abused the confidence of treaties; and the just reproaches of dissimulation and falsehood could only be concealed by the lustre of his victories.† The Persian army, which had been assembled in the plains of Babylon, prudently declined the strong cities of Mesopotamia, and followed the western bank of the Euphrates, till the small though populous town of Dura‡ presumed to arrest the progress of the great king. The gates of Dura, by treachery and surprise, were burst open; and as soon as Chosroes had stained his cimeter with the blood of the inhabitants, he dismissed the ambassador of Justinian to inform his master in what place he had left the enemy of the Romans. The conqueror still affected the praise of humanity and justice: and as he beheld a noble matron with her infant rudely dragged along the ground, he sighed, he wept, and implored the divine justice to punish the author of these calamities. Yet the herd of twelve thousand captives was ransomed for two hundred pounds of gold; the neighbouring bishop of Sergiopolis pledged his faith for the payment; and in the subsequent year the unfeeling avarice of Chosroes exacted the penalty of an obligation which it was generous to contract, and impossible to discharge. He advanced into the heart of Syria; but a feeble enemy, who vanished at his approach, disappointed

Wesseling and D'Anville are silent.

* I have blended, in a short speech, the two orations of the Arsacides of Armenia and the Gothic ambassadors. Procopius, in his public history, feels, and makes us feel, that Justinian was the true author of the war. (Persic. l. 2, c. 2, 3.)

† The invasion of Syria, the ruin of Antioch, &c. are related in a full and regular series by Procopius. (Persic. l. 2, c. 5—14.) Small collateral aid can be drawn from the Orientals: yet not they, but D'Herbelot himself (p. 680), should blush when he blames them for making Justinian and Nushirvan contemporaries. On the geography of the seat of war, D'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre) is sufficient and satisfactory.

‡ [This town is called by Procopius, Sura. The city of Dura stood on the Tigris. See vol. iii, p. 46.—Ed.]

him of the honour of victory; and as he could not hope to establish his dominion, the Persian king displayed in this inroad the mean and rapacious vices of a robber. Hierapolis, Berrhæa, or Aleppo, Apamea and Chalcis, were successively besieged: they redeemed their safety by a ransom of gold or silver, proportioned to their respective strength and opulence; and their new master enforced, without observing, the terms of capitulation. Educated in the religion of the Magi, he exercised without remorse the lucrative trade of sacrilege; and, after stripping of its gold and gems a piece of the true cross, he generously restored the naked relic to the devotion of the Christians of Apamea. No more than fourteen years had elapsed since Antioch was ruined by an earthquake; but the queen of the East, the new Theopolis, had been raised from the ground by the liberality of Justinian; and the increasing greatness of the buildings and the people already erased the memory of this recent disaster. On one side the city was defended by the mountain, on the other by the river Orontes; but the most accessible part was commanded by a superior eminence: the proper remedies were rejected, from the despicable fear of discovering its weakness to the enemy; and Germanus, the emperor's nephew, refused to trust his person and dignity within the walls of a besieged city. The people of Antioch had inherited the vain and satirical genius of their ancestors; they were elated by a sudden reinforcement of six thousand soldiers; they disdained the offers of an easy capitulation; and their intemperate clamours insulted from the ramparts the majesty of the great king. Under his eye the Persian myriads mounted with scaling-ladders to the assault; the Roman mercenaries fled through the opposite gate of Daphne; and the generous resistance of the youth of Antioch served only to aggravate the miseries of their country. As Chosroes, attended by the ambassadors of Justinian, was descending from the mountain, he affected, in a plaintive voice, to deplore the obstinacy and ruin of that unhappy people; but the slaughter still raged with unrelenting fury, and the city, at the command of a Barbarian, was delivered to the flames. The cathedral of Antioch was indeed preserved by the avarice, not the piety, of the conqueror: a more honourable exemption was granted to the church of St. Julian, and the quarter of the town where the ambassadors resided; some

distant streets were saved by the shifting of the wind, and the walls still subsisted to protect, and soon to betray, their new inhabitants. Fanaticism had defaced the ornaments of Daphne, but Chosroes breathed a purer air amidst her groves and fountains; and some idolaters in his train might sacrifice with impunity to the nymphs of that elegant retreat. Eighteen miles below Antioch, the river Orontes falls into the Mediterranean. The haughty Persian visited the term of his conquests: and, after bathing alone in the sea, he offered a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the sun, or rather to the Creator of the sun, whom the Magi adored. If this act of superstition offended the prejudices of the Syrians, they were pleased by the courteous and even eager attention with which he assisted at the games of the circus; and as Chosroes had heard that the *blue* faction was espoused by the emperor, his peremptory command secured the victory of the *green* charioteer. From the discipline of his camp the people derived more solid consolation; and they interceded in vain for the life of a soldier who had too faithfully copied the rapine of the just Nushirvan. At length, fatigued, though unsatiated, with the spoil of Syria, he slowly moved to the Euphrates, formed a temporary bridge in the neighbourhood of Barbalissus, and defined the space of three days for the entire passage of his numerous host. After his return, he founded at the distance of one day's journey from the palace of Ctesiphon, a new city, which perpetuated the joint names of Chosroes and of Antioch. The Syrian captives recognized the form and situation of their native abodes: baths and a stately circus were constructed for their use; and a colony of musicians and charioteers revived in Assyria the pleasures of a Greek capital. By the munificence of the royal founder, a liberal allowance was assigned to these fortunate exiles; and they enjoyed the singular privilege of bestowing freedom on the slaves whom they acknowledged as their kinsmen. Palestine, and the holy wealth of Jerusalem, were the next objects that attracted the ambition, or rather the avarice, of Chosroes. Constantinople, and the palace of the Cæsars, no longer appeared impregnable or remote; and his aspiring fancy already covered Asia Minor with the troops, and the Black Sea with the navies, of Persia.

These hopes might have been realized, if the conqueror of Italy had not been seasonably recalled to the defence of

the East.* While Chosroes pursued his ambitious designs on the coast of the Euxine, Belisarius, at the head of an army without pay or discipline, encamped beyond the Euphrates, within six miles of Nisibis. He meditated, by a skilful operation, to draw the Persians from their impregnable citadel, and improving his advantage in the field, either to intercept their retreat, or perhaps to enter the gates with the flying Barbarians. He advanced one day's journey on the territories of Persia, reduced the fortress of Sisaurane, and sent the governor, with eight hundred chosen horsemen, to serve the emperor in his Italian wars. He detached Arethas and his Arabs, supported by twelve hundred Romans, to pass the Tigris, and to ravage the harvests of Assyria, a fruitful province, long exempt from the calamities of war. But the plans of Belisarius were disconcerted by the untractable spirit of Arethas, who neither returned to the camp, nor sent any intelligence of his motions. The Roman general was fixed in anxious expectation to the same spot; the time of action elapsed, the ardent sun of Mesopotamia inflamed with fevers the blood of his European soldiers; and the stationary troops and officers of Syria affected to tremble for the safety of their defenceless cities. Yet this diversion had already succeeded in forcing Chosroes to return with loss and precipitation; and if the skill of Belisarius had been seconded by discipline and valour, his success might have satisfied the sanguine wishes of the public, who required at his hands the conquest of Ctesiphon and the deliverance of the captives of Antioch. At the end of the campaign, he was recalled to Constantinople by an ungrateful court, but the dangers of the ensuing spring restored his confidence and command; and the hero, almost alone, was dispatched, with the speed of post horses, to repel, by his name and presence, the invasion of Syria. He found the Roman generals, among whom was a nephew of Justinian, imprisoned by their fears in the fortifications of Hierapolis. But instead of listening to their timid counsels, Belisarius commanded them to follow him to Europus, where he had

* In the public history of Procopius (Persic. l. 2, c. 16. 18—21. 24—28), and with some slight exceptions, we may reasonably shut our ears against the malevolent whisper of the Anecdotes (c. 2, 3, with the notes, as usual, of Alemannus).

resolved to collect his forces, and to execute whatever God should inspire him to achieve against the enemy. His firm attitude on the banks of the Euphrates restrained Chosroes from advancing towards Palestine; and he received with art and dignity the ambassadors, or rather spies, of the Persian monarch. The plain between Hierapolis and the river was covered with the squadrons of cavalry, six thousand hunters, tall and robust, who pursued their game without the apprehension of an enemy. On the opposite bank the ambassadors descried a thousand Armenian horse, who appeared to guard the passage of the Euphrates. The tent of Belisarius was of the coarsest linen, the simple equipage of a warrior who disdained the luxury of the East. Around his tent, the nations who marched under his standard were arranged with skilful confusion. The Thracians and Illyrians were posted in the front, the Heruli and Goths in the centre; the prospect was closed by the Moors and Vandals, and their loose array seemed to multiply their numbers. Their dress was light and active: one soldier carried a whip, another a sword, a third a bow, a fourth perhaps a battle-axe, and the whole picture exhibited the intrepidity of the troops and the vigilance of the general. Chosroes was deluded by the address, and awed by the genius, of the lieutenant of Justinian. Conscious of the merit, and ignorant of the force, of his antagonist, he dreaded a decisive battle in a distant country, from whence not a Persian might return to relate the melancholy tale. The great king hastened to repass the Euphrates; and Belisarius pressed his retreat, by affecting to oppose a measure so salutary to the empire, and which could scarcely have been prevented by an army of a hundred thousand men. Envy might suggest to ignorance and pride, that the public enemy had been suffered to escape: but the African and Gothic triumphs are less glorious than this safe and bloodless victory, in which neither fortune nor the valour of the soldiers can subtract any part of the general's renown. The second removal of Belisarius from the Persian to the Italian war revealed the extent of his personal merit, which had corrected or supplied the want of discipline and courage. Fifteen generals, without concert of skill, led through the mountains of Armenia an army of thirty thousand Romans, inattentive to their signals, their

ranks, and their ensigns. Four thousand Persians, intrenched in the camp of Dubis, vanquished, almost without a combat, this disorderly multitude; their useless arms were scattered along the road, and their horses sank under the fatigue of their rapid flight. But the Arabs of the Roman party prevailed over their brethren; the Armenians returned to their allegiance; the cities of Dara and Edessa resisted a sudden assault and a regular siege, and the calamities of war were suspended by those of pestilence. A tacit or formal agreement between the two sovereigns protected the tranquillity of the eastern frontier; and the arms of Chosroes were confined to the Colchian or Lazic war, which has been too minutely described by the historians of the times.*

The extreme length of the Euxine sea,† from Constantinople to the mouth of the Phasis, may be computed as a voyage of nine days, and a measure of seven hundred miles. From the Iberian Caucasus, the most lofty and craggy mountains of Asia, that river descends with such oblique vehemence, that, in a short space, it is traversed by one hundred and twenty bridges. Nor does the stream become placid and navigable, till it reaches the town of Sarapana, five days' journey from the Cyrus, which flows from the same hills, but in a contrary direction, to the Caspian lake. The proximity of these rivers has suggested the practice, or at least the idea, of wafting the precious merchandise of India down the Oxus, over the Caspian, up the Cyrus, and

* The Lazic war, the contest of Rome and Persia on the Phasis, is tediously spun through many a page of Procopius (Persic. l. 2, c. 15. 17. 28—30. Gothic. l. 4, c. 7—16,) and Agathias. (l. 2.—4, p. 55—132. 141).

† The *Periplus*, or circumnavigation of the Euxine sea, was described in Latin by Sallust, and in Greek by Arrian.—1. The former work, which no longer exists, has been restored by the *singular* diligence of M. de Brosses, first president of the parliament of Dijon, (Hist. de la République Romaine, tom. ii, l. 3, p. 199—298), who ventures to assume the character of the Roman historian. His description of the Euxine is ingeniously formed of *all* the fragments of the original, and of *all* the Greeks and Latins whom Sallust might copy, or by whom he might be copied; and the merit of the execution atones for the whimsical design. 2. The Periplus of Arrian is addressed to the emperor Adrian, (in Geograph. Minor. Hudson, tom. i,) and contains whatever the governor of Pontus had seen, from Trebizond to Dioscurias; whatever he had heard from Dioscurias to the Danube; and whatever he knew from the Danube to Trebizond.

with the current of the Phasis, into the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. As it successively collects the streams of the plain of Colchos, the Phasis moves with diminished speed, though accumulated weight. At the mouth it is sixty fathoms deep and half a league broad, but a small woody island is interposed in the midst of the channel: the water, so soon as it has deposited an earthy or metallic sediment, floats on the surface of the waves, and is no longer susceptible of corruption. In a course of one hundred miles, forty of which are navigable for large vessels, the Phasis divides the celebrated region of Colchos,* or Mingrelia,† which, on three sides, is fortified by the Iberian and Armenian mountains, and whose maritime coast extends about two hundred miles, from the neighbourhood of Trebizond to Dioscurias and the confines of Circassia. Both the soil and climate are relaxed by excessive moisture: twenty-eight rivers, besides the Phasis and his dependent streams, convey their waters to the sea; and the hollowness of the ground appears to indicate the subterraneous channels between the Euxine and the Caspian. In the fields where wheat or barley is sown, the earth is too soft to sustain the action of the plough; but the *gom*, a small grain, not unlike the millet or coriander seed, supplies the ordinary food of the people; and the use of bread is confined to the prince and his nobles. Yet the vintage is more plentiful than the harvest; and the bulk of the stems, as well as the quality of the wine, display the unassisted powers of nature. The same powers continually tend to overshadow the face of the country with thick forests; the timber of the hills, and the flax of the plains, contribute to the abundance of naval stores; the wild and tame

* Besides the many occasional hints from the poets, historians, &c. of antiquity, we may consult the geographical descriptions of Colchos, by Strabo (l. 11, p. 760—765,) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. 6. 5. 19, &c.).

† I shall quote, and have used, three modern descriptions of Mingrelia and the adjacent countries. 1. Of the Père Archangeli Lamberti, (Relations de Thevenot, part 1, p. 31—52, with a map,) who has all the knowledge and prejudices of a missionary. 2. Of Chardin: (Voyages en Perse, tom. i, p. 54. 68—168,) his observations are judicious; and his own adventures in the country are still more instructive than his observations. 3. Of Peyssonnel: (Observations sur les Peuples Barbares, p. 49—51. 58. 62. 64, 65. 71, &c., and a more recent treatise, Sur le Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii, p. 1—53,) he had long resided at Caffa, as consul of France; and his erudition is less

animals, the horse, the ox, and the hog, are remarkably prolific, and the name of the pheasant is expressive of his native habitation on the banks of the Phasis. The gold mines to the south of Trebizond, which are still worked with sufficient profit, were a subject of national dispute between Justinian and Chosroes; and it it is not unreasonable to believe, that a vein of precious metal may be equally diffused through the circle of the hills, although these secret treasures are neglected by the laziness, or concealed by the prudence, of the Mingrelians. The waters, impregnated with particles of gold, are carefully strained through sheepskins or fleeces; but this expedient, the ground-work perhaps of a marvellous fable, affords a faint image of the wealth extracted from a virgin earth by the power and industry of ancient kings. Their silver palaces and golden chambers surpass our belief; but the fame of their riches is said to have excited the enterprising avarice of the Argonauts.* Tradition has affirmed, with some

valuable than his experience.

* Pliny, Hist. Natur. l. 33. 15. The gold and silver mines of Colchos attracted the Argonauts. (Strab. l. 1, p. 77.) The sagacious Chardin could find no gold in mines, rivers, or elsewhere. Yet a Mingrelian lost his hand and foot for shewing some specimens at Constantinople of native gold. [All the ancients agree in assigning to the Colchians an Egyptian origin; but they are represented as descendants of soldiers whom Sesostris left there. Such settlers are not likely to have been, "a learned and polite colony;" nor can any evidence be shown of this, or of the industry and commerce which made their country "the Holland of antiquity." The gold of Colchis is not mentioned either by Herodotus or Diodorus Siculus. Strabo's testimony, as he himself admits, ought not to be trusted, for he confesses that the rivers of the Caspian Iberia, which were said to roll these yellow sands into the grounds of the Suani, might have been mistaken, by his informant, for the auriferous streams of the western or Spanish Iberia. Nor while enumerating the products of Colchis (l. 11, p. 762) does he include among them the treasures, which he elsewhere alleges to have been the prize sought by the Argonauts. Pliny's notice of the subject is too incidental to have any weight. He points this out indeed, as one of the districts from which the Romans might have exacted their tribute in this precious metal. But his statement, borrowed apparently from Strabo, that it had been dug up there in the lands of the Suani, is qualified by a very doubting "dicitur," and accompanied by allusions to signs of wealth, which Gibbon puts aside as fables "surpassing our belief." When treating before of Colchis and the "Suanorum gens" (6. 4) Pliny made no reference to a mineral product, then scarce, but now likely, through abundance, to be depreciated in worth. The legend of the

colour of reason, that Egypt planted on the Phasis a learned and polite colony,* which manufactured linen, built navies, and invented geographical maps. The ingenuity of the moderns has peopled, with flourishing cities and nations, the isthmus between the Euxine and the Caspian;† and a lively writer, observing the resemblance of climate, and, in his apprehension, of trade, has not hesitated to pronounce Colchos the Holland of antiquity.‡

But the riches of Colchos shine only through the darkness of conjecture or tradition; and its genuine history presents a uniform scene of rudeness and poverty. If one hundred and thirty languages were spoken in the market of Dioscurias,§ they were the imperfect idioms of so many savage tribes or families, sequestered from each other in the valleys of mount Caucasus; and their separation, which diminished the importance, must have multiplied the number, of their rustic capitals. In the present state of Mingrelia, a village is an assemblage of huts within a wooden fence; the fortresses are seated in the depth of forests; the princely town of Cyta, or Cotatis, consists of two hun-

golden fleece, which classical piety reveres as an historical fact, most probably gave rise to the ideal riches of a region, which appears in fact never to have been otherwise than rude and poor. Such were Arrian's authorities for repeating the tale.—ED.]

* Herodot. l. 2, c. 104, 105, p. 150, 151. Diodor. Sicul. l. 1, p. 33, edit. Wesseling; Dionys. Perieget. 689, and Eustath. ad loc. Scholiast. ad Apollonium Argonaut. l. 4, 282—291. † Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. 21, c. 6. L'Isthme . . . couvert de villes et nations qui ne sont plus. ‡ Bougainville, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi, p. 33, on the African voyage of Hanno and the commerce of antiquity. § A Greek historian, Timosthenes, had affirmed, in eam ccc nationes dissimilibus linguis descendere; and the modest Pliny is content to add, et a postea a nostris cxxx interpretibus negotia ibi gesta (6. 5); but the words nunc deserta cover a multitude of past fictions. [Cursory readers will here not perceive, that Gibbon discredits all that the ancients related of the wonderful trade of Dioscurias. So sensible a writer as Pliny, should not have condescended to quote an historian, who told him of three hundred different languages anywhere, but most of all in such a vicinity. His meaning appears however to have been misconstrued. If, in Roman times, sufficient business had been transacted at Dioscurias to employ a hundred and thirty interpreters, it would not have implied that each of them spoke a distinct dialect. That number even of "imperfect idioms" is incredible. His words "*littora fera nationes tenent*" disprove any extensive previous civilization. Strabo intimates (l. 11) that the various tongues, said

dred houses, and a stone edifice appertains only to the magnificence of kings. Twelve ships from Constantinople, and about sixty barks, laden with the fruits of industry, annually cast anchor on the coast; and the list of Colchian exports is much increased, since the natives had only slaves and hides to offer in exchange for the corn and salt which they purchased from the subjects of Justinian. Not a vestige can be found of the art, the knowledge, or the navigation, of the ancient Colchians; few Greeks desired or dared to pursue the footsteps of the Argonauts; and even the marks of an Egyptian colony are lost on a nearer approach. The right of circumcision is practised only by the Mahometans of the Euxine; and the curled hair and swarthy complexion of Africa no longer disfigure the most perfect of the human race. It is in the adjacent climates of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia, that nature has placed, at least to our eyes, the model of beauty, in the shape of the limbs, the colour of the skin, the symmetry of the features, and the expression of the countenance.* According to the destination of the two sexes, the men seemed formed for action, the women for love; and the perpetual supply of females from mount Caucasus has purified the blood, and improved the breed, of the southern nations of Asia. The proper district of Mingrelia, a portion only of the ancient Colchos, has long sustained an exportation of twelve thousand slaves. The number of prisoners or criminals would be inadequate to the annual demand; but the common people are in a state of servitude to their lords: the exercise of fraud or rapine is unpunished in a lawless community; and the market is continually replenished by the abuse of civil and paternal authority. Such a trade,† which reduces the human species to the level of cattle, may tend to encourage marriage and population: since the multitude

to have been assembled in Dioscurias, were by no means those of busy merchants.—ED.]

* Buffon (Hist. Nat. tom. iii, p. 433—437) collects the unanimous suffrage of naturalists and travellers. If, in the time of Herodotus, they were in truth μελάγχροες and οὐλότριχες (and he had observed them with care), this precious fact is an example of the influence of climate on a foreign colony.

† The Mingrelian ambassador arrived at Constantinople with two hundred persons; but he ate (*sold*) them day by day, till his retinue was diminished to a secretary and two valets. (Tavernier, tom. i, p. 365.) To purchase his mistress, a Mingrelian gentleman sold twelve priests and his wife to the Turks. (Chardin, tom. i, p. 66).

of children enriches their sordid and inhuman parent. But this source of impure wealth must inevitably poison the national manners, obliterate the sense of honour and virtue, and almost extinguish the instincts of nature; the *Christians* of Georgia and Mingrelia are the most dissolute of mankind; and their children, who in a tender age are sold into foreign slavery, have already learned to imitate the rapine of the father and the prostitution of the mother. Yet amidst the rudest ignorance, the untaught natives discover a singular dexterity both of mind and hand; and although the want of union and discipline exposes them to their more powerful neighbours, a bold and intrepid spirit has animated the Colchians of every age. In the host of Xerxes, they served on foot; and their arms were a dagger or a javelin, a wooden casque, and a buckler of raw hides. But in their own country the use of cavalry has more generally prevailed: the meanest of the peasants disdain to walk; the martial nobles are possessed, perhaps, of two hundred horses; and above five thousand are numbered in the train of the prince of Mingrelia. The Colchian government has been always a pure and hereditary kingdom; and the authority of the sovereign is only restrained by the turbulence of his subjects. Whenever they were obedient he could lead a numerous army into the field; but some faith is requisite to believe, that the single tribe of the Suanians was composed of two hundred thousand soldiers, or that the population of Mingrelia now amounts to four millions of inhabitants.*

It was the boast of the Colchians, that their ancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris; and the defeat of the Egyptian is less incredible than his successful progress as far as the foot of Mount Caucasus. They sank, without any memorable effort, under the arms of Cyrus; followed in distant wars the standard of the great king, and presented him every fifth year with one hundred boys, and as many virgins, the fairest produce of the land.† Yet he accepted

* Strabo, l. 11, p. 765. Lamberti, Relation de la Mingrelie. Yet we must avoid the contrary extreme of Chardin, who allows no more than twenty thousand inhabitants to supply an annual exportation of twelve thousand slaves, an absurdity unworthy of that judicious traveller.

† Herodot. l. 3, c. 97. See, in l. 7, c. 79, their arms and service in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

this *gift* like the gold and ebony of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, or the negroes and ivory of Æthiopia: the Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of national independence.* After the fall of the Persian empire, Mithridates, king of Pontus, added Colchos to the wide circle of his dominions on the Euxine; and when the natives presumed to request that his son might reign over them, he bound the ambitious youth in chains of gold, and delegated a servant in his place. In the pursuit of Mithridates, the Romans advanced to the banks of the Phasis, and their galleys ascended the river till they reached the camp of Pompey and his legions.† But the senate, and afterwards the emperors, disdained to reduce that distant and useless conquest into the form of a province. The family of a Greek rhetorician was permitted to reign in Colchos and the adjacent kingdoms, from the time of Mark Antony to that of Nero; and after the race of Polemo‡ was extinct,

* Xenophon, who had encountered the Colchians in his retreat (Anabasis, l. 4, p. 320. 343. 348, edit. Hutchinson; and Foster's Dissertation, p. 53—58, in Spelman's English version, vol. ii,) styles them *αυτόνομοι*. Before the conquest of Mithridates, they are named by Appian *ἔθνος ἀρέιμανες*, (de Bell. Mithridatico, c. 15, tom. i, p. 661, of the last and best edition, by John Schweighæuser, Lipsiæ, 1785, 3 vols. large octavo).

† The conquest of Colchis by Mithridates and Pompey is marked by Appian (de Bell. Mithridat.) and Plutarch (in Vit. Pomp.).

‡ We may trace the rise and fall of the family of Polemo, in Strabo (l. 11, p. 755; l. 12, p. 867), Dion Cassius or Xiphilin (p. 588. 593. 601. 719. 754. 915. 946. edit. Reimar.), Suetonius (in Neron. c. 18, in Vespasian. c. 8), Eutropius, (7. 14,) Josephus (Antiq. Judaic. l. 20, c. 7, p. 970, edit. Havercamp), and Eusebius (Chron. with Scaliger. Animadvers. p. 196.). [All the most ancient of these writers, to whom may be added Tacitus (Hist. 3. 47) make the Polemons kings of Pontus, not of Colchis, which, according to Josephus, was at that time subject to Herodes. Polemon, the son of Zeno of Apamea, first received from Antony, B.C. 39, a part of Cilicia; but on the removal of Darius, son of Pharnaces, Pontus was given to him, B.C. 36. (Clinton, F. H. iii. 428.) Strabo, indeed, says at p. 763, that Polemon and his queen Pythodoris reigned in Colchis; but at p. 833 he contradicts this by making them sovereigns of the Tibareni, a people of Pontus (Cellarius ii. 283), and the Chaldæi (a mistake for Chalybes). He says also that their territories did not extend beyond Trebizond and were bounded on the east by Colchis. The city of Polemonopolis was in Pontus and gave its name to one division of the province. Agrippa, B.C. 16, granted the additional kingdom of Bosporus to Polemon, and the son was confirmed by Caligula

the eastern Pontus, which preserved his name, extended no farther than the neighbourhood of Trebizond. Beyond these limits the fortifications of Hyssus, of Apsarus, of the Phasis, of Dioscurias or Sebastopolis, and of Pityus, were guarded by sufficient detachments of horse and foot; and six princes of Colchos received their diadems from the lieutenants of Cæsar. One of these lieutenants, the eloquent and philosophic Arrian, surveyed, and has described, the Euxine coast, under the reign of Hadrian. The garrison which he reviewed at the mouth of the Phasis, consisted of four hundred chosen legionaries; the brick walls and towers, the double ditch, and the military engines on the rampart, rendered this place inaccessible to the barbarians; but the new suburbs which had been built by the merchants and veterans, required, in the opinion of Arrian, some external defence.* As the strength of the empire was gradually impaired, the Romans stationed on the Phasis were either withdrawn or expelled; and the tribe of the Lazi,† whose posterity speak a foreign dialect, and inhabit the sea-coast of Trebizond, imposed their name and dominion on the ancient kingdom of Colchos. Their independence was soon invaded by a formidable neighbour, who had acquired, by arms and treaties, the sovereignty of Iberia. The depen-

A.D. 38, in his father's dominions. But their sovereignty was only nominal, and did not continue for a century; the last of them resigned his kingdom to Nero, who introduced into it the Roman imperial administration.—ED.]

* In the time of Procopius, there were no Roman forts on the Phasis. Pityus and Sebastopolis were evacuated on the rumour of the Persians (Goth. l. 4, c. 4), but the latter was afterwards restored by Justinian (de Edif. l. 4, c. 7).

† In the time of Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy, the Lazi were a particular tribe on the northern skirts of Colchos (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii, p. 222). In the age of Justinian, they spread, or at least reigned, over the whole country. At present they have migrated along the coast towards Trebizond, and compose a rude seafaring people, with a peculiar language. (Chardin, p. 149. Peyssonnel, p. 64.) [The Lazi were said to have wandered from the Bosphorus, to settle in Colchis. But they were never heard of in the former neigbourhood; and their name indicates their Slavonian origin. *Laza*, in their language, denotes *a forest*, and they were therefore *foresters*. In early times the country was thickly wooded, (Procop. de Bell. Pers. 2. 15) and modern travellers have found it the same (Chardin. p. 196). In these retreats, stragglers or deserters from Slavonian tribes most probably took up their abode, and assumed, as their numbers increased, the designation under which

dent king of Lazica received his sceptre at the hands of the Persian monarch, and the successors of Constantine acquiesced in this injurious claim, which was proudly urged as a right of immemorial prescription. In the beginning of the sixth century, their influence was restored by the introduction of Christianity, which the Mingrelians still profess with becoming zeal, without understanding the doctrines, or observing the precepts, of their religion. After the decease of his father, Zathus was exalted to the regal dignity by the favour of the great king; but the pious youth abhorred the ceremonies of the Magi, and sought, in the palace of Constantinople, an orthodox baptism, a noble wife, and the alliance of the emperor Justin. The king of Lazica was solemnly invested with the diadem, and his cloak and tunic of white silk, with a gold border, displayed, in rich embroidery, the figure of his new patron; who soothed the jealousy of the Persian court, and excused the revolt of Colchos, by the venerable names of hospitality and religion. The common interest of both empires imposed on the Colchians the duty of guarding the passes of mount Caucasus, where a wall of sixty miles is now defended by the monthly service of the musketeers of Mingrelia.*

But this honourable connection was soon corrupted by the avarice and ambition of the Romans. Degraded from the rank of allies, the Lazi were incessantly reminded, by words and actions, of their dependent state. At the distance of a day's journey beyond the Apsarus, they beheld the rising fortress of Petra,† which commanded the maritime country to the south of the Phasis. Instead of being protected by the valour, Colchos was insulted by the licentiousness, of foreign mercenaries; the benefits of commerce were converted into base and vexatious monopoly; and Gubazes, the native prince, was reduced to a pageant of royalty, by the superior influence of the officers of Justinian.

they grew up into a people.—ED.]

* John Malalas, Chron. tom. ii, p. 134—137. Theophanes, p. 144. Hist. Miscell. l. 15, p. 103. The fact is authentic, but the date seems too recent. In speaking of their Persian alliance, the Lazi contemporaries of Justinian employ the most obsolete words — *εν γραμμασι μνημεια, προγονοι*, &c. Could they belong to a connection which had not been dissolved above twenty years?

† The sole vestige of Petra subsists in the writings of Procopius and Agathias. Most of the towns and castles of Lazica may be found by comparing their names and position with the

Disappointed in their expectations of Christian virtue, the indignant Lazi reposed some confidence in the justice of an unbeliever. After a private assurance that their ambassador should not be delivered to the Romans, they publicly solicited the friendship and aid of Chosroes. The sagacious monarch instantly discerned the use and importance of Colchos; and meditated a plan of conquest, which was renewed at the end of a thousand years by Shah Abbas, the wisest and most powerful of his successors.* His ambition was fired by the hope of launching a Persian navy from the Phasis, of commanding the trade and navigation of the Euxine sea, of desolating the coast of Pontus and Bithynia, of distressing, perhaps of attacking, Constantinople, and of persuading the barbarians of Europe to second his arms and counsels against the common enemy of mankind. Under the pretence of a Scythian war, he silently led his troops to the frontiers of Iberia; the Colchian guides were prepared to conduct them through the woods and along the precipices of mount Caucasus; and a narrow path was laboriously formed into a safe and spacious highway, for the march of cavalry, and even of elephants. Gubazes laid his person and diadem at the feet of the king of Persia; his Colchians imitated the submission of their prince: and after the walls of Petra had been shaken, the Roman garrison prevented, by a capitulation, the impending fury of the last assault. But the Lazi soon discovered, that their impatience had urged them to choose an evil more intolerable than the calamities which they strove to escape. The monopoly of salt and corn was effectually removed by the loss of those valuable commodities. The authority of a Roman legislator was succeeded by the pride of an Oriental despot, who beheld with equal disdain, the slaves whom he had exalted, and the kings whom he had humbled before the footstool of his throne. The adoration of fire was introduced into Colchos by the zeal of the Magi: their intolerant spirit provoked the fervour of a Christian people; and the prejudice of nature or education was wounded by the impious practice of

map of Mingrelia, in Lamberti.

* See the amusing letters of Pietro della Valle, the Roman traveller. (Viaggi, tom. ii, p. 207. 209. 213. 215. 266. 286. 300; tom. iii, p. 54. 127.) In the years 1618, 1619, and 1620, he conversed with Shah Abbas, and strongly encouraged a design which might have united Persia and Europe against their

exposing the dead bodies of their parents, on the summit of a lofty tower, to the crows and vultures of the air.* Conscious of the increasing hatred, which retarded the execution of his great designs, the just Nushirvan had secretly given orders to assassinate the king of the Lazi, to transplant the people into some distant land, and to fix a faithful and warlike colony on the banks of the Phasis. The watchful jealousy of the Colchians foresaw and averted the approaching ruin. Their repentance was accepted at Constantinople by the prudence, rather than the clemency, of Justinian; and he commanded Dagisteus, with seven thousand Romans, and one thousand of the Zani, to expel the Persians from the coast of the Euxine.

The siege of Petra, which the Roman general, with the aid of the Lazi, immediately undertook, is one of the most remarkable actions of the age. The city was seated on a craggy rock, which hung over the sea, and communicated by a steep and narrow path with the land. Since the approach was difficult, the attack might be deemed impossible; the Persian conqueror had strengthened the fortifications of Justinian; and the places least inaccessible were covered by additional bulwarks. In this important fortress, the vigilance of Chosroes had deposited a magazine of offensive and defensive arms, sufficient for five times the number, not only of the garrison, but of the besiegers themselves. The stock of flour and salt provisions was adequate to the consumption of five years; the want of wine was supplied by vinegar, and of grain, from whence a strong liquor was extracted; and a triple aqueduct eluded the diligence, and even the suspicions, of the enemy. But the firmest defence of Petra was placed in the valour of fifteen hundred Persians, who resisted the assaults of the Romans, whilst in a softer vein of earth a mine was secretly perforated. The wall, supported by slender and temporary props, hung tottering in the air; but Dagisteus delayed

common enemy the Turk.

* See Herodotus (l. 1, c. 140, p. 69), who speaks with diffidence; Larcher (tom. i, p. 399—401. Notes sur Herodote), Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 11), and Agathias (l. 2, p. 61, 62.) This practice, agreeable to the Zendavesta, (Hyde, de Relig. Pers. c. 34, p. 414—421,) demonstrates that the burial of the Persian kings, (Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. 8, p. 658), *τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον τοὺς τῇ γῇ μιχθῆναι*, is a Greek fiction, and that their tombs could be no more than cenotaphs.

the attack till he had secured a specific recompense; and the town was relieved before the return of his messenger from Constantinople. The Persian garrison was reduced to four hundred men, of whom no more than fifty were exempt from sickness or wounds; yet such had been their inflexible perseverance, that they concealed their losses from the enemy, by enduring, without a murmur, the sight and putrefying stench of the dead bodies of their eleven hundred companions. After their deliverance, the breaches were hastily stopped with sand-bags; the mine was replenished with earth; a new wall was erected on a frame of substantial timber; and a fresh garrison of three thousand men was stationed at Petra, to sustain the labours of a second siege. The operations both of the attack and defence, were conducted with skilful obstinacy; and each party derived useful lessons from the experience of their past faults. A battering-ram was invented, of light construction and powerful effect; it was transported and worked by the hands of forty soldiers; and as the stones were loosened by its repeated strokes, they were torn with long iron hooks from the wall. From those walls, a shower of darts was incessantly poured on the heads of the assailants, but they were most dangerously annoyed by a fiery composition of sulphur and bitumen, which in Colchos might with some propriety be named the oil of Medea. Of six thousand Romans who mounted the scaling-ladders, their general Bessas was the first, a gallant veteran of seventy years of age: the courage of their leader, his fall, and extreme danger, animated the irresistible effort of his troops; and their prevailing numbers oppressed the strength, without subduing the spirit, of the Persian garrison. The fate of these valiant men deserves to be more distinctly noticed. Seven hundred had perished in the siege, two thousand three hundred survived to defend the breach. One thousand and seventy were destroyed with fire and sword in the last assault; and if seven hundred and thirty were made prisoners, only eighteen among them were found without the marks of honourable wounds. The remaining five hundred escaped into the citadel, which they maintained without any hopes of relief, rejecting the fairest terms of capitulation and service, till they were lost in the flames. They died in obedience to the commands of their

prince; and such examples of loyalty and valour might excite their countrymen to deeds of equal despair and more prosperous event. The instant demolition of the works of Petra confessed the astonishment and apprehension of the conqueror.

A Spartan would have praised and pitied the virtue of these heroic slaves; but the tedious warfare and alternate success of the Roman and Persian arms cannot detain the attention of posterity at the foot of mount Caucasus. The advantages obtained by the troops of Justinian were more frequent and splendid: but the forces of the great king were continually supplied, till they amounted to eight elephants and seventy thousand men, including twelve thousand Scythian allies, and above three thousand Dilemites, who descended by their free choice from the hills of Hyrcania, and were equally formidable in close or in distant combat. The siege of Archæopolis, a name imposed or corrupted by the Greeks, was raised with some loss and precipitation; but the Persians occupied the passes of Iberia: Colchos was enslaved by their forts and garrisons; they devoured the scanty sustenance of the people; and the prince of the Lazi fled into the mountains. In the Roman camp, faith and discipline were unknown; and the independent leaders, who were invested with equal power, disputed with each other the pre-eminence of vice and corruption. The Persians followed without a murmur the commands of a single chief, who implicitly obeyed the instructions of their supreme lord. Their general was distinguished among the heroes of the East by his wisdom in council, and his valour in the field. The advanced age of Mermeroes, and the lameness of both his feet, could not diminish the activity of his mind, or even of his body; and whilst he was carried in a litter in the front of battle, he inspired terror to the enemy, and a just confidence to the troops, who, under his banners, were always successful. After his death, the command devolved to Nacoragan, a proud satrap, who, in a conference with the imperial chiefs, had presumed to declare that he disposed of victory as absolutely as of the ring on his finger. Such presumption was the natural cause and forerunner of a shameful defeat. The Romans had been gradually repulsed to the edge of the sea-shore; and their last camp, on the ruins of the Grecian colony of

Phasis, was defended on all sides by strong intrenchments, the river, the Euxine, and a fleet of galleys. Despair united their councils and invigorated their arms; they withstood the assault of the Persians; and the flight of Nacoragan preceded or followed the slaughter of ten thousand of his bravest soldiers. He escaped from the Romans to fall into the hands of an unforgiving master, who severely chastised the error of his own choice; the unfortunate general was flayed alive, and his skin, stuffed into the human form, was exposed on a mountain: a dreadful warning to those who might hereafter be intrusted with the fame and fortune of Persia.* Yet the prudence of Chosroes insensibly relinquished the prosecution of the Colchian war, in the just persuasion that it is impossible to reduce, or at least to hold, a distant country against the wishes and efforts of its inhabitants. The fidelity of Gubazes sustained the most rigorous trials. He patiently endured the harships of a savage life, and rejected with disdain the specious temptations of the Persian court. The king of the Lazi had been educated in the Christian religion; his mother was the daughter of a senator; during his youth, he had served ten years a silentiary of the Byzantine palace,† and the arrears of an unpaid salary were a motive of attachment as well as of complaint. But the long continuance of his sufferings extorted from him a naked representation of the truth; and truth was an unpardonable libel on the lieutenants of Justinian, who, amidst the delays of a ruinous war, had spared his enemies, and trampled on his allies. Their malicious information persuaded the emperor, that his faithless vassal already meditated a second defection: an order was surprised to send him prisoner to Constantinople; a treacherous clause was inserted, that he might be lawfully killed in case of resistance; and Gubazes, without arms, or suspicion of danger, was stabbed in the security of a friendly interview. In the

* The punishment of flaying alive could not be introduced into Persia by Sapor (Brisson, de Regn. Pers. l. 2, p. 578), nor could it be copied from the foolish tale of Marsyas the Phrygian piper, most foolishly quoted as a precedent by Agathias (l. 4, p. 132, 133).

† In the palace of Constantinople there were thirty silentiaries, who are styled hastati ante fores cubiculi, τῆς σίγης ἐπιστατται, an honourable title, which conferred the rank, without imposing the duties, of a senator. (Cod. Theodos. l. 6, tit. 23. Gothofred. Comment. tom. ii,

first moments of rage and despair, the Colchians would have sacrificed their country and religion to the gratification of revenge. But the authority and eloquence of the wiser few obtained a salutary pause: the victory of the Phasis restored the terror of the Roman arms, and the emperor was solicitous to absolve his own name from the imputation of so foul a murder. A judge of senatorial rank was commissioned to inquire into the conduct and death of the king of the Lazi. He ascended a stately tribunal, encompassed by the ministers of justice and punishment: in the presence of both nations, this extraordinary cause was pleaded, according to the forms of civil jurisprudence, and some satisfaction was granted to an injured people, by the sentence and execution of the meaner criminals.*

In peace, the king of Persia continually sought the pretences of a rupture; but no sooner had he taken up arms, than he expressed his desire of a safe and honourable treaty. During the fiercest hostilities, the two monarchs entertained a deceitful negotiation; and such was the superiority of Chosroes, that whilst he treated the Roman ministers with insolence and contempt, he obtained the most unprecedented honours for his own ambassadors at the imperial court. The successor of Cyrus assumed the majesty of the Eastern sun, and graciously permitted his younger brother Justinian to reign over the West, with the pale and reflected splendour of the moon. This gigantic style was supported by the pomp and eloquence of Isdigune, one of the royal chamberlains. His wife and daughters, with a train of eunuchs and camels, attended the march of the ambassador: two satraps with golden diadems were numbered among his followers; he was guarded by five hundred horse, the most valiant of the Persians; and the Roman governor of Dara wisely refused to admit more than twenty of this martial and hostile caravan. When Isdigune had saluted the emperor, and

p. 129.)

* On these judicial orations, Agathias (l. 3, p. 81—89; l. 4, p. 108—119,) lavishes eighteen or twenty pages of false and florid rhetoric. His ignorance or carelessness overlooks the strongest argument against the king of Lazica—his former revolt. [These transactions are arranged in the following order by Clinton (F. R. i. 802—812): A.D. 554, death of Mermeroes and assassination of Gubazes; A.D. 555, Nacoragan defeated at Phasis; A.D. 556, trial of the murderer of Gubazes; A.D. 557, Nacoragan recalled and put to death; A.D. 562, treaty of peace.—ED.]

delivered his presents, he passed ten months at Constantinople without discussing any serious affairs. Instead of being confined to his palace, and receiving food and water from the hands of his keepers, the Persian ambassador, without spies or guards, was allowed to visit the capital; and the freedom of conversation and trade enjoyed by his domestics offended the prejudices of an age which rigorously practised the law of nations, without confidence or courtesy.* By an unexampled indulgence, his interpreter, a servant below the notice of a Roman magistrate, was seated, at the table of Justinian, by the side of his master; and one thousand pounds of gold might be assigned for the expense of his journey and entertainment. Yet the repeated labours of Isdigune could procure only a partial and imperfect truce, which was always purchased with the treasures, and renewed at the solicitation, of the Byzantine court. Many years of fruitless desolation elapsed before Justinian and Chosroes were compelled by mutual lassitude, to consult the repose of their declining age. At a conference held on the frontier, each party, without expecting to gain credit, displayed the power, the justice, and the pacific intentions of their respective sovereigns; but necessity and interest dictated the treaty of peace, which was concluded for a term of fifty years, diligently composed in the Greek and Persian languages, and attested by the seals of twelve interpreters. The liberty of commerce and religion was fixed and defined; the allies of the emperor and the great king were included in the same benefits and obligations; and the most scrupulous precautions were provided to prevent or determine the accidental disputes that might arise on the confines of two hostile nations. After twenty years of destructive though feeble war, the limits still remained without alteration; and Chosroes was persuaded to renounce his dangerous claim to the possession or sovereignty of Colchos and its dependent states. Rich in the accumulated treasures of the East, he extorted from the Romans an annual payment of thirty thousand pieces of gold; and the smallness of the sum revealed the disgrace of a tribute in its naked deformity.

* Procopius represents the practice of the Gothic court of Ravenna (Goth. l. 1, c. 7); and foreign ambassadors have been treated with the same jealousy and rigour in Turkey (Busbequius, epist. 3, p. 149, 242, &c.), Russia (Voyage d'Olearius), and China (Narrative of M. de Lange, in Bell's Travels, vol. ii, p. 189–311.)

In a previous debate, the chariot of Sesostris, and the wheel of fortune, were applied by one of the ministers of Justinian, who observed that the reduction of Antioch and some Syrian cities had elevated beyond measure the vain and ambitious spirit of the Barbarian. "You are mistaken," replied the modest Persian: "the king of kings, the lord of mankind, looks down with contempt on such petty acquisitions; and of the ten nations, vanquished by his invincible arms, he esteems the Romans as the least formidable."* According to the Orientals, the empire of Nushirvan extended from Ferganah in Transoxiana to Yemen or Arabia Felix. He subdued the rebels of Hyrcania, reduced the provinces of Cabul and Zablestan on the banks of the Indus, broke the power of the Euthalites, terminated by an honourable treaty the Turkish war, and admitted the daughter of the great khan into the number of his lawful wives. Victorious and respected among the princes of Asia, he gave audience, in his palace of Madain, or Ctesiphon, to the ambassadors of the world. Their gifts or tributes, arms, rich garments, gems, slaves, or aromatics, were humbly presented at the foot of his throne; and he condescended to accept from the king of India, ten quintals of the wood of aloes, a maid seven cubits in height, and a carpet softer than silk, the skin, as it was reported, of an extraordinary serpent.†

Justinian had been reproached for his alliance with the Æthiopians, as if he attempted to introduce a people of savage negroes into the system of civilized society. But the friends of the Roman empire, the Axumites, or Abyssinians, may be always distinguished from the original natives of Africa.‡ The hand of nature has flattened the noses of the negroes, covered their heads with shaggy wool, and tinged their skin with inherent and indelible blackness. But the olive complexion of the Abyssinians, their hair, shape, and

* The negotiations and treaties between Justinian and Chosroes are copiously explained by Procopius (Persic. l. 2, c. 10. 13. 26—28; Gothic. l. 2. c. 11. 15.), Agathias (l. 4, p. 141, 142), and Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 132—147.) Consult Barbeyrac, Hist. des Anciens Traités, tom. ii, p. 154. 181—184. 195—200.

† D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 680, 681. 294, 295.

‡ See Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii, p. 449. This Arab cast of features and complexion, which has continued three thousand four hundred years (Ludolph. Hist. et Comment. Æthiopic. l. 1, c. 4) in the colony of Abyssinia, will justify the suspicion, that race, as well as climate, must have contributed to form the negroes of the adjacent

features, distinctly marked them as a colony of Arabs; and this descent is confirmed by the resemblance of language and manners, the report of an ancient emigration, and the narrow interval between the shores of the Red sea. Christianity had raised that nation above the level of African barbarism;* their intercourse with Egypt, and the successors of Constantine,† had communicated the rudiments of the arts and sciences; their vessels traded to the isle of Ceylon,‡ and seven kingdoms obeyed the Negus or supreme prince of Abyssinia. The independence of the Homerites, who reigned in the rich and happy Arabia, was first violated by an Æthiopian conqueror; he drew his hereditary claim from the queen of Sheba,§ and his ambition was sanctified

and similar regions.

* The Portuguese missionaries, Alvarez (Ramusio, tom. i, fol. 204, rect. 274, vers.), Bermudez (Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. ii, l. 5, c. 7, p. 1149—1188), Lobo (Relation, &c. par M. le Grand, with fifteen Dissertations, Paris, 1728), and Tellez (Relations de Thevenot, part 4), could only relate of modern Abyssinia what they had seen or invented. The erudition of Ludolphus (Hist. Æthiopica, Francofurt. 1681; Commentarius, 1691; Appendix, 1694) in twenty-five languages, could add little concerning its ancient history. Yet the fame of Caled, or Ellisthæus, the conqueror of Yemen, is celebrated in national songs and legends.

† The negotiations of Justinian with the Axumites, or Æthiopians, are recorded by Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 19, 20,) and John Malalas, (tom. ii, p. 163—165, 193—196.) The historian of Antioch quotes the original narrative of the ambassador Nonnosus, of which Photius (Bibliot. cod. 3) has preserved a curious extract.

‡ The trade of the Axumites to the coast of India and Africa, and the isle of Ceylon, is curiously represented by Cosmas Indicopleustes. (Topograph. Christian. l. 2, p. 132. 138—140; l. 11, p. 338, 339.)

§ Ludolph. Hist. et Comment. Æthiop. l. 2, c. 3. [The annals of Abyssinia (Bruce's Travels, l. 47, &c.) present a different view of these events. That country, at an early period peopled by a shepherd race, called in their language *Berber*, whence our term *barbarian*, often submitted to female rulers. One of these was Solomon's visitor. The word Sheba, Saba, Azab or Azaba, denoted the South, so that the title by which she is known to us signified only the quarter whence she came. After her return to her own country, she sent her son, Menilak, to Jerusalem, to be educated by his reputed father. The young prince took back with him a Hebrew colony, by whom his people were converted to Judaism. Their habits became thenceforth more settled, and they engaged in a commerce which connected them with Arabia and India on one side, and on the other with more northern climes, to which they forwarded the merchandize of tropic regions. Their sovereigns, who were styled Nagasch or Najaschi, planted for the purposes of this trade, on the opposite shores of Yemen, a numerous colony, which, under the name of Homerites,

by religious zeal. The Jews, powerful and active in exile, had seduced the mind of Dunaan, prince of the Homerites. They urged him to retaliate the persecution inflicted by the imperial laws on their unfortunate brethren: some Roman merchants were injuriously treated; and several Christians of Negra* were honoured with the crown of martyrdom.† The churches of Arabia implored the protection of the Abyssinian monarch. The Negus passed the Red Sea with a fleet and army, deprived the Jewish proselyte of his kingdom and life, and extinguished a race of princes, who had ruled above two thousand years the sequestered region of myrrh and frankincense. The conqueror immediately an-

remained subject to the parent country. After the fall of Jerusalem, many of the dispersed Jews fixed their abodes in Arabia, and formed several petty independent states. Kindred religion preserved relations of amity between them and their neighbours, the Homerites. But, when the latter, after the conversion of Abyssinia by Frumentius, embraced the Christian faith, jealousy and aversion succeeded to cordiality and friendship. In the time of Justinian (Bruce says Justin) an Abyssinian named Karwaryat or Aryat, by the Arabians, and Aretas by the Greeks, was the Christian chief in Najiran. Seeking probably to gain proselytes to his creed, he fell into the hands of Phineas, the Jewish king of Yathreb, and with ninety companions or disciples, perished in a pit of fire. His son, of the same name, and the Christians of Najiran, appealed to the Greek emperor for protection and redress. Justinian, unable to spare any forces for that purpose, sent his embassy to Caled, the Nagasch of Abyssinia, who ordered Abreha, his governor in Yemen, to employ the army, under his command, in this holy war. Phineas was defeated and the Christians secured from farther persecution. But no Jewish kingdoms were destroyed. They and the Homerites still subsisted till they were overthrown by Persia and then subdued by Mahomet. This narrative combines consistently in one, what the Greek histories, which Gibbon followed in different parts of this chapter, divide into two perplexed and contradictory transactions. The name of Aretas is introduced by them in such distant situations and opposite circumstances, that it appears to designate two separate persons. Yet there can have been but one. The Byzantine authors evidently wrote what they heard vaguely reported, while in Abyssinia authentic records were kept.—ED.]

* The city of Negra, or Nag'ran, in Yemen, is surrounded with palm-trees, and stands in the high-road between Saana the capital, and Mecca; from the former ten, from the latter twenty, days' journey of a caravan of camels. (Abulfeda, Descript. Arabiæ, p. 52.)

† The martyrdom of St. Arethas, prince of Negra, and his three hundred and forty companions, is embellished in the legends of Metaphrastes and Nicephorus Callistus, copied by Baronius, (A.D. 522, No. 22—66; A.D. 523, No. 16—29,) and refuted, with obscure diligence, by Basnage, (Hist. des Juifs, tom. xii, l. 8, c. 2, p. 333—348,) who investigates the state of the Jews in Arabia and Æthiopia.

nounced the victory of the gospel, requested an orthodox patriarch, and so warmly professed his friendship to the Roman empire, that Justinian was flattered by the hope of diverting the silk-trade through the channel of Abyssinia, and of exciting the forces of Arabia against the Persian king. Nonnosus, descended from a family of ambassadors, was named by the emperor to execute this important commission. He wisely declined the shorter, but more dangerous road through the sandy deserts of Nubia; ascended the Nile, embarked on the Red Sea, and safely landed at the African port of Adulis. From Adulis to the royal city of Axume is no more than fifty leagues, in a direct line; but the winding passes of the mountains detained the ambassador fifteen days; and as he traversed the forests, he saw, and vaguely computed, about five thousand wild elephants. The capital, according to his report, was large and populous; and the *village* of Axume is still conspicuous by the regal coronations, by the ruins of a Christian temple, and by sixteen or seventeen obelisks inscribed with Grecian characters.* But the Negus gave audience in the open field, seated on a lofty chariot, which was drawn by four elephants superbly caparisoned, and surrounded by his nobles and musicians. He was clad in a linen garment and cap, holding in his hand two javelins and a light shield; and, although his nakedness was imperfectly covered, he displayed the barbaric pomp of gold chains, collars, and bracelets, richly adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ambassador of Justinian knelt; the Negus raised him from the ground, embraced Nonnosus, kissed the seal, perused the letter, accepted the Roman alliance, and, brandishing his weapons, denounced implacable war against the worshippers of fire. But the proposal of the silk-trade was eluded; and notwithstanding the assurances, and perhaps the wishes, of the Abyssinians, these hostile menaces evaporated without effect. The Homerites

* Alvarez (in Ramusio, tom. i, fol. 219, vers. 221, vers.) saw the flourishing state of Axume in the year 1520—luogo molto buono e grande. It was ruined in the same century by the Turkish invasion. No more than one hundred houses remain; but the memory of its past greatness is preserved by the regal coronation. (Ludolph. Hist. et Comment. l. 2, c. 11.) [Axume was the Greek form of Agzaab, which, in the language of the shepherd tribes, denoted their *chief town*. (Bruce ii. 387.) It was burnt in 1535 by the Moors of Adel, against whom David, then king of Abyssinia, carried on an unsuccessful war.—ED.]

were unwilling to abandon their aromatic groves, to explore a sandy desert, and to encounter, after all their fatigues, a formidable nation from whom they had never received any personal injuries. Instead of enlarging his conquests, the king of Æthiopia was incapable of defending his possessions. Abrahah, the slave of a Roman merchant of Adulis, assumed the sceptre of the Homerites; the troops of Africa were seduced by the luxury of the climate; and Justinian solicited the friendship of the usurper, who honoured, with a slight tribute, the supremacy of his prince. After a long series of prosperity, the power of Abrahah was overthrown before the gates of Mecca; his children were despoiled by the Persian conqueror; and the Æthiopians were finally expelled from the continent of Asia. This narrative of obscure and remote events is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution which has changed the civil and religious state of the world.*

CHAPTER XLIII.—REBELLIONS OF AFRICA.—RESTORATION OF THE GOTHIC KINGDOM BY TOTILA.—LOSS AND RECOVERY OF ROME.—FINAL CONQUEST OF ITALY BY NARSES.—EXTINCTION OF THE OSTROGOTHS.—DEFEAT OF THE FRANKS AND ALLEMANNI.—LAST VICTORY, DISGRACE, AND DEATH OF BELISARIUS.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF JUSTINIAN.—COMETS, EARTHQUAKES, AND PLAGUE.

THE review of the nations from the Danube to the Nile has exposed on every side the weakness of the Romans; and our wonder is reasonably excited that they should presume to enlarge an empire, whose ancient limits they were incapable of defending. But the wars, the conquests, and the

* The revolutions of Yemen in the sixth century must be collected from Procopius (Persic. l. 1, c. 19, 20); Theophanes Byzant. (apud Phot. cod. 63, p. 80); St. Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 144, 145. 188, 189. 206, 207, who is full of strange blunders); Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 62. 65); D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12. 477); and Sale's Preliminary Discourse and Koran (c. 105). The revolt of Abrahah is mentioned by Procopius; and his fall, though clouded with miracles, is an historical fact. [Resting on statements so much at variance with more authentic records, the contingency by which Gibbon supposed that the success of Mahomet might have been pre-

triumphs, of Justinian, are the feeble and pernicious efforts of old age, which exhaust the remains of strength, and accelerate the decay of the powers of life. He exulted in the glorious act of restoring Africa and Italy to the republic; but the calamities which followed the departure of Belisarius betrayed the impotence of the conqueror, and accomplished the ruin of those unfortunate countries.

From his new acquisitions, Justinian expected that his avarice, as well as pride, should be richly gratified. A rapacious minister of the finances closely pursued the footsteps of Belisarius; and as the old registers of tribute had been burnt by the Vandals, he indulged his fancy in a liberal calculation and arbitrary assessment of the wealth of Africa.* The increase of taxes, which were drawn away by a distant sovereign, and a general resumption of the patrimony or crown lands, soon dispelled the intoxication of the public joy: but the emperor was insensible to the modest complaints of the people, till he was awakened and alarmed by the clamours of military discontent. Many of the Roman soldiers had married the widows and daughters of the Vandals. As their own, by the double right of conquest and inheritance, they claimed the estates which Genseric had assigned to his victorious troops. They heard with disdain the cold and selfish representations of their officers, that the liberality of Justinian had raised them from a savage or servile condition; that they were already enriched by the spoils of Africa, the treasure, the slaves, and the moveables, of the vanquished barbarians; and that the ancient and lawful patrimony of the emperors would be applied only to the support of that government on which their own safety and reward must ultimately depend. The

vented was quite ideal. The progress of the Arabian is attributed by Bruce to other causes, which will be considered in their proper place. —ED.]

* For the troubles of Africa, I neither have nor desire another guide than Procopius, whose eye contemplated the image, and whose ear collected the reports, of the memorable events of his own times. In the second book of the Vandalic war he relates the revolt of Stotzas (c. 14—24), the return of Belisarius (c. 15), the victory of Germanus (c. 16—18—), the second administration of Solomon (c. 19—21), the government of Sergius (c. 22, 23), of Areobindus (c. 24), the tyranny and death of Gontharis (c. 25—28); nor can I discern any symptoms of flattery or malevolence in his various portraits.

mutiny was secretly inflamed by a thousand soldiers, for the most part Heruli, who had imbibed the doctrines, and were instigated by the clergy, of the Arian sect; and the cause of perjury and rebellion was sanctified by the dispensing powers of fanaticism. The Arians deplored the ruin of their church, triumphant above a century in Africa; and they were justly provoked by the laws of the conqueror, which interdicted the baptism of their children, and the exercise of all religious worship. Of the Vandals chosen by Belisarius, the far greater part, in the honours of the Eastern service, forgot their country and religion. But a generous band of four hundred obliged the mariners, when they were in sight of the isle of Lesbos, to alter their course: they touched on Peloponnesus, ran ashore on a desert coast of Africa, and boldly erected, on mount Aurasius, the standard of independence and revolt. While the troops of the province disclaimed the commands of their superiors, a conspiracy was formed at Carthage against the life of Solomon, who filled with honour the place of Belisarius; and the Arians had piously resolved to sacrifice the tyrant at the foot of the altar, during the awful mysteries of the festival of Easter. Fear or remorse restrained the daggers of the assassins, but the patience of Solomon emboldened their discontent; and at the end of ten days, a furious sedition was kindled in the circus, which desolated Africa above ten years. The pillage of the city, and the indiscriminate slaughter of its inhabitants, were suspended only by darkness, sleep, and intoxication: the governor, with seven companions, among whom was the historian Procopius, escaped to Sicily: two-thirds of the army were involved in the guilt of treason; and eight thousand insurgents, assembling in the fields of Bulla, elected Stotzas for their chief, a private soldier, who possessed, in a superior degree, the virtues of a rebel. Under the mask of freedom, his eloquence could lead, or at least impel, the passions of his equals. He raised himself to a level with Belisarius, and the nephew of the emperor, by daring to encounter them in the field; and the victorious generals were compelled to acknowledge that Stotzas deserved a purer cause and a more legitimate command. Vanquished in battle, he dexterously employed the arts of negotiation; a Roman army was seduced from their allegiance, and the chiefs,

who had trusted to his faithless promise, were murdered, by his order, in a church of Numidia. When every resource, either of force or perfidy, was exhausted, Stotzas, with some desperate Vandals, retired to the wilds of Mauritania, obtained the daughter of a barbarian prince, and eluded the pursuit of his enemies by the report of his death. The personal weight of Belisarius, the rank, the spirit, and the temper, of Germanus, the emperor's nephew, and the vigour and success of the second administration of the eunuch Solomon, restored the modesty of the camp, and maintained, for a while, the tranquillity of Africa. But the vices of the Byzantine court were felt in that distant province; the troops complained that they were neither paid nor relieved; and as soon as the public disorders were sufficiently mature, Stotzas was again alive, in arms, and at the gates of Carthage. He fell in a single combat, but he smiled in the agonies of death, when he was informed that his own javelin had reached the heart of his antagonist. The example of Stotzas, and the assurance that a fortunate soldier had been the first king, encouraged the ambition of Gontharis, and he promised, by a private treaty, to divide Africa with the Moors, if, with their dangerous aid, he should ascend the throne of Carthage. The feeble Areobindus, unskilled in the affairs of peace and war, was raised by his marriage with the niece of Justinian to the office of exarch. He was suddenly oppressed by a sedition of the guards; and his abject supplications, which provoked the contempt, could not move the pity, of the inexorable tyrant. After a reign of thirty days, Gontharis himself was stabbed at a banquet, by the hand of Artaban; and it is singular enough, that an Armenian prince, of the royal family of Arsaces, should re-establish at Carthage the authority of the Roman empire. In the conspiracy which unsheathed the dagger of Brutus against the life of Cæsar, every circumstance is curious and important to the eyes of posterity: but the guilt or merit of these loyal or rebellious assassins could interest only the contemporaries of Procopius, who, by their hopes and fears, their friendship or resentment, were personally engaged in the revolutions of Africa.*

* Yet I must not refuse him the merit of painting, in lively colours, the murder of Gontharis. One of the assassins uttered a sentiment not unworthy of a Roman patriot.—"If I fail (said Artasires) in the

That country was rapidly sinking into the state of barbarism, from whence it had been raised by the Phœnician colonies and Roman laws: and every step of intestine discord was marked by some deplorable victory of savage man over civilized society. The Moors,* though ignorant of justice, were impatient of oppression: their vagrant life and boundless wilderness disappointed the arms, and eluded the chains, of a conqueror; and experience had shewn, that neither oaths nor obligations could secure the fidelity of their attachment. The victory of mount Auras had awed them into momentary submission; but if they respected the character of Solomon, they hated and despised the pride and luxury of his two nephews, Cyrus and Sergius, on whom their uncle had imprudently bestowed the provincial governments of Tripoli and Pentapolis. A Moorish tribe encamped under the walls of Leptis, to renew their alliance, and receive from the governor the customary gifts. Fourscore of their deputies were introduced as friends into the city; but, on the dark suspicion of a conspiracy, they were massacred at the table of Sergius; and the clamour of arms and revenge was re-echoed through the valleys of mount Atlas, from both the Syrtes to the Atlantic ocean. A personal injury, the unjust execution or murder of his brother, rendered Antalas the enemy of the Romans. The defeat of the Vandals had formerly signalized his valour; the rudiments of justice and prudence were still more conspicuous in a Moor; and while he laid Adrumetum in ashes, he calmly admonished the emperor that the peace of Africa might be secured by the recall of Solomon and his unworthy nephews. The exarch led forth his troops from Carthage: but at the distance of six days' journey, in the neighbourhood of Tebeste,† he was astonished by the superior numbers and fierce aspect of the barbarians. He proposed a treaty;

the first stroke, kill me on the spot, lest the rack should extort a discovery of my accomplices."

* The Moorish wars are occasionally introduced into the narrative of Procopius (Vandal. l. 2, c. 19—23. 25. 27, 28. Goth. l. 4, c. 17); and Theophanes adds some prosperous and adverse events in the last years of Justinian.

† Now Tibesh, in the kingdom of Algiers. It is watered by a river, the Sujerass, which falls into the Mejerda (*Bagradas*). Tibesh is still remarkable for its walls of large stones (like the Coliseum of Rome), a fountain and a grove of walnut-tree: the country is fruitful, and the

solicited a reconciliation; and offered to bind himself by the most solemn oaths. "By what oaths can he bind himself? (interrupted the indignant Moors.) Will he swear by the gospels, the divine books of the Christians? It was on those books that the faith of his nephew Sergius was pledged to eighty of our innocent and unfortunate brethren. Before we trust them a second time, let us try their efficacy in the chastisement of perjury, and the vindication of their own honour." Their honour was vindicated in the field of Tebeste, by the death of Solomon, and the total loss of his army. The arrival of fresh troops and more skilful commanders, soon checked the insolence of the Moors; seventeen of their princes were slain in the same battle; and the doubtful and transient submission of their tribes was celebrated with lavish applause by the people of Constantinople. Successive inroads had reduced the province of Africa to one-third of the measure of Italy; yet the Roman emperors continued to reign above a century over Carthage, and the fruitful coast of the Mediterranean. But the victories and the losses of Justinian were alike pernicious to mankind; and such was the desolation of Africa, that in many parts a stranger might wander whole days without meeting the face either of a friend or an enemy. The nation of the Vandals had disappeared; they once amounted to a hundred and sixty thousand warriors, without including the children, the women, or the slaves. Their numbers were infinitely surpassed by the number of the Moorish families extirpated in a relentless war; and the same destruction was retaliated on the Romans and their allies, who perished by the climate, their mutual quarrels, and the rage of the barbarians. When Procopius first landed, he admired the populousness of the cities and country, strenuously exercised in the labours of commerce and agriculture. In less than twenty years, that busy scene was converted into a silent solitude; the wealthy citizens escaped to Sicily and Constantinople; and the secret historian has confidently affirmed, that five millions of Africans

neighbouring Bereberes are warlike. It appears from an inscription, that, under the reign of Adrian, the road from Carthage to Tebeste was constructed by the third legion. (Marmol, Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii, p. 442, 443. Shaw's Travels, p. 64—66.) [This is probably the Tipasa, where Bruce observed the remains of a temple, an arch, and other extensive ruins, the relics of Roman dominion. See Introduction

were consumed by the wars and government of the emperor Justinian.*

The jealousy of the Byzantine court had not permitted Belisarius to achieve the conquest of Italy; and his abrupt departure revived the courage of the Goths,† who respected his genius, his virtue, and even the laudable motive which had urged the servant of Justinian to deceive and reject them. They had lost their king (an inconsiderable loss), their capital, their treasures, the provinces from Sicily to the Alps, and the military force of two hundred thousand Barbarians, magnificently equipped with horses and arms. Yet all was not lost, as long as Pavia was defended by one thousand Goths, inspired by a sense of honour, the love of freedom, and the memory of their past greatness. The supreme command was unanimously offered to the brave Uraias; and it was in his eyes alone that the disgrace of his uncle Vitiges could appear as a reason of exclusion. His voice inclined the election in favour of Hildibald, whose personal merit was recommended by the vain hope that his kinsman Theudes, the Spanish monarch, would support the common interest of the Gothic nation. The success of his arms in Liguria and Venetia seemed to justify their choice; but he soon declared to the world, that he was incapable of forgiving or commanding his benefactor. The consort of

to his Travels, p. 26.—ED.]

* Procopius, Anecdot. c. 18. The series of the African history attests this melancholy truth. [The desolate condition to which Africa was reduced had not been the work of twenty years; nor can we give credit to the rapid and extensive depopulation which Procopius asserts to have taken place. Our attention has been drawn, at successive periods, to the gradual decline of that once flourishing region. The scene, so awfully described, is only a more advanced stage of the general decay. Jornandes (c. 33) concludes his brief narrative of these events by saying, "Sic Africa Vandalico jugo erepta et in libertatem revocata hodie *congaudet*." Whether the words be his or those of Cassiodorus, it is most likely that they were prompted by the writer's exultation in the triumph of orthodoxy over Arianism, and are therefore to be as little trusted as the dark pictures drawn by Procopius.—ED.]

† In the second (c. 30) and third books (c. 1—40) Procopius continues the history of the Gothic war from the fifth to the fifteenth year of Justinian. As the events are less interesting than in the former period, he allots only half the space to double the time. Jornandes and the Chronicle of Marcellinus afford some collateral hints. Sigonius, Pagi, Muratori, Mascou, and De Buat, are useful, and have been used.

Hildibald was deeply wounded by the beauty, the riches, and the pride of the wife of Uraias; and the death of that virtuous patriot excited the indignation of a free people. A bold assassin executed their sentence by striking off the head of Hildibald in the midst of a banquet; the Rugians, a foreign tribe, assumed the privilege of election; and Totila, the nephew of the late king, was tempted by revenge, to deliver himself and the garrison of Trevigo into the hands of the Romans. But the gallant and accomplished youth was easily persuaded to prefer the Gothic throne before the service of Justinian; and as soon as the palace of Pavia had been purified from the Rugian usurper, he reviewed the national force of five thousand soldiers, and generously undertook the restoration of the kingdom of Italy.

The successors of Belisarius, eleven generals of equal rank, neglected to crush the feeble and disunited Goths, till they were roused to action by the progress of Totila and the reproaches of Justinian. The gates of Verona were secretly opened to Artabazus, at the head of one hundred Persians in the service of the empire. The Goths fled from the city. At the distance of sixty furlongs the Roman generals halted to regulate the division of the spoil. While they disputed, the enemy discovered the real number of the victors: the Persians were instantly overpowered, and it was by leaping from the wall that Artabazus preserved a life which he lost in a few days by the lance of a Barbarian, who had defied him to single combat. Twenty thousand Romans encountered the forces of Totila, near Faenza, and on the hills of Mugello, of the Florentine territory. The ardour of freedmen, who fought to regain their country, was opposed to the languid temper of mercenary troops, who were even destitute of the merits of strong and well disciplined servitude. On the first attack they abandoned their ensigns, threw down their arms, and dispersed on all sides with an active speed, which abated the loss, whilst it aggravated the shame, of their defeat. The king of the Goths, who blushed for the baseness of his enemies, pursued with rapid steps the path of honour and victory. Totila passed the Po, traversed the Apennine suspended the important conquest of Ravenna, Florence, and Rome, and marched through the heart of Italy, to form the siege, or rather the blockade, of Naples. The Roman chiefs, imprisoned in their respective cities, and

accusing each other of the common disgrace, did not presume to disturb his enterprise. But the emperor, alarmed by the distress and danger of his Italian conquests, dispatched to the relief of Naples a fleet of galleys and a body of Thracian and Armenian soldiers. They landed in Sicily, which yielded its copious stores of provisions; but the delays of the new commander, an unwarlike magistrate, protracted the sufferings of the besieged; and the succours, which he dropped with a timid and tardy hand, were successively intercepted by the armed vessels stationed by Totila in the bay of Naples. The principal officer of the Romans was dragged, with a rope round his neck, to the foot of the wall, from whence, with a trembling voice, he exhorted the citizens to implore, like himself, the mercy of the conqueror. They requested a truce, with a promise of surrendering the city, if no effectual relief should appear at the end of thirty days. Instead of one month, the audacious Barbarian granted them three, in the just confidence that famine would anticipate the term of their capitulation. After the reduction of Naples and Cumæ, the provinces of Lucania, Apulia, and Calabria, submitted to the king of the Goths. Totila led his army to the gates of Rome, pitched his camp at Tibur, or Tivoli, within twenty miles of the capital, and calmly exhorted the Senate and people to compare the tyranny of the Greeks with the blessings of the Gothic reign.

The rapid success of Totila may be partly ascribed to the revolution which three years' experience had produced in the sentiments of the Italians. At the command, or at least in the name, of a Catholic emperor, the pope,* their spiritual father, had been torn from the Roman church, and either starved or murdered on a desolate island.† The virtues of Belisarius were replaced by the various or uniform vices of eleven chiefs, at Rome, Ravenna, Florence, Perugia, Spoleto, &c. who abused their authority for the

* Sylverius, bishop of Rome, was first transported to Patara, in Lycia, and at length starved (sub eorum custodiâ inedia confectus) in the isle of Palmaria, A.D. 538, June 20. (Liberat. in Breviar. c. 22. Anastasius in Sylverio. Baronius, A.D. 540, No. 2, 3. Pagi in Vit. Pont. tom. i, p. 285, 286.) Procopius (Anecdot. c. 1) accuses only the empress and Antonina.

† Palmaria, a small island, opposite to Terracina and the coast of the Volsci. (Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. 3, c. 7,

indulgence of lust and avarice. The improvement of the revenue was committed to Alexander, a subtle scribe, long practised in the fraud and oppression of the Byzantine schools; and whose name of *Psalliction*, the *scissars*,* was drawn from the dexterous artifice with which he reduced the size, without defacing the figure, of the gold coin. Instead of expecting the restoration of peace and industry he imposed a heavy assessment on the fortunes of the Italians. Yet his present or future demands were less odious than a prosecution of arbitrary rigour against the persons and property of all those who, under the Gothic kings, had been concerned in the receipt and expenditure of the public money. The subjects of Justinian who escaped these partial vexations, were oppressed by the irregular maintenance of the soldiers whom Alexander defrauded and despised; and their hasty sallies, in quest of wealth or subsistance, provoked the inhabitants of the country to await or implore their deliverance from the virtues of a Barbarian. Totila† was chaste and temperate; and none were deceived, either friends or enemies, who depended on his faith or his clemency. To the husbandmen of Italy the Gothic king issued a welcome proclamation,

p. 1014.)

* As the Logothete Alexander, and most of his civil and military colleagues, were either disgraced or despised, the ink of the Anecdotes (c. 4. 5. 18) is scarcely blacker than that of the Gothic History (l. 3, c. 1. 3. 4. 9. 20, 21, &c.)

† Procopius (l. 3, c. 2. 8, &c.) does ample and willing justice to the merit of Totila. The Roman historians, from Sallust and Tacitus, were happy to forget the vices of their countrymen in the contemplation of Barbaric virtue. [Wherever the Gothic invaders and their civilized resisters are brought into contact, the natural superiority of the former is always manifest. Belisarius achieved his victories by Barbarian auxiliaries; and as soon as any theatre of his success lost the presence of his sagacious discernment the folly and imbecility of those for whom he had conquered, were at once perniciously displayed. In three years, the Italians were taught, that the sway of a once dreaded enemy was preferable to the restored power of their imperial tyrants. Had the reign of Totila been equally undisturbed, he was disposed to adopt the principles of government, on which his predecessors had acted. Dean Milman quotes St. Martin's derivation of the name Totila from Todilas or deathless. A more natural suggestion would have been tödtlich, deadly, fatal to his enemies. But the inquiry is useless, since the appellation is a corruption or misapprehension of the chieftain's real name, which was Badvila, as it is stamped on all his coins. See Eckhel, De Num. Vet. 8. 214.—Ed.]

enjoining them to pursue their important labours, and to rest assured, that, on the payment of the ordinary taxes, they should be defended by his valour and discipline from the injuries of war. The strong towns he successively attacked; and as soon as they had yielded to his arms, he demolished the fortifications; to save the people from the calamities of a future siege, to deprive the Romans of the arts of defence, and to decide the tedious quarrel of the two nations, by an equal and honourable conflict in the field of battle. The Roman captives and deserters were tempted to enlist in the service of a liberal and courteous adversary; the slaves were attracted by the firm and faithful promise, that they should never be delivered to their masters; and from the thousand warriors of Pavia, a new people, under the same appellation of Goths, was insensibly formed in the camp of Totila. He sincerely accomplished the articles of capitulation, without seeking or accepting any sinister advantage from ambiguous expressions or unforeseen events: the garrison of Naples had stipulated that they should be transported by sea; the obstinacy of the winds prevented their voyage, but they were generously supplied with horses, provisions, and a safe conduct to the gates of Rome. The wives of the senators, who had been surprised in the villas of Campania, were restored, without a ransom, to their husbands; the violation of female chastity was inexorably chastised with death; and in the salutary regulation of the diet of the famished Neapolitans, the conqueror assumed the office of a humane and attentive physician. The virtues of Totila are equally laudable, whether they proceeded from true policy, religious principle, or the instinct of humanity; he often harangued his troops; and it was his constant theme, that national vice and ruin are inseparably connected: that victory is the fruit of moral as well as military virtue; and that the prince, and even the people, are responsible for the crimes which they neglect to punish.

The return of Belisarius, to save the country which he had subdued, was pressed with equal vehemence by his friends and enemies; and the Gothic war was imposed as a trust or an exile on the veteran commander. A hero on the banks of the Euphrates, a slave in the palace of Constantinople, he accepted, with reluctance, the painful task of supporting his own reputation, and retrieving the faults

of his successors. The sea was open to the Romans: the ships and soldiers were assembled at Salona, near the palace of Diocletian: he refreshed and reviewed his troops at Pola in Istria, coasted round the head of the Hadriatic, entered the port of Ravenna, and dispatched orders rather than supplies to the subordinate cities. His first public oration was addressed to the Goths and Romans in the name of the emperor, who had suspended for awhile the conquest of Persia, and listened to the prayers of his Italian subjects. He gently touched on the causes and the authors of the recent disasters; striving to remove the fear of punishment for the past, and the hope of impunity for the future, and labouring with more zeal than success, to unite all the members of his government in a firm league of affection and obedience. Justinian, his gracious master, was inclined to pardon and reward; and it was their interest as well as duty, to reclaim their deluded brethren who had been seduced by the arts of the usurper. Not a man was tempted to desert the standard of the Gothic king. Belisarius soon discovered that he was sent to remain the idle and impotent spectator of the glory of a young Barbarian; and his own epistle exhibits a genuine and lively picture of the distress of a noble mind.—"Most excellent prince; we are arrived in Italy, destitute of all the necessary implements of war, men, horses, arms, and money. In our late circuit through the villages of Thrace and Illyricum, we have collected, with extreme difficulty, about four thousand recruits, naked and unskilled in the use of weapons and the exercises of the camp. The soldiers already stationed in the province are discontented, fearful, and dismayed; at the sound of an enemy, they dismiss their horses, and cast their arms on the ground. No taxes can be raised, since Italy is in the hands of the Barbarians; the failure of payment has deprived us of the right of command, or even of admonition. Be assured, dread sir, that the greater part of your troops have already deserted to the Goths. If the war could be achieved by the presence of Belisarius alone, your wishes are satisfied; Belisarius is in the midst of Italy. But if you desire to conquer, far other preparations are requisite; without a military force, the title of general is an empty name. It would be expedient to restore to my service my own veterans and domestic guards. Before I can take the field, I

must receive an adequate supply of light and heavy-armed troops; and it is only with ready money that you can procure the indispensable aid of a powerful body of the cavalry of the Huns."* An officer in whom Belisarius confided was sent from Ravenna to hasten and conduct the succours; but the message was neglected, and the messenger was detained at Constantinople by an advantageous marriage. After his patience had been exhausted by delay and disappointment, the Roman general repassed the Hadriatic, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which were slowly assembled among the subjects and allies of the empire. His powers were still inadequate to the deliverance of Rome, which was closely besieged by the Gothic king. The Appian way, a march of forty days, was covered by the Barbarians; and as the prudence of Belisarius declined a battle, he preferred the safe and speedy navigation of five days from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tiber.

After reducing, by force or treaty, the towns of inferior note in the midland provinces of Italy, Totila proceeded, not to assault, but to encompass and starve, the ancient capital. Rome was afflicted by the avarice, and guarded by the valour, of Bessas, a veteran chief of Gothic extraction, who filled, with a garrison of three thousand soldiers, the spacious circle of her venerable walls. From the distress of the people he extracted a profitable trade, and secretly rejoiced in the continuance of the siege. It was for his use that the granaries had been replenished; the charity of Pope Vigilius had purchased and embarked an ample supply of Sicilian corn; but the vessels which escaped the barbarians were seized by a rapacious governor, who imparted a scanty sustenance to the soldiers, and sold the remainder to the wealthy Romans. The medimnus, or fifth part of the quarter of wheat, was exchanged for seven pieces of gold; fifty pieces were given for an ox, a rare and accidental prize; the progress of famine enhanced this exorbitant value, and the mercenaries were tempted to deprive themselves of the allowance, which was scarcely sufficient for the support of life. A tasteless and unwholesome mixture, in which the bran thrice exceeded the quantity of flour, appeased the hunger of the poor;

* Procopius, l. 3, c. 12. The soul of a hero is deeply impressed on the letter; nor can we confound such genuine and original acts with the elaborate and often empty speeches of the Byzantine historians.

they were gradually reduced to feed on dead horses, dogs, cats, and mice, and eagerly to snatch the grass, and even the nettles, which grew among the ruins of the city. A crowd of spectres, pale and emaciated, their bodies oppressed with disease, and their minds with despair, surrounded the palace of the governor, urged, with unavailing truth, that it was the duty of a master to maintain his slaves, and humbly requested that he would provide for their subsistence, permit their flight, or command their immediate execution. Bessas replied, with unfeeling tranquillity, that it was impossible to feed, unsafe to dismiss, and unlawful to kill, the subjects of the emperor. Yet the example of a private citizen might have shown his countrymen, that a tyrant cannot withhold the privilege of death. Pierced by the cries of five children, who vainly called on their father for bread, he ordered them to follow his steps, advanced with calm and silent despair to one of the bridges of the Tiber, and covering his face, threw himself headlong into the stream, in the presence of his family and the Roman people. To the rich and pusillanimous, Bessas* sold the permission of departure; but the greatest part of the fugitives expired on the public highways, or were intercepted by the flying parties of Barbarians. In the meanwhile, the artful governor soothed the discontent, and revived the hopes, of the Romans, by the vague reports of the fleets and armies which were hastening to their relief from the extremities of the East. They derived more rational comfort from the assurance that Belisarius had landed at the *port;* and, without numbering his forces, they firmly relied on the humanity, the courage, and the skill of their great deliverer.

The foresight of Totila had raised obstacles worthy of such an antagonist. Ninety furlongs below the city, in the narrowest part of the river, he joined the two banks by strong and solid timbers in the form of a bridge; on which he erected two lofty towers, manned by the bravest of his Goths, and profusely stored with missile weapons and

* The avarice of Bessas is not dissembled by Procopius (l. 3, c. 17. 20). He expiated the loss of Rome by the glorious conquest of Petra (Goth. l. 4, c. 12): but the same vices followed him from the Tiber to the Phasis (c. 13); and the historian is equally true to the merits and defects of his character. The chastisement which the author of the romance of *Bélisaire* has inflicted on the oppressor of Rome, is more agreeable to justice than to history.

engines of offence. The approach of the bridge and towers was covered by a strong and massy chain of iron; and the chain, at either end, on the opposite sides of the Tiber, was defended by a numerous and chosen detachment of archers. But the enterprise of forcing these barriers, and relieving the capital, displays a shining example of the boldness and conduct of Belisarius. His cavalry advanced from the port along the public road, to awe the motions and distract the attention of the enemy. His infantry and provisions were distributed in two hundred large boats; and each boat was shielded by a high rampart of thick planks, pierced with many small holes for the discharge of missile weapons. In the front, two large vessels were linked together to sustain a floating castle, which commanded the towers of the bridge, and contained a magazine of fire, sulphur, and bitumen. The whole fleet, which the general led in person, was laboriously moved against the current of the river. The chain yielded to their weight, and the enemies who guarded the banks were either slain or scattered. As soon as they touched the principal barrier, the fire-ship was instantly grappled to the bridge; one of the towers, with two hundred Goths, was consumed by the flames; the assailants shouted the victory; and Rome was saved, if the wisdom of Belisarius had not been defeated by the misconduct of his officers. He had previously sent orders to Bessas to second his operations by a timely sally from the town; and he had fixed his lieutenant, Isaac, by a peremptory command, to the station of the port. But avarice rendered Bessas immoveable; while the youthful ardour of Isaac delivered him into the hands of a superior enemy. The exaggerated rumour of his defeat was hastily carried to the ears of Belisarius: he paused; betrayed in that single moment of his life some emotions of surprise and perplexity; and reluctantly sounded a retreat to save his wife Antonina, his treasures, and the only harbour which he possessed on the Tuscan coast. The vexation of his mind produced an ardent and almost mortal fever; and Rome was left without protection to the mercy or indignation of Totila. The continuance of hostilities had imbittered the national hatred, the Arian clergy was ignominiously driven from Rome; Pelagius, the archdeacon, returned without success from an embassy to the Gothic camp; and a Sicilian bishop, the envoy or nuncio of the pope, was

deprived of both his hands, for daring to utter falsehoods in the service of the church and state.

Famine had relaxed the strength and discipline of the garrison of Rome. They could derive no effectual service from a dying people: and the inhuman avarice of the merchant at length absorbed the vigilance of the governor. Four Isaurian sentinels, while their companions slept, and their officers were absent, descended by a rope, from the wall, and secretly proposed to the Gothic king, to introduce his troops into the city. The offer was entertained with coldness and suspicion; they returned in safety; they twice repeated their visit; the place was twice examined; the conspiracy was known and disregarded; and no sooner had Totila consented to the attempt, than they unbarred the Asinarian gate, and gave admittance to the Goths. Till the dawn of day they halted in order of battle, apprehensive of treachery or ambush; but the troops of Bessas, with their leader, had already escaped; and when the king was pressed to disturb their retreat, he prudently replied, that no sight could be more grateful than that of a flying enemy. The patricians, who were still possessed of horses, Decius, Basilius, &c., accompanied the governor; their brethren, among whom Olybrius, Orestes, and Maximus are named by the historian, took refuge in the church of St. Peter; but the assertion, that only five hundred persons remained in the capital, inspires some doubt of the fidelity either of his narrative or of his text. As soon as daylight had displayed the entire victory of the Goths, their monarch devoutly visited the tomb of the prince of the apostles; but while he prayed at the altar, twenty-five soldiers, and sixty citizens, were put to the sword in the vestibule of the temple. The archdeacon Pelagius* stood before him with the gospels in his hand. "O Lord, be merciful to your servant." "Pelagius," said Totila with an insulting smile, "your pride now condescends to become a suppliant." "I *am* a suppliant," replied the prudent archdeacon. "God has now

* During the long exile, and after the death of Vigilius, the Roman church was governed, at first by the archdeacon, and at length (A.D. 555) by the pope Pelagius, who was not thought guiltless of the sufferings of his predecessor. See the original lives of the popes, under the name of Anastasius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii, P. 1, p. 130, 131), who relates several curious incidents of the sieges of Rome and the wars of Italy.

made us your subjects, and as your subjects we are entitled to your clemency." At his humble prayer, the lives of the Romans were spared: and the chastity of the maids and matrons was preserved inviolate from the passions of the hungry soldiers. But they were rewarded by the freedom of pillage, after the most precious spoils had been reserved for the royal treasury. The houses of the senators were plentifully stored with gold and silver; and the avarice of Bessas had laboured with so much guilt and shame for the benefit of the conqueror. In this revolution, the sons and daughters of Roman consuls tasted the misery which they had spurned or relieved, wandered in tattered garments through the streets of the city, and begged their bread, perhaps without success, before the gates of their hereditary mansions. The riches of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus and widow of Boethius, had been generously devoted to alleviate the calamities of famine. But the Barbarians were exasperated by the report, that she had prompted the people to overthrow the statues of the great Theodoric; and the life of that venerable matron would have been sacrificed to his memory, if Totila had not respected her birth, her virtues, and even the pious motive of her revenge. The next day he pronounced two orations, to congratulate and admonish his victorious Goths, and to reproach the senate, as the vilest of slaves, with their perjury, folly, and ingratitude; sternly declaring, that their estates and honours were justly forfeited to the companions of his arms. Yet he consented to forgive their revolt, and the senators repaid his clemency by dispatching circular letters to their tenants and vassals in the provinces of Italy, strictly to enjoin them to desert the standard of the Greeks, to cultivate their lands in peace, and to learn from their masters the duty of obedience to a Gothic sovereign. Against the city which had so long delayed the course of his victories, he appeared inexorable: one-third of the walls, in different parts, were demolished by his command; fire and engines prepared to consume, or subvert, the most stately works of antiquity: and the world was astonished by the fatal decree, that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle. The firm and temperate remonstrance of Belisarius suspended the execution; he warned the Barbarian not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments, which were

the glory of the dead, and the delight of the living; and Totila was persuaded, by the advice of an enemy, to preserve Rome as the ornament of his kingdom, or the fairest pledge of peace and reconciliation. When he had signified to the ambassadors of Belisarius, his intention of sparing the city, he stationed an army at the distance of one hundred and twenty furlongs, to observe the motions of the Roman general. With the remainder of his forces, he marched into Lucania and Apulia, and occupied, on the summit of mount Garganus,* one of the camps of Hannibal.† The senators were dragged in his train, and afterwards confined in the fortresses of Campania: the citizens, with their wives and children, were dispersed in exile; and during forty days Rome was abandoned to desolate and dreary solitude.‡

The loss of Rome was speedily retrieved by an action, to which, according to the event, the public opinion would apply the names of rashness or heroism. After the departure of Totila, the Roman general sallied from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut in pieces the enemy who opposed his progress, and visited with pity and reverence the vacant space of the *eternal* city. Resolved to maintain a station so conspicuous in the eyes of mankind, he summoned the greatest part of his troops to the standard which he erected on the Capitol: the old inhabitants were recalled by the love of their country and the hopes of food; and the keys of Rome were sent a second time to the emperor Justinian. The walls, as far as they had been demolished by the Goths, were repaired with rude and dissimilar materials; the ditch was restored; iron spikes§ were profusely

* Mount Garganus, now Monte St. Angelo, in the kingdom of Naples, runs three hundred stadia into the Hadriatic sea (Strab. l. 6, p. 436), and in the darker ages, was illustrated by the apparition, miracles, and church of St. Michael the archangel. Horace, a native of Apulia or Lucania, had seen the elms and oaks of Garganus labouring and bellowing with the north wind that blew on that lofty coast. (Carm. 2. 9. Epist. 2. 1. 201.)

† I cannot ascertain this particular camp of Hannibal; but the Punic quarters were long and often in the neighbourhood of Arpi. (T. Liv. 22. 9. 12; 24. 3, &c.)

‡ Totila . . . . Romam ingreditur . . . . ac evertit muros, domos aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit, hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Post quam devastationem, xl aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita desolata, ut nemo ibi hominum, nisi (*nullæ?*) bestiæ morarentur. (Marcellin. in Chron. p. 54.)

§ The *tribuli* are small engines with four

scattered in the highways to annoy the feet of the horses; and as new gates could not suddenly be procured, the entrance was guarded by a Spartan rampart of his bravest soldiers. At the expiration of twenty-five days, Totila returned by hasty marches from Apulia, to avenge the injury and disgrace. Belisarius expected his approach. The Goths were thrice repulsed in three general assaults; they lost the flower of their troops; the royal standard had almost fallen into the hands of the enemy, and the fame of Totila sank, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms. Whatever skill and courage could achieve had been performed by the Roman general; it remained only that Justinian should terminate, by a strong and seasonable effort, the war which he had ambitiously undertaken. The indolence, perhaps the impotence, of a prince who despised his enemies, and envied his servants, protracted the calamities of Italy. After a long silence, Belisarius was commanded to leave a sufficient garrison at Rome, and to transport himself into the province of Lucania, whose inhabitants, inflamed by Catholic zeal, had cast away the yoke of their Arian conquerors. In this ignoble warfare, the hero, invincible against the power of the Barbarians, was basely vanquished by the delay, the disobedience, and the cowardice of his own officers. He reposed in his winter-quarters of Crotona, in the full assurance that the two passes of the Lucanian hills were guarded by his cavalry. They were betrayed by treachery or weakness; and the rapid march of the Goths scarcely allowed time for

spikes, one fixed in the ground, the three others erect or adverse. (Procopius, Gothic. l. 3, c. 24. Just. Lipsius, Poliorcetωv, l. 5, c. 3.) The metaphor was borrowed from the tribuli (*land caltrops*), a herb with a prickly fruit, common in Italy. (Martin, ad Virgil. Georgic. l. 153, vol. ii, p. 33.) [The original *tribulus* of the Latins was a species of thistle—our rock-thistle, classed by Virgil (Georg. l. 153) and Pliny (21. 58) among the noxious weeds that impede more valuable vegetation. The instrument of war which it suggested, the Italians afterwards denominated *calziatrappa*, and the French *chausse-trappe*. From some of these the Anglo-Saxons learned to put it into the form of colxpæppe (Junius ad. voc.) to which we have given that of *caltrop* or *calthrop*. According to Ducange (6. 1251. 1278), the term *tribulus* was applied in later times to the larger means of defence called *chevaux-de-frise*. The Latins, to denote the act of annoying by means of the plant or the engine, invented the verb *tribulare*, to which we are indebted for our word *tribulation*.—ED.]

the escape of Belisarius to the coast of Sicily. At length a fleet and army were assembled for the relief of Ruscianum, or Rossano,* a fortress sixty furlongs from the ruins of Sybaris, where the nobles of Lucania had taken refuge. In the first attempt, the Roman forces were dissipated by a storm. In the second they approached the shore; but they saw the hills covered with archers, the landing-place defended by a line of spears, and the king of the Goths impatient for battle. The conqueror of Italy retired with a sigh, and continued to languish, inglorious and inactive, till Antonina, who had been sent to Constantinople to solicit succours, obtained, after the death of the empress, the permission of his return.

The five last campaigns of Belisarius might abate the envy of his competitors, whose eyes had been dazzled and wounded by the blaze of his former glory. Instead of delivering Italy from the Goths, he had wandered like a fugitive along the coast, without daring to march into the country, or to accept the bold and repeated challenge of Totila. Yet in the judgment of the few who could discriminate counsels from events, and compare the instruments with the execution, he appeared a more consummate master of the art of war, than in the season of his prosperity, when he presented two captive kings before the throne of Justinian. The valour of Belisarius was not chilled by age; his prudence was matured by experience; but the moral virtues of humanity and justice seem to have yielded to the hard necessity of the times. The parsimony or poverty of the emperor compelled him to deviate from the rule of conduct which had deserved the love and confidence of the Italians. The war was maintained by the oppression of Ravenna, Sicily, and all the faithful subjects of the empire; and the rigorous prosecution of Herodian provoked that injured or guilty officer to deliver Spoleto into the hands of the enemy. The avarice of Antonina, which had been sometimes diverted

* Ruscia, the *navale Thuriorum*, was transferred to the distance of sixty stadia to Ruscianum, Rossano, an archbishopric without suffragans. The republic of Sybaris is now the estate of the duke of Corigliano. (Riedesel, Travels into Magna Græcia and Sicily, p. 166—171.) [The modern town is in the Neapolitan province of Calabria Citra. The bay, on which it stands, is called from it Golfo di Rossano, and the neighbouring headland commemorates antiquity by the name of Capo di Roscia.—ED.]

by love, now reigned without a rival in her breast. Belisarius himself had always understood that riches, in a corrupt age, are the support and ornament of personal merit. And it cannot be presumed that he should stain his honour for the public service, without applying a part of the spoil to his private emolument. The hero had escaped the sword of the Barbarians, but the dagger of conspiracy* awaited his return. In the midst of wealth and honours, Artaban, who had chastised the African tyrant, complained of the ingratitude of courts. He aspired to Præjecta, the emperor's niece, who wished to reward her deliverer; but the impediment of his previous marriage was asserted by the piety of Theodora. The pride of royal descent was irritated by flattery; and the service, in which he gloried, had proved him capable of bold and sanguinary deeds. The death of Justinian was resolved, but the conspirators delayed the execution till they could surprise Belisarius, disarmed and naked, in the palace of Constantinople. Not a hope could be entertained of shaking his long-tried fidelity; and they justly dreaded the revenge, or rather the justice, of the veteran general, who might speedily assemble an army in Thrace to punish the assassins, and perhaps to enjoy the fruits of their crime. Delay afforded time for rash communications and honest confessions: Artaban and his accomplices were condemned by the senate, but the extreme clemency of Justinian detained them in the gentle confinement of the palace, till he pardoned their flagitious attempt against his throne and life. If the emperor forgave his enemies, he must cordially embrace a friend whose victories were alone remembered, and who was endeared to his prince by the recent circumstance of their common danger. Belisarius reposed from his toils, in the high station of general of the East and count of the domestics; and the older consuls and patricians respectfully yielded the precedency of rank to the peerless merit of the first of the Romans.† The first of the Romans still submitted to be the slave of his wife; but the

* This conspiracy is related by Procopius (Gothic. l. 3, c. 31, 32) with such freedom and candour, that the liberty of the Anecdotes gives him nothing to add.

† The honours of Belisarius are gladly commemorated by his secretary. (Procop. Goth. l. 3, c. 35; l. 4, c. 21. The title of Στράτηγος is ill translated, at least in this instance, by prefectus prætorio; and to a military character, magister militum is more proper and applicable. (Ducange, Gloss. Græc.

servitude of habit and affection became less disgraceful when the death of Theodora had removed the baser influence of fear. Joannina their daughter, and the sole heiress of their fortunes, was betrothed to Anastasius, the grandson, or rather the nephew, of the empress,* whose kind interposition forwarded the consummation of their youthful loves. But the power of Theodora expired, the parents of Joannina returned, and her honour, perhaps her happiness, was sacrificed to the revenge of an unfeeling mother, who dissolved the imperfect nuptials before they had been ratified by the ceremonies of the Church.†

Before the departure of Belisarius, Perusia was besieged, and few cities were impregnable to the Gothic arms. Ravenna, Ancona, and Crotona still resisted the Barbarians; and when Totila asked in marriage one of the daughters of France, he was stung by the just reproach, that the king of Italy was unworthy of his title till it was acknowledged by the Roman people. Three thousand of the bravest soldiers had been left to defend the capital. On the suspicion of a monopoly, they massacred the governor, and announced to Justinian, by a deputation of the clergy, that unless their offence was pardoned, and their arrears were satisfied, they should instantly accept the tempting offers of Totila. But the officer, who succeeded to the command (his name was Diogenes), deserved their esteem and confidence; and the Goths, instead of finding an easy conquest, encountered a vigorous resistance from the soldiers and people, who patiently endured the loss of the port, and of all maritime

p. 1458, 1459.)

* Alemannus (ad Hist. Arcanam, p. 68), Ducange (Familiæ Byzant. p. 98), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Civilis, p. 434), all three represent Anastasius as the son of the daughter of Theodora; and their opinion firmly reposes on the unambiguous testimony of Procopius. (Anecdot. c. 4, 5—θυγατρίδῳ twice repeated.) And yet I will remark, 1. That in the year 547, Theodora could scarcely have a grandson at the age of puberty. 2. That we are totally ignorant of this daughter and her husband; and, 3. That Theodora concealed her bastards, and that her grandson, by Justinian, would have been heir-apparent of the empire.

† The ἁμαρτήματα, or sins, of the hero in Italy, and after his return, are manifested ἀπαρακαλύπτως, and most probably swelled, by the author of the Anecdotes (c. 4, 5). The designs of Antonina were favoured by the fluctuating jurisprudence of Justinian. On the law of marriage and divorce, that emperor was trocho versatilior. (Heineccius, Element. Juris Civil. ad Ordinem Pandect. p. 4, No. 233.)

supplies. The siege of Rome would perhaps have been raised, if the liberality of Totila to the Isaurians had not encouraged some of their venal countrymen to copy the example of treason. In a dark night, while the Gothic trumpet sounded on another side, they silently opened the gate of St. Paul: the Barbarians rushed into the city; and the flying garrison was intercepted before they could reach the harbour of Centumcellæ. A soldier trained in the school of Belisarius, Paul of Cilicia, retired with four hundred men to the mole of Hadrian. They repelled the Goths; but they felt the approach of famine; and their aversion to the taste of horse-flesh confirmed their resolution to risk the event of a desperate and decisive sally. But their spirit insensibly stooped to the offers of capitulation; they retrieved their arrears of pay, and preserved their arms and horses, by enlisting in the service of Totila; their chiefs, who pleaded a laudable attachment to their wives and children in the East, were dismissed with honour; and above four hundred enemies, who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries, were saved by the clemency of the victor. He no longer entertained a wish of destroying the edifices of Rome,* which he now respected as the seat of the Gothic kingdom; the senate and people were restored to their country; the means of subsistence were liberally provided; and Totila, in the robe of peace, exhibited the equestrian games of the circus. Whilst he amused the eyes of the multitude, four hundred vessels were prepared for the embarkation of his troops. The cities of Rhegium and Tarentum were reduced; he passed into Sicily, the object of his implacable resentment, and the island was stripped of its gold and silver, of the fruits of the earth, and of an infinite number of horses, sheep, and oxen. Sardinia and Corsica obeyed the fortune of Italy; and the sea-coast of Greece was visited by a fleet of three hundred galleys.†

* The Romans were still attached to the monuments of their ancestors; and, according to Procopius (Goth. l. 4, c. 22), the galley of Æneas, of a single rank of oars, twenty-five feet in breadth, one hundred and twenty in length, was preserved entire in the *naralia*, near Monte Testaceo, at the foot of the Aventine. (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. 7, c. 9, p. 466. Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. 4, c. 13, p. 334.) But all antiquity is ignorant of this relic.

† In these seas, Procopius searched without success for the isle of Calypso. He was shown at Phæacia or Corcyra, the petrified ship of Ulysses (Odyss. 13. 163); but he found it a recent fabric of many

The Goths were landed in Corcyra and the ancient continent of Epirus; they advanced as far as Nicopolis, the trophy of Augustus, and Dodona,* once famous by the oracle of Jove. In every step of his victories the wise barbarian repeated to Justinian his desire of peace, applauded the concord of their predecessors, and offered to employ the Gothic arms in the service of the empire.

Justinian was deaf to the voice of peace; but he neglected the prosecution of war; and the indolence of his temper disappointed, in some degree, the obstinacy of his passions. From this salutary slumber the emperor was awakened by the pope Vigilius and the patrician Cethegus, who appeared before his throne, and adjured him, in the name of God and the people, to resume the conquest and deliverance of Italy. In the choice of the generals, caprice, as well as judgment, was shewn. A fleet and army sailed for the relief of Sicily under the conduct of Liberius; but his want of youth and experience was afterwards discovered, and before he touched the shores of the island, he was overtaken by his successor.† In the place of Liberius, the conspirator Artaban was raised from a prison to military honours; in the pious presumption, that gratitude would animate his valour and fortify his allegiance. Belisarius

stones, dedicated by a merchant to Jupiter Cassius (l. 4, c. 22). Eustathius had supposed it to be the fanciful likeness of a rock.

* M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Acad. tom. xxxii, p. 513—528) illustrates the gulf of Ambracia; but he cannot ascertain the situation of Dodona. A country in sight of Italy is less known than the wilds of America. [Strabo informs us (l. 7), that Dodona was situated at the foot of mount Tomarus; and among modern travellers, Walpole and Leake have explored its site.—Ed.]

† [The passage respecting Liberius is here copied from the quarto edition of this work. In later editions, including Milman's, "Youth and want of experience" are erroneously imputed to him, whom Procopius represents as an old man, in the last stage of life, but unversed in the art of war; ἐσχατογήρων τε ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα καὶ ἀμελέτητος πολεμίων. (De Beli. Goth. 3. 39.) He was unquestionably the same whom Cassiodorus, on two occasions, so highly eulogised to the Roman senate (Var. ii. 16; xi. 1). Theodoric appointed him prætorian prefect, and made his son, Venantius, count of the domestics. He was sent by Theodatus as ambassador to Constantinople, where he was honourably received as a Roman senator and a man of acknowledged worth (Procop. De Bell. Goth. 1. 4). After the murder of Amalasontha, he was probably unwilling to return to Italy and offered his services to Justinian. Notwithstanding his advanced age, his reputation made them acceptable, and from his knowledge of the country, he was selected to command a division of the army under Germanus.—Ed.]

reposed in the shade of his laurels, but the command of the principal army was reserved for Germanus,* the emperor's nephew, whose rank and merit had been long depressed by the jealousy of the court. Theodora had injured him in the rights of a private citizen, the marriage of his children, and the testament of his brother; and although his conduct was pure and blameless, Justinian was displeased that he should be thought worthy of the confidence of the malecontents. The life of Germanus was a lesson of implicit obedience; he nobly refused to prostitute his name and character in the factions of the circus: the gravity of his manner was tempered by innocent cheerfulness; and his riches were lent without interest to indigent or deserving friends. His valour had formerly triumphed over the Sclavonians of the Danube and the rebels of Africa: the first report of his promotion revived the hopes of the Italians: and he was privately assured, that a crowd of Roman deserters would abandon, on his approach, the standard of Totila. His second marriage with Malasontha, the granddaughter of Theodoric, endeared Germanus to the Goths themselves; and they marched with reluctance against the father of a royal infant, the last offspring of the line of Amali.† A

* See the acts of Germanus in the public (Vandal. l. 2, c. 16—18. Goth. l. 3, c. 31, 32) and private history (Anecdot. c. 5), and those of his son Justin, in Agathias (l. 4, p. 130, 131). Notwithstanding an ambiguous expression of Jornandes, fratri suo, Alemannus has proved that he was the son of the emperor's brother. [Jornandes was probably himself the writer of his concluding chapter, in which this passage occurs. He was evidently very ill-informed on affairs at Constantinople; and having heard of a Germanus, Justinian's nephew, he concluded that this was the son, and therefore that the father, who bore the same name, must have been the emperor's brother. Procopius, who undoubtedly knew the degree of relationship, speaks of it in very ambiguous terms. First, (De Bell. Goth. 3. 37) Germanus, the father, is styled Justinian's ἀνεψιός, which, according to Stephanus (Thesaurus ad voc.), may mean either cousin or nephew; and afterwards (4. 1) the word used is κηδεστός, which denotes only common kinship, one of a family (affinis). In a former note (p. 431), Gibbon, citing the authority of Jornandes, speaks of "the elder and the younger Germanus," without a comment; and correctly gives the name of Mathasuintha to the grand-daughter of Theodoric, whom he here, confounding her with her mother, calls Malasontha. Her son too, who, according to Jornandes, was not born till after his father's death, is here styled the "royal infant," whose father the Goths were unwilling to resist as an enemy.—ED.]

† Conjuncta Aniciorum gens cum Amalâ stirpe, spem adhuc utri-

splendid allowance was assigned by the emperor*: the general contributed his private fortune; his two sons were popular and active; and he surpassed, in the promptitude and success of his levies, the expectation of mankind. He was permitted to select some squadrons of Thracian cavalry: the veterans, as well as the youth of Constantinople and Europe, engaged their voluntary service; and as far as the heart of Germany, his fame and liberality attracted the aid of the Barbarians. The Romans advanced to Sardica; an army of Sclavonians fled before their march: but within two days of their final departure, the designs of Germanus were terminated by his malady and death. Yet the impulse which he had given to the Italian war still continued to act with energy and effect. The maritime towns, Ancona, Crotona, Centumcellæ, resisted the assaults of Totila. Sicily was reduced by the zeal of Artaban, and the Gothic navy was defeated near the coast of the Hadriatic. The two fleets were almost equal, forty-seven to fifty galleys: the victory was decided by the knowledge and dexterity of the Greeks; but the ships were so closely grappled, that only twelve of the Goths escaped from this unfortunate conflict. They affected to depreciate an element in which they were unskilled; but their own experience confirmed the truth of a maxim, that the master of the sea will always acquire the dominion of the land.*

After the loss of Germanus, the nations were provoked to smile, by the strange intelligence, that the command of the Roman armies was given to an eunuch. But the eunuch Narses† is ranked among the few who have rescued that unhappy name from the contempt and hatred of mankind. A feeble diminutive body concealed the soul of a statesman and a warrior. His youth had been employed in the management of the loom and distaff, in the cares of the household, and the service of female luxury; but while his hands were

usque generis promittit. (Jornandes, c. 60, p. 703.) He wrote at Ravenna before the death of Totila.

* The third book of Procopius is terminated by the death of Germanus. (Add. l. 4, c. 23—26.)

† Procopius relates the whole series of this second Gothic war and the victory of Narses (l. 4, c. 21. 26—35). A splendid scene! Among the six subjects of epic poetry which Tasso revolved in his mind, he hesitated between the conquests of Italy by Belisarius and Narses. (Hayley's Works, vol. iv, p. 70.)

busy, he secretly exercised the faculties of a vigorous and discerning mind. A stranger to the schools and the camp, he studied in the palace to dissemble, to flatter, and to persuade; and as soon as he approached the person of the emperor, Justinian listened with surprise and pleasure to the manly counsels of his chamberlain and private treasurer.* The talents of Narses were tried and improved in frequent embassies; he led an army into Italy, acquired a practical knowledge of the war and the country, and presumed to strive with the genius of Belisarius. Twelve years after his return, the eunuch was chosen to achieve the conquest which had been left imperfect by the first of the Roman generals. Instead of being dazzled by vanity or emulation, he seriously declared, that unless he were armed with an adequate force, he would never consent to risk his own glory, and that of his sovereign. Justinian granted to the favourite, what he might have denied to the hero: the Gothic war was rekindled from its ashes, and the preparations were not unworthy of the ancient majesty of the empire. The key of the public treasure was put into his hand, to collect magazines, to levy soldiers, to purchase arms and horses, to discharge the arrears of pay, and to tempt the fidelity of the fugitives and deserters. The troops of Germanus were still in arms; they halted at Salona in the expectation of a new leader; and legions of subjects and allies were created by the well-known liberality of the eunuch Narses. The king of the Lombards† satisfied or surpassed the obli-

* The country of Narses is unknown, since he must not be confounded with the Persarmenian. Procopius styles him (Goth. l. 2, c. 13,) βασιλικῶν χρημάτων ταμίας; Paul Warnefrid (l. 2, c. 3, p. 776, Chartularius. Marcellinus adds the name of Cubicularius. In an inscription on the Salarian bridge he is entitled Ex-consul, Ex-præpositus, Cubiculi Patricius. (Mascou, Hist. of the Germans, l. 13, c. 25). The law of Theodosius against eunuchs was obsolete or abolished (Annotation 20), but the foolish prophecy of the Romans subsisted in full vigour. (Procop. l. 4, c. 21.) [In the absence of more positive information, the name of Narses authorizes us to look upon him as a native of Persia. From the son of Varanes III., in the days of Diocletian (see ch. 13) it occurs frequently, among both the Arsacides and Sassanides, as well as some of their distinguished subjects; nor are examples of it found among any other people. Justinian's general was for a time a bookseller, which is probably the meaning of Paul Warnefrid's "chartularius."—Ed.]

† Paul Warnefrid the Lombard records with complacency the succour, service, and honour-

gations of a treaty, by lending two thousand two hundred of his bravest warriors, who were followed by three thousand of their martial attendants. Three thousand Heruli fought on horseback under Philemuth, their native chief; and the noble Aratus, who adopted the manners and discipline of Rome, conducted a band of veterans of the same nation. Dagistæus was released from prison to command the Huns: and Kobad, the grandson and nephew of the great king, was conspicuous by the regal tiara at the head of his faithful Persians, who had devoted themselves to the fortunes of their prince.* Absolute in the exercise of his authority, more absolute in the affection of his troops, Narses led a numerous and gallant army from Philippopolis to Salona, from whence he coasted the eastern side of the Hadriatic as far as the confines of Italy. His progress was checked. The East could not supply vessels capable of transporting such multitudes of men and horses. The Franks, who, in the general confusion, had usurped the greater part of the Venetian province, refused a free passage to the friends of the Lombards. The station of Verona was occupied by Teias, with the flower of the Gothic forces; and that skilful commander had overspread the adjacent country with the fall of woods and the inundation of waters.† In this perplexity, an officer of experience proposed a measure, secure

able dismission of his countrymen—reipublicæ Romanæ adversus æmulos adjutores fuerant (l. 2, c. 1, p. 774. edit. Grot.) I am surprised that Alboin, their martial king, did not lead his subjects in person. [So small an auxiliary force was scarcely worthy of being led by their king in person. Accustomed to command in chief, he could not stoop to a subordinate station. Procopius (De Bell. Goth. 4. 26) makes this body of Lombards exceed 5500 men, 2500 of high rank, and more, than 3000 of the lower.—Ed.]

* He was, if not an impostor, the son of the blind Zames, saved by compassion, and educated in the Byzantine court by the various motives of policy, pride, and generosity. (Procop. Persic. l. 1, c. 23.)

† In the time of Augustus, and in the middle ages, the whole waste from Aquileia to Ravenna was covered with woods, lakes, and morasses. Man has subdued nature, and the land has been cultivated, since the waters are confined and embanked. See the learned researches of Muratori, (Antiquitat. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. i, Dissert. 21, p. 253, 254,) from Vitruvius, Strabo, Herodian, old charters, and local knowledge. [The retreat of the sea from this line of coast, as more particularly noticed at p. 29 of this volume, accounts for the conversion of lakes and morasses into cultivable land.—Ed.]

by the appearance of rashness; that the Roman army should cautiously advance along the sea-shore, while the fleet preceded their march, and successively cast a bridge of boats over the mouths of the rivers, the Timavus, the Brenta, the Adige, and the Po, that fall into the Hadriatic to the north of Ravenna. Nine days he reposed in the city, collected the fragments of the Italian army, and marched towards Rimini to meet the defiance of an insulting enemy.

The prudence of Narses impelled him to speedy and decisive action. His powers were the last effort of the state: the cost of each day accumulated the enormous account; and the nations, untrained to discipline or fatigue, might be rashly provoked to turn their arms against each other, or against their benefactor. The same considerations might have tempered the ardour of Totila. But he was conscious, that the clergy and people of Italy aspired to a second revolution: he felt or suspected the rapid progress of treason, and he resolved to risk the Gothic kingdom on the chance of a day, in which the valiant would be animated by instant danger, and the disaffected might be awed by mutual ignorance. In his march from Ravenna, the Roman general chastised the garrison of Rimini, traversed in a direct line the hills of Urbino, and re-entered the Flaminian way, nine miles beyond the perforated rock, an obstacle of art and nature which might have stopped or retarded his progress.* The Goths were assembled in the neighbourhood of Rome; they advanced, without delay, to seek a superior enemy; and the two armies approached each other at the distance of one hundred furlongs, between Tagina†

* The Flaminian way, as it is corrected from the Itineraries, and the best modern maps, by D'Anville, (Analyse de l'Italie, p. 147—162, may be thus stated: Rome to Narni, fifty-one Roman miles; Terni, fifty-seven; Spoleto, seventy-five; Foligno, eighty-eight; Nocera, one hundred and three; Cagli, one hundred and forty-two; Intercisa, one hundred and fifty-seven; Fossombrone, one hundred and sixty; Fano, one hundred and seventy-six; Pesaro, one hundred and eighty-four; RIMINI, two hundred and eight, about 189 English miles. He takes no notice of the death of Totila; but Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 614) exchanges for the field of *Taginas* the unknown appellation of *Ptanias*, eight miles from Nocera. † Taginæ, or rather Tadinæ, is mentioned by Pliny; but the bishopric of that obscure town, a mile from Gualdo, in the plain, was united, in the year 1007, with that of Nocera. The signs of antiquity are preserved in the local appellations, *Fossato*, the camp; *Cayraia*, Carrea; *Bastia*, Busta Gallorum. See

and the sepulchres of the Gauls.* The haughty message of Narses was an offer, not of peace, but of pardon. The answer of the Gothic king declared his resolution to die or conquer. "What day (said the messenger) will you fix for the combat?" "The eighth day," replied Totila: but early the next morning he attempted to surprise a foe, suspicious of deceit and prepared for battle. Ten thousand Heruli and Lombards, of approved valour and doubtful faith, were placed in the centre. Each of the wings was composed of eight thousand Romans; the right was guarded by the cavalry of the Huns, the left was covered by fifteen hundred chosen horse, destined, according to the emergencies of action, to sustain the retreat of their friends, or to encompass the flank of the enemy. From his proper station at the head of the right wing, the eunuch rode along the line, expressing by his voice and countenance the assurance of victory; exciting the soldiers of the emperor to punish the guilt and madness of a band of robbers; and exposing to their view, gold chains, collars, and bracelets, the rewards of military virtue. From the event of a single combat, they drew an omen of success; and they beheld with pleasure the courage of fifty archers, who maintained a small eminence against three successive attacks of the Gothic cavalry. At the distance only of two bow-shots, the armies spent the morning in dreadful suspense, and the Romans tasted some necessary food, without unloosening the cuirass from their breast, or the bridle from their horses. Narses awaited the charge; and it was delayed by Totila till he had received his last succours of two thousand Goths. While he consumed the hours in fruitless treaty, the king exhibited in a narrow space the strength and agility of a warrior. His armour was enchased with gold; his purple banner floated with the wind; he cast his lance into the air, caught it with the right hand, shifted it to the left,

Cluverius (Italia Antiqua, l. 2, c. 6, p. 615—617), Lucas Holstenius (Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 85, 86), Guazzesi (Dissertat. p. 177—217, a professed inquiry,) and the maps of the Ecclesiastical State and the March of Ancona, by Le Maire and Magini.

* The battle was fought in the year of Rome 458: and the consul Decius, by devoting his own life, assured the triumph of his country and his colleague Fabius. (T. Liv. 10. 28, 29.) Procopius ascribes to Camillus the victory of the *Busta Gallorum;* and his error is branded by Cluverius with the national reproach of Græcorum nugamenta.

threw himself backwards, recovered his seat, and managed a fiery steed in all the paces and evolutions of the equestrian school. As soon as the succours had arrived, he retired to his tent, assumed the dress and arms of a private soldier, and gave the signal of battle. The first line of cavalry advanced with more courage than discretion, and left behind them the infantry of the second line. They were soon engaged between the horns of a crescent, into which the adverse wings had been insensibly curved, and were saluted from either side by the volleys of four thousand archers. Their ardour, and even their distress, drove them forwards to a close and unequal conflict, in which they could only use their lances against an enemy equally skilled in all the instruments of war. A generous emulation inspired the Romans and their barbarian allies: and Narses, who calmly viewed and directed their efforts, doubted to whom he should adjudge the prize of superior bravery. The Gothic cavalry was astonished and disordered, pressed and broken; and the line of infantry, instead of presenting their spears, or opening their intervals, were trampled under the feet of the flying horse. Six thousand of the Goths were slaughtered, without mercy, in the field of Tagina. Their prince, with five attendants, was overtaken by Asbad, of the race of the Gepidæ. "Spare the king of Italy," cried a loud voice, and Asbad struck his lance through the body of Totila. The blow was instantly revenged by the faithful Goths; they transported their dying monarch seven miles beyond the scene of his disgrace; and his last moments were not imbittered by the presence of an enemy. Compassion afforded him the shelter of an obscure tomb; but the Romans were not satisfied of their victory, till they beheld the corpse of the Gothic king. His hat, enriched with gems, and his bloody robe, were presented to Justinian by the messengers of triumph. *

As soon as Narses had paid his devotions to the author

* Theophanes, Chron. p. 193. Hist. Miscell. l. 16, p. 108. [This embellishment of the tale does not accord with "the dress and arms of a private soldier," which Totila is said to have assumed, before he gave the signal of battle. Some pretend that he was mortally wounded in a previous skirmish, which deprived the Goths of his presence and directing skill, and caused their defeat.—ED.]

of victory, and the blessed Virgin, his peculiar patroness,* he praised, rewarded, and dismissed the Lombards. The villages had been reduced to ashes by these valiant savages; they ravished matrons and virgins on the altar; their retreat was diligently watched by a strong detachment of regular forces, who prevented a repetition of the like disorders. The victorious eunuch pursued his march through Tuscany, accepted the submission of the Goths, heard the acclamations, and often the complaints, of the Italians, and encompassed the walls of Rome with the remainder of his formidable host. Round the wide circumference, Narses assigned to himself, and to each of his lieutenants, a real or a feigned attack, while he silently marked the place of easy and unguarded entrance. Neither the fortifications of Hadrian's mole, nor of the port, could long delay the progress of the conqueror; and Justinian once more received the keys of Rome, which, under his reign, had been *five* times taken and recovered.† But the deliverance of Rome was the last calamity of the Roman people. The Barbarian allies of Narses too frequently confounded the privileges of peace and war: the despair of the flying Goths found some consolation in sanguinary revenge: and three hundred youths of the noblest families, who had been sent as hostages beyond the Po, were inhumanly slain by the successor of Totila. The fate of the senate suggests an awful lesson of the vicissitude of human affairs. Of the senators whom Totila had banished from their country, some were rescued by an officer of Belisarius, and transported from Campania to Sicily; while others were too guilty to confide in the clemency of Justinian, or too poor to provide horses for their escape to the sea-shore. Their brethren languished five years in a state of indigence and exile: the victory of Narses revived their hopes; but their premature return to the metropolis was prevented by the furious Goths; and all the fortresses of Campania were stained with patrician ‡

* Evagrius, l. 4, c. 24. The inspiration of the Virgin revealed to Narses the day, and the word, of battle. (Paul. Diacon. l. 2, c. 3, p. 776.)

† Ἐπι τούτου βασιλεύοντος τὸ πέμπτον ἑάλω. In the year 536 by Belisarius, in 546 by Totila, in 547 by Belisarius, in 549 by Totila, and in 552 by Narses. Maltretus had inadvertently translated *sextum*; a mistake which he afterwards retracts: but the mischief was done; and Cousin, with a train of French and Latin readers, have fallen into the snare.

‡ Compare two passages of Procopius, (l. 3, c. 26;

blood. After a period of thirteen centuries, the institution of Romulus expired; and if the nobles of Rome still assumed the title of senators, few subsequent traces can be discovered of a public council, or constitutional order. Ascend six hundred years, and contemplate the kings of the earth soliciting an audience, as the slaves or freedmen of the Roman senate![*]

The Gothic war was yet alive. The bravest of the nation retired beyond the Po; and Teias was unanimously chosen to succeed and revenge their departed hero. The new king immediately sent ambassadors to implore, or rather to purchase, the aid of the Franks, and nobly lavished, for the public safety, the riches which had been deposited in the palace of Pavia. The residue of the royal treasure was guarded by his brother Aligern at Cumæ in Campania; but the strong castle which Totila had fortified, was closely besieged by the arms of Narses. From the Alps to the foot of mount Vesuvius, the Gothic king, by rapid and secret marches, advanced to the relief of his brother, eluded the vigilance of the Roman chiefs, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Sarnus or *Draco*,[†] which flows from Nuceria into the bay of Naples. The river separated the two armies: sixty days were consumed in distant and fruitless combats, and Teias maintained this important post, till he was deserted by his fleet and the hope of subsistence. With reluctant steps he ascended the *Lactarian* mount, where the physicians of Rome, since the time of Galen, had sent their patients for the benefit of the air and the milk.[‡] But the

l. 4, c. 24,) which, with some collateral hints from Marcellinus and Jornandes, illustrate the state of the expiring senate.

[*] See, in the example of Prusias, as it is delivered in the fragments of Polybius (Excerpt. Legat. 97, p. 927, 928) a curious picture of a royal slave.

[†] The Δράκων of Procopius (Goth. l. 4, c. 35,) is evidently the Sarnus. The text is accused or altered by the rash violence of Cluverius, (l. 4, c. 3, p. 1156): but Camillo Pellegrini of Naples (Discorsi sopra la Campania Felice, p. 330, 331) has proved from old records, that as early as the year 822 that river was called the Dracontio, or Draconcello. [On the bank of this river stood the unfortudate Pompeii. Cellarius, i. 677.—ED.]

[‡] Galen (de Method. Medendi. l. 5, apud Cluver. l. 4, c. 3, p. 1159, 1160,) describes the lofty site, pure air, and rich milk of mount Lactarius, whose medicinal benefits were equally known and sought in the time of Symmachus (l. 6, epist. 18) and Cassiodorus (Var. xi, 10). Nothing is now left except the name of the town of *Lettere*. [Cassiodorus, as

Goths soon embraced a more generous resolution: to descend the hill, to dismiss their horses, and to die in arms, and in the possession of freedom. The king marched at their head, bearing in his right hand a lance, and an ample buckler in his left: with the one he struck dead the foremost of the assailants; with the other he received the weapons which every hand was ambitious to aim against his life. After a combat of many hours, his left arm was fatigued by the weight of twelve javelins which hung from his shield. Without moving from his ground, or suspending his blows, the hero called aloud on his attendants for a fresh buckler, but in the moment, while his side was uncovered, it was pierced by a mortal dart. He fell: and his head, exalted on a spear, proclaimed to the nations, that the Gothic kingdom was no more. But the example of his death served only to animate the companions who had sworn to perish with their leader. They fought till darkness descended on the earth. They reposed on their arms. The combat was renewed with the return of light, and maintained with unabated vigour till the evening of the second day. The repose of a second night, the want of water, and the loss of their bravest champions, determined the surviving Goths, to accept the fair capitulation which the prudence of Narses was inclined to propose. They embraced the alternative of residing in Italy as the subjects and soldiers of Justinian, or departing with a portion of their private wealth, in search of some independent country.* Yet the oath of fidelity or exile was alike rejected by one thousand Goths, who broke away before the treaty was signed, and boldly effected their retreat to the walls of Pavia. The spirit, as well as the situation, of Aligern, prompted him to imitate rather than to bewail his brother; a strong and dexterous archer, he transpierced with a single arrow the armour and breast of his antagonist;

usual, could not write an official letter, giving a valetudinarian leave to visit this mount for the benefit of his health, without a florid description of the spot, on which convalescence was to be found. He descanted at great length on the salubrity of the air, the fertility of the soil, the luxuriance of vegetation, the number of the herds, and the richness of the milk which they afforded. "Lac tam pingue, ut hæreat digitis, cum exprimatur in vasis.—Voluptuose bibite, quæ saluberrima sentiatis."—ED.]

* Buat (tom. xi, p. 2, &c,) conveys to his favourite Bavaria this remnant of Goths, who by others are buried in the mountains of Uri, or restored to their native isle of Gothland.

and his military conduct defended Cumæ* above a year against the forces of the Romans. Their industry had scooped the Sibyl's cave† into a prodigious mine; combustible materials were introduced to consume the temporary props: the wall and the gate of Cumæ sank into the cavern, but the ruins formed a deep and inaccessible precipice. On the fragment of a rock, Aligern stood alone and unshaken, till he calmly surveyed the hopeless condition of his country, and judged it more honourable to be the friend of Narses than the slave of the Franks. After the death of Teias, the Roman general separated his troops to reduce the cities of Italy; Lucca sustained a long and vigorous siege: and such was the humanity or the prudence of Narses, that the repeated perfidy of the inhabitants could not provoke him to exact the forfeit lives of their hostages. These hostages were dismissed in safety; and their grateful zeal at length subdued the obstinacy of their countrymen.‡

Before Lucca had surrendered, Italy was overwhelmed by a new deluge of barbarians. A feeble youth, the grandson of Clovis, reigned over the Austrasians or Oriental Franks. The guardians of Theodebald entertained with coldness and reluctance the magnificent promises of the Gothic ambassadors. But the spirit of a martial people outstripped the

(Mascou, Annot. 21.)

* I leave Scaliger (Animadvers. in Euseb. p. 59) and Salmasius (Exercitat. Plinian. p. 51, 52) to quarrel about the origin of Cumæ, the oldest of the Greek colonies in Italy, (Strab. l. 5, p. 372. Velleius Paterculus l. 1, c. 4,) already vacant in Juvenal's time (Satir. 3,) and now in ruins.

† Agathias (l. 1, c. 21) settles the Sibyl's cave under the wall of Cumæ; he agrees with Servius (ad lib. 6, Æneid.); nor can I perceive why their opinion should be rejected by Heyne, the excellent editor of Virgil (tom. ii, p. 650, 651). In urbe mediâ secreta religio! But Cumæ was not yet built; and the lines (l. 6, 96, 97) would become ridiculous, if Æneas were actually in a Greek city. [We here see, how early history has been confused by accepting the fables of poets as recorded facts. If we are to believe all that Virgil has told us of Cumæ, and reason upon it as unquestionable evidence, how can we doubt, that Æneas descended there into the infernal regions? The authority is as good for one as it is for the other. For the origin of Cumæ, see vol. iii, p. 409. It probably existed long before the time when Æneas and his colony are supposed to have arrived in Italy.—Ed.]

‡ There is some difficulty in connecting the thirty-fifth chapter of the fourth book of the Gothic war of Procopius with the first book of the history of Agathias. We must now relinquish a statesman and soldier, to attend the footsteps of a poet and rhetorician (l. 1, p. 11; l. 2, p. 51, edit. Louvre).

timid counsels of the court: two brothers, Lothaire and Buccelin,* the dukes of the Allemanni, stood forth as the leaders of the Italian war; and seventy-five thousand Germans descended in the autumn from the Rhætian Alps into the plain of Milan. The vanguard of the Roman army was stationed near the Po, under the conduct of Fulcaris, a bold Herulian, who rashly conceived that personal bravery was the sole duty and merit of a commander. As he marched without order or precaution along the Æmilian way, an ambuscade of Franks suddenly arose from the amphitheatre of Parma: his troops were surprised and routed; but their leader refused to fly, declaring to the last moment that death was less terrible than the angry countenance of Narses. The death of Fulcaris, and the retreat of the surviving chiefs, decided the fluctuating and rebellious temper of the Goths; they flew to the standard of their deliverers, and admitted them into the cities which still resisted the arms of the Roman general. The conqueror of Italy opened a free passage to the irresistible torrent of Barbarians. They passed under the walls of Cesena, and answered by threats and reproaches the advice of Aligern, that the Gothic treasures could no longer repay the labour of an invasion. Two thousand Franks were destroyed by the skill and valour of Narses himself, who sallied from Rimini at the head of three hundred horse, to chastise the licentious rapine of their march. On the confines of Samnium the two brothers divided their forces. With the right wing, Buccelin assumed the spoil of Campania, Lucania, and Bruttium: with the left, Lothaire accepted the plunder of Apulia and Calabria. They followed the coast of the Mediterranean and the Hadriatic, as far as Rhegium and Otranto, and the extreme lands of Italy were the term of their destructive progress. The Franks, who were Christians and Catholics, contented themselves with simple pillage and occasional murder. But the churches, which their piety had spared, were stripped by the sacrilegious hands

* Among the fabulous exploits of Buccelin, he discomfited and slew Belisarius, subdued Italy and *Sicily*, &c. See, in the Historians of France, Gregory of Tours (tom. ii, l. 3, c. 32, p. 203,) and Aimoin (tom. iii, l. 2, de Gestis Francorum, c. 23, p. 59.) [Such were the materials out of which was fabricated, what that age called history. The credulity of both these writers has been already noticed on several

of the Allemanni, who sacrificed horses' heads to their native deities of the woods and rivers:* they melted or profaned the consecrated vessels, and the ruins of shrines and altars were stained with the blood of the faithful. Buccelin was actuated by ambition, and Lothaire by avarice. The former aspired to restore the Gothic kingdom; the latter, after a promise to his brother of speedy succours, returned by the same road to deposit his treasure beyond the Alps. The strength of their armies was already wasted by the change of climate and contagion of disease: the Germans revelled in the vintage of Italy; and their own intemperance avenged, in some degree, the miseries of a defenceless people.

At the entrance of the spring, the imperial troops, who had guarded the cities, assembled, to the number of eighteen thousand men, in the neighbourhood of Rome. Their winter hours had not been consumed in idleness. By the command, and after the example, of Narses, they repeated each day their military exercise on foot and on horseback, accustomed their ear to obey the sound of the trumpet, and practised the steps and evolutions of the Pyrrhic dance. From the straits of Sicily, Buccelin, with thirty thousand Franks and Allemanni, slowly moved towards Capua, occupied with a wooden tower the bridge of Casilinum, covered his right by the stream of the Vulturnus, and secured the rest of his encampment, by a rampart of sharp stakes, and a circle of wagons, whose wheels were buried in the earth. He impatiently expected the return of Lothaire; ignorant, alas! that his brother could never return, and that the chief and his army had been swept away by a strange disease† on the banks of the lake Benacus, between Trent and Verona. The banners of Narses soon approached the Vulturnus, and the eyes of Italy were anxiously fixed on the event of this final contest. Perhaps the talents of the Roman general were most conspicuous in the calm opera-

occasions.—ED.]

* Agathias notices their superstition in a philosophic tone (l. 1, p. 18). At Zug, in Switzerland, idolatry still prevailed in the year 613: St. Columban and St. Gall were the apostles of that rude country; and the latter founded a hermitage, which has swelled into an ecclesiastical principality and a populous city, the seat of freedom and commerce.

† See the death of Lothaire in Agathias (l. 2, p. 38,) and Paul Warnefrid, surnamed Diaconus (l. 2,

tions which precede the tumult of a battle. His skilful movements intercepted the subsistence of the barbarian, deprived him of the advantage of the bridge and river, and, in the choice of the ground and moment of action, reduced him to comply with the inclination of his enemy. On the morning of the important day, when the ranks were already formed, a servant for some trivial fault, was killed by his master, one of the leaders of the Heruli. The justice or passion of Narses was awakened: he summoned the offender to his presence, and, without listening to his excuses, gave the signal to the minister of death. If the cruel master had not infringed the laws of his nation, this arbitrary execution was not less unjust, than it appears to have been imprudent. The Heruli felt the indignity; they halted: but the Roman general, without soothing their rage, or expecting their resolution, called aloud, as the trumpets sounded, that unless they hastened to occupy their place, they would lose the honour of the victory. His troops were disposed* in a long front, the cavalry on the wings; in the centre, the heavy-armed foot; the archers and slingers in the rear. The Germans advanced in a sharp-pointed column, of the form of a triangle or solid wedge. They pierced the feeble centre of Narses, who received them with a smile into the fatal snare, and directed his wings of cavalry insensibly to wheel on their flanks and encompass the rear. The hosts of the Franks and Allemanni consisted of infantry: a sword and buckler hung by their side, and they used, as their weapons of offence, a weighty hatchet, and a hooked javelin, which were only formidable in close combat, or at a short distance. The flower of the Roman archers, on horseback, and in complete armour, skirmished without peril round this immoveable phalanx; supplied by active speed the deficiency of number; and aimed their arrows against a crowd of Barbarians, who, instead of a cuirass and helmet, were covered by a loose garment of fur or linen. They paused, they trembled, their ranks were confounded, and in the decisive moment the Heruli, pre-

c. 3. 775.) The Greek makes him rave and tear his flesh. He had plundered churches.

* Père Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Françoise, tom. i, p. 17—21,) has exhibited a fanciful representation of this battle, somewhat in the manner of the Chevalier Folard, the once favoured editor of Polybius, who fashioned to his own habits and opinions all the military operations of antiquity.

ferring glory to revenge, charged with rapid violence the head of the column. Their leader, Sinbal, and Aligern, the Gothic prince, deserved the prize of superior valour; and their example incited the victorious troops to achieve with swords and spears the destruction of the enemy. Buccelin, and the greatest part of his army, perished on the field of battle, in the waters of the Vulturnus, or by the hands of the enraged peasants: but it may seem incredible that a victory,* which no more than five of the Allemanni survived, could be purchased with the loss of fourscore Romans. Seven thousand Goths, the relics of the war, defended the fortress of Campsa till the ensuing spring; and every messenger of Narses announced the reduction of the Italian cities, whose names were corrupted by the ignorance or vanity of the Greeks.† After the battle of Casilinum, Narses entered the capital; the arms and treasures of the Goths, the Franks, and Allemanni, were displayed; his soldiers, with garlands in their hands, chanted the praises of the conqueror; and Rome, for the last time, beheld the semblance of a triumph.

After a reign of sixty years, the throne of the Gothic kings was filled by the exarchs of Ravenna, the representatives in peace and war of the emperor of the Romans. Their jurisdiction was soon reduced to the limits of a narrow province: but Narses himself, the first and most powerful of the exarchs, administered about fifteen years

* Agathias (l. 2, p. 47,) has produced a Greek epigram of six lines on this victory of Narses, which is favourably compared to the battles of Marathon and Platæa. The chief difference is indeed in their consequences—so trivial in the former instance—so permanent and glorious in the latter.

† The Beroia and Brincas of Theophanes or his transcriber (p. 201.) must be read or understood Verona and Brixia. [Another illustration is here afforded of the carelessness with which names were formerly recorded. First, oral tradition miscalled and multiplied one object into many. Then Greeks and Latins, through neglect of barbarous idioms, misunderstood and miswrote the sounds uttered in them. Lastly, ignorant monastic transcribers mispenned what they had before their eyes, and transmitted an already imperfect nomenclature in still more corrupted manuscripts. Out of one original name several have sometimes been coined, and the ancient world peopled with a variety of tribes, where only one existed, so that the same person or place rises repeatedly before us, as a different object, under some new designation. Those who endeavour to acquire a correct knowledge of the past, must apply themselves to distinguish doubtful or corrupted names from such as are clearly connected with the course of events.—ED.]

the entire kingdom of Italy. Like Belisarius, he had deserved the honours of envy, calumny, and disgrace: but the favourite eunuch still enjoyed the confidence of Justinian, or the leader of a victorious army awed and repressed the ingratitude of a timid court. Yet it was not by weak and mischievous indulgence that Narses secured the attachment of his troops. Forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, they abused the present hour of prosperity and peace. The cities of Italy resounded with the noise of drinking and dancing: the spoils of victory were wasted in sensual pleasures; and nothing (says Agathias) remained, unless to exchange their shields and helmets for the soft lute and the capacious hogshead.* In a manly oration, not unworthy of a Roman censor, the eunuch reproved these disorderly vices, which sullied their fame, and endangered their safety. The soldiers blushed and obeyed; discipline was confirmed; the fortifications were restored; a *duke* was stationed for the defence and military command of each of the principal cities;† and the eye of Narses pervaded the ample prospect from Calabria to the Alps. The remains of the Gothic nation evacuated the country, or mingled with the people: the Franks, instead of revenging the death of Buccelin, abandoned, without a struggle, their Italian conquests: and the rebellious Sinbal, chief of the Heruli, was subdued, taken, and hung on a lofty gallows by the inflexible justice of the exarch.‡ The civil state of Italy, after the agitation of a long tempest, was fixed by a pragmatic sanction, which the emperor promulgated at the request of the pope. Justinian introduced his own jurisprudence into the schools and tribunals of the West: he ratified the acts of Theodoric and his immediate successors, but every deed was rescinded and abolished, which force

* Ἐλείπετο γάρ, οἶμαι, αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας τὰς ἀσπίδας τυχὸν καὶ τὰ κράνη ἀμφορέως οἴνου καὶ βαρβίτου ἀποδόσθαι. (Agathias, l. 2, p. 48.) In the first scene of Richard III. our English poet has beautifully enlarged on this idea, for which, however, he was not indebted to the Byzantine historian.

† Maffei has proved (Verona Illustrata, p. 1, l. 10, p. 257—289), against the common opinion, that dukes of Italy were instituted before the conquest of the Lombards by Narses himself. In the Pragmatic Sanction (No. 23.) Justinian restrains the judices militares.

‡ See Paulus Diaconus, lib. 3, c. 2, p. 776. Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 133) mentions some risings in Italy by the Franks, and Theophanes (p. 201) hints at

had extorted, or fear had subscribed, under the usurpation of Totila. A moderate theory was framed to reconcile the rights of property with the safety of prescription, the claims of the state with the poverty of the people, and the pardon of offences with the interest of virtue and order of society. Under the exarchs of Ravenna, Rome was degraded to the second rank. Yet the senators were gratified by the permission of visiting their estates in Italy, and of approaching without obstacle the throne of Constantinople; the regulation of weights and measures was delegated to the pope and senate; and the salaries of lawyers and physicians, of orators and grammarians, were destined to preserve or rekindle the light of science in the ancient capital. Justinian might dictate benevolent edicts,* and Narses might second his wishes by the restoration of cities, and more especially of churches. But the power of kings is most effectual to destroy: and the twenty years of the Gothic war had consummated the distress and depopulation of Italy. As early as the fourth campaign, under the discipline of Belisarius himself, fifty thousand labourers died of hunger† in the

some Gothic rebellions. * The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian, which restores and regulates the civil state of Italy, consists of twenty-seven articles: it is dated August 15, A.D. 554; is addressed to Narses, V. J. Præpositus Sacri Cubiculi, and to Antiochus, Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ; and has been preserved by Julian Antecessor, and in the Corpus Juris Civilis, after the novels and edicts of Justinian, Justin, and Tiberius. † A still greater number was consumed by famine in the southern provinces, without (ἔκτος) the Ionian gulf. Acorns were used in the place of bread. Procopius had seen a deserted orphan suckled by a she-goat. Seventeen passengers were lodged, murdered, and eaten by two women, who were detected and slain by the eighteenth, &c. [These exaggerations, although gravely related, are evidently disbelieved, by Gibbon. However inert the population of Italy were become, they lived in a region where nature's spontaneous gifts sufficed for the preservation of life. It cannot be supposed that men would rather starve than stretch forth a hand to gather these, or that female taste, even the most depraved, would prefer a brutal and criminal cannibalism, to the guiltless and wholesome nutriment, that was spread around. If there were oaks to yield acorns, there could be no less vines, bearing their grapes, and trees, shrubs, and perennial herbs, producing their regular stores of food, unsolicited by human labour. That very Picenum, of which so frightful a tale of famine is told, abounded in orchards, whose fruits, "Picena poma," were celebrated by Horace (Sat. lib. 2. 3. 272, 4. 70). In such a land, the horrifying scenes, here depicted, are as impossible as they are unnatural. Devastation always of course attends on war; indigence

narrow region of Picenum,* and a strict interpretation of the evidence of Procopius would swell the loss of Italy above the total sum of her present inhabitants.†

I desire to believe, but I dare not affirm, that Belisarius sincerely rejoiced in the triumph of Narses. Yet the consciousness of his own exploits might teach him to esteem without jealousy the merit of a rival; and the repose of the aged warrior was crowned by a last victory which saved the emperor and the capital. The barbarians who annually visited the provinces of Europe were less discouraged by some accidental defeats, than they were excited by the double hope of spoil and of subsidy. In the thirty-second winter of Justinian's reign, the Danube was deeply frozen: Zabergan led the cavalry of the Bulgarians, and his standard was followed by a promiscuous multitude of Sclavonians. The savage chief passed, without opposition, the river and the mountains, spread his troops over Macedonia and Thrace, and advanced with no more than seven thousand horse to the long walls which should have defended the territory of Constantinople. But the works of man are impotent against the assaults of nature: a recent earthquake had shaken the foundations of the wall; and the forces of the empire were employed on the distant frontiers of Italy, Africa, and Persia. The seven *schools*,‡ or companies of the guards or domestic troops, had been augmented to the number of five thousand five hundred men, whose ordinary station was in the peaceful cities of Asia. But the places of the brave Armenians were insensibly supplied by lazy citizens, who purchased an exemption from the duties of civil life, without being exposed to the dangers of military service. Of such soldiers, few could be tempted to sally from the gates; and

waits on depressed energy; but neither sword, nor torch, nor indolent hand, ever yet committed a tenth part of the havoc made by the pen of a misinformed, marvel-loving historian.—ED.]

* Quinta regio Piceni est; quondam uberrimæ multitudinis, ccclx millia Picentium in fidem P. R. venere. (Plin. Hist. Natur. 3. 18.) In the time of Vespasian, this ancient population was already diminished.

† Perhaps fifteen or sixteen millions. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18) computes that Africa lost five millions, that Italy was thrice as extensive, and that the depopulation was in a larger proportion. But his reckoning is inflamed by passion, and clouded with uncertainty.

‡ In the decay of these military schools, the satire of Procopius (Anecdot. c. 24, Aleman. p. 102, 103) is confirmed and illustrated by Agathias, (lib. 5, p. 159,) who cannot be rejected as

none could be persuaded to remain in the field, unless they wanted strength and speed to escape from the Bulgarians. The report of the fugitives exaggerated the numbers and fierceness of an enemy, who had polluted holy virgins, and abandoned new-born infants to the dogs and vultures; a crowd of rustics, imploring food and protection, increased the consternation of the city, and the tents of Zabergan were pitched at the distance of twenty miles,* on the banks of a small river which encircles Melanthias, and afterwards falls into the Propontis.† Justinian trembled: and those who had only seen the emperor in his old age, were pleased to suppose, that he had *lost* the alacrity and vigour of his youth. By his command, the vessels of gold and silver were removed from the churches in the neighbourhood, and even the suburbs, of Constantinople: the ramparts were lined with trembling spectators: the golden gate was crowded with useless generals and tribunes, and the senate shared the fatigues and the apprehensions of the populace.

But the eyes of the prince and people were directed to a feeble veteran, who was compelled by the public danger to

an hostile witness.

* The distance from Constantinople to Melanthias, Villa Cæsariana, (Ammian. Marcellin. 30. 11.) is variously fixed at one hundred and two, or one hundred and forty stadia, (Suidas, tom. ii, p. 522, 523. Agathias, lib. 5, p. 158,) or eighteen or nineteen miles. (Itineraria, p. 138, 230, 323, 332, and Wesseling's Observations.) The first twelve miles, as far as Rhegium, were paved by Justinian, who built a bridge over a morass or gullet between a lake and the sea. (Procop. de Edif. lib. 4, c. 8.)

† The Atyras. (Pompon. Mela, lib. 2, c. 2, p. 169, edit. Voss.) At the river's mouth, a town or castle of the same name was fortified by Justinian. (Procop. de Edif. lib. 4, c. 2, Itinerar. p. 570, and Wesseling.) [Suidas, according to Cellarius (1. 1073) calls the small fort, at the mouth of the Athyras, Melantiacum Navale, and makes its distance from Constantinople one hundred and two stadia. Some have considered the modern Aqua dolce to be the Athyras of former days, and placed on it Selivra, the antient Selymbria of Herodotus and Livy. But this and Melanthias were two distinct towns and not near together. The former is also too far from Constantinople. Dr. Clarke (Travels, part 2, sec. 3, p. 476,) was a day and a half on his way from one to the other. But within three hours of the capital, he passed a small village called Kûtchuk Tchekmadje, Ponte piccolo, or Little Bridge, on the shore of the Propontis, with a respectable bridge of four arches, over a stream amid pools and marshes. This probably marks the scene of the last military exploit of Belisarius. Sir R. K. Porter (Travels, vol. ii, p. 768,) gives it the name of Kouchouck-chek-maza, on a branch of the sea, four hours distant from Constantinople.—ED.]

resume the armour in which he had entered Carthage and defended Rome. The horses of the royal stables, of private citizens, and even of the circus, were hastily collected; the emulation of the old and young was roused by the name of Belisarius, and his first encampment was in the presence of a victorious enemy. His prudence, and the labour of the friendly peasants, secured with a ditch and rampart the repose of the night; innumerable fires and clouds of dust were artfully contrived to magnify the opinion of his strength: his soldiers suddenly passed from despondency to presumption; and while ten thousand voices demanded the battle, Belisarius dissembled his knowledge, that in the hour of trial he must depend on the firmness of three hundred veterans. The next morning the Bulgarian cavalry advanced to the charge. But they heard the shouts of multitudes, they beheld the arms and discipline of the front; they were assaulted on the flanks by two ambuscades which rose from the woods; their foremost warriors fell by the hand of the aged hero and his guards; and the swiftness of their evolutions was rendered useless by the close attack and rapid pursuit of the Romans. In this action (so speedy was their flight) the Bulgarians lost only four hundred horse; but Constantinople was saved; and Zabergan, who felt the hand of a master, withdrew to a respectful distance. But his friends were numerous in the councils of the emperor, and Belisarius obeyed with reluctance the commands of envy and Justinian, which forbade him to achieve the deliverance of his country. On his return to the city, the people, still conscious of their danger, accompanied his triumph with acclamations of joy and gratitude, which were imputed as a crime to the victorious general. But when he entered the palace, the courtiers were silent, and the emperor, after a cold and thankless embrace, dismissed him to mingle with the train of slaves. Yet so deep was the impression of his glory on the minds of men, that Justinian, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, was encouraged to advance near forty miles from the capital, and to inspect in person the restoration of the long wall. The Bulgarians wasted the summer in the plains of Thrace; but they were inclined to peace by the failure of their rash attempts on Greece and the Chersonesus. A menance of killing their prisoners quickened the payment of heavy ransoms; and the departure

of Zabergan was hastened by the report, that double-prowed vessels were built on the Danube to intercept his passage. The danger was soon forgotten; and a vain question, whether their sovereign had shewn more wisdom or weakness, amused the idleness of the city.*

About two years after the last victory of Belisarius, the emperor returned from a Thracian journey of health, or business, or devotion. Justinian was afflicted by a pain in his head; and his private entry countenanced the rumour of his death. Before the third hour of the day, the bakers' shops were plundered of their bread, the houses were shut, and every citizen, with hope or terror, prepared for the impending tumult. The senators themselves, fearful and suspicious, were convened at the ninth hour; and the prefect received their commands to visit every quarter of the city, and proclaim a general illumination for the recovery of the emperor's health. The ferment subsided; but every accident betrayed the impotence of the government and the factious temper of the people; the guards were disposed to mutiny as often as their quarters were changed or their pay was withheld: the frequent calamities of fires and earthquakes afforded the opportunities of disorder; the disputes of the blues and greens, of the orthodox and heretics, degenerated into bloody battles; and in the presence of the Persian ambassador, Justinian blushed for himself and for his subjects. Capricious pardon and arbitrary punishment imbittered the irksomeness and discontent of a long reign; a conspiracy was formed in the palace; and, unless we are deceived by the names of Marcellus and Sergius, the most virtuous and the most profligate of the courtiers were associated in the same designs. They had fixed the time of the execution; their rank gave them access to the royal banquet; and their black slaves† were stationed in the vestibule and porticoes, to announce the death of the tyrant, and to excite

* The Bulgarian war, and the last victory of Belisarius, are imperfectly represented in the prolix declamation of Agathias, (lib. 5, p. 154—174,) and the dry chronicle of Theophanes (p. 197, 198).

† Ἰνδοὺς. They could scarcely be real Indians; and the Æthiopians, sometimes known by that name, were never used by the ancients as guards or followers: they were the trifling, though costly, objects of female and royal luxury. (Terent. Eunuch. act 1, scene 2. Sueton. in August. c. 83, with a good note of Casaubon, in Caligulâ, c. 57.)

a sedition in the capital. But the indiscretion of an accomplice saved the poor remnant of the days of Justinian. The conspirators were detected and seized, with daggers hidden under their garments: Marcellus died by his own hand, and Sergius was dragged from the sanctuary.* Pressed by remorse, or tempted by the hopes of safety, he accused two officers of the household of Belisarius; and torture forced them to declare that they had acted according to the secret instructions of their patron.† Posterity will not hastily believe that a hero who, in the vigour of life, had disdained the fairest offers of ambition and revenge, should stoop to the murder of his prince whom he could not long expect to survive. His followers were impatient to fly; but flight must have been supported by rebellion, and he had lived enough for nature and for glory. Belisarius appeared before the council with less fear than indignation: after forty years' service, the emperor had prejudged his guilt; and injustice was sanctified by the presence and authority of the patriarch. The life of Belisarius was graciously spared; but his fortunes were sequestered, and from December to July he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence was acknowledged; his freedom and honours were restored; and death, which might be hastened by resentment and grief, removed him from the world about eight months after his deliverance. The name of Belisarius can never die: but instead of the funeral, the monuments, the statues, so justly due to his memory, I only read, that his treasure, the spoils of the Goths and Vandals, were immediately confiscated by the emperor. Some decent portion was reserved, however, for the use of his widow; and as Antonina had much to repent, she devoted the last remains of her life and fortune to the foundation of a convent. Such is the simple and genuine narrative of the fall of Belisarius and the ingratitude of Justinian.‡ That he was deprived of

* The Sergius (Vandal. lib. 2, c. 21, 22, Anecdot. c. 5,) and Marcellus (Goth. lib. 3, c. 32,) are mentioned by Procopius. See Theophanes, p. 197, 201. [The misconduct of Sergius, in Africa, which aggravated the evils of his uncle Solomon's Exarchate, is related in this chapter (p. 500). The chief of the conspirators is said to have been an Ablarius, of whom nothing more is known.—ED.]

† Alemannus (p 3.) quotes an old Byzantine MS. which has been printed in the Imperium Orientale of Banduri.

‡ Of the disgrace and restoration of Belisarius, the genuine original

his eyes, and reduced by envy to beg his bread, "Give a penny to Belisarius the general!" is a fiction of later times,* which has obtained credit, or rather favour, as a strange example of the vicissitudes of fortune.†

If the emperor could rejoice in the death of Belisarius, he enjoyed the base satisfaction only eight months, the last period of a reign of thirty-eight, and a life of eighty-three years. It would be difficult to trace the character of a prince who is not the most conspicuous object of his own times: but the confessions of an enemy may be received as the safest evidence of his virtues. The resemblance of Justinian to the bust of Domitian, is maliciously urged;‡ with the ackowledgement, however, of a well-proportioned figure, a ruddy complexion, and a pleasing countenance.

record is preserved in the fragment of John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 234—243), and the exact Chronicle of Theophanes. (p. 194—204). Cedrenus (Compend. p. 387, 388) and Zonaras, (tom. ii, l. 14, p. 69) seem to hesitate between the obsolete truth and the growing falsehood.

* The source of this idle fable may be derived from a miscellaneous work of the twelfth century, the Chiliads of John Tzetzes, a monk. (Basil. 1546, ad calcem Lycophront. Colon. Allobrog. 1614. in Corp. Poet. Græc.) He relates the blindness and beggary of Belisarius in ten vulgar or *political* verses. (Chiliad iii. No. 88, 339—348. in Corp. Poet. Græc. tom. ii, p. 311.)

Ἔκπωμα ξύλινον κρατῶν, ἐβόα τῷ μιλίῳ,
Βελισαρίῳ ὀβολον δότε τῷ στρατηλάτῃ
Ὃν τύχη μὲν ἐδόξασεν, ἀποτυφλοῖ δ' ὁ φθόνος.

This moral or romantic tale was imported into Italy with the language and manuscripts of Greece; repeated before the end of the fifteenth century by Crinitus, Pontanus, and Volaterranus; attacked by Alciat, for the honour of the law; and defended by Baronius (A.D. 561, No. 2. &c.) for the honour of the church. Yet Tzetzes himself had read in *other* chronicles, that Belisarius did not lose his sight, and that he recovered his fame and fortunes.

† The statue in the villa Borghese at Rome, in a sitting posture, with an open hand, which is vulgarly given to Belisarius, may be ascribed with more dignity to Augustus in the act of propitiating Nemesis. (Winckelman, Hist. de l'Art, tom. iii. p. 266.) Ex nocturno visu etiam stipem, quotannis, die certo, emendicabat a populo, cavam manum asses porrigentibus præbens. (Sueton. in August. c. 91, with an excellent note of Casaubon.)

‡ The *rubor* of Domitian is stigmatized, quaintly enough, by the pen of Tacitus, (in Vit. Agricol. c. 45) and has been likewise noticed by the younger Pliny, (Panegyr. c. 48) and Suetonius (in Domitian. c. 18, and Casaubon ad locum.) Procopius (Anecdot. c. 8) foolishly believes that only *one* bust of Domitian had reached the sixth century.

The emperor was easy of access, patient of hearing, courteous and affable in discourse, and a master of the angry passions, which rage with such destructive violence in the breast of a despot. Procopius praises his temper, to reproach him with calm and deliberate cruelty; but in the conspiracies which attacked his authority and person, a more candid judge will approve the justice, or admire the clemency, of Justinian. He excelled in the private virtues of chastity and temperance: but the impartial love of beauty would have been less mischievous than his conjugal tenderness for Theodora, and his abstemious diet was regulated, not by the prudence of a philosopher, but the superstition of a monk. His repasts were short and frugal: on solemn fasts, he contented himself with water and vegetables; and such was his strength as well as fervour, that he frequently passed two days and as many nights without tasting any food. The measure of his sleep was not less rigorous: after the repose of a single hour, the body was awakened by the soul, and, to the astonishment of his chamberlains, Justinian walked or studied till the morning light. Such restless application prolonged his time for the acquisition of knowledge,* and the dispatch of business: and he might seriously deserve the reproach of confounding, by minute and preposterous

* The studies and science of Justinian are attested by the confession (Anecdot. c. 8. 13), still more than by the praises (Gothic. lib. 3, c. 31, de Edific. lib. 1, Proem. c. 7), of Procopius. Consult the copious index of Alemannus, and read the life of Justinian by Ludwig (p. 135—142). [Johann Peter Von Ludwig (or Ludewig) who is often quoted by Gibbon, held a foremost place among the jurists of Germany, in the first half of the eighteenth century. He succeeded Cellarius in 1703, as Professor of History at Halle, and in 1722 was appointed Chancellor of that university. Besides his lectures to the students, seventy-three of his published works are enumerated by Jöcher, in his Lexicon der Gelehrten. From his long and learned preface to Zedler's Universal Lexicon, it may be inferred that he was the principal editor, and probably, one of the nine scholars who divided among them the several departments of literature. Of a work so little known in this country, it may be permitted here to say a few words. Zedler was a spirited and enterprising bookseller at Leipzig, who undertook to publish the first complete Encyclopædia. It consists of sixty-four large folio volumes, each containing more than one thousand pages. The first came out in 1730, and the last in 1750. It is not only the most comprehensive work of its kind, but for all information accessible at that period, it is complete and trustworthy.—ED.]

diligence, the general order of his administration. The emperor professed himself a musician and architect, a poet and philosopher, a lawyer and theologian; and if he failed in the enterprise of reconciling the Christian sects, the review of the Roman jurisprudence is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. In the government of the empire, he was less wise or less successful: the age was unfortunate; the people was oppressed and discontented: Theodora abused her power; a succession of bad ministers disgraced his judgment; and Justinian was neither beloved in his life, nor regretted at his death. The love of fame was deeply implanted in his breast, but he condescended to the poor ambition of titles, honours, and contemporary praise; and while he laboured to fix the admiration, he forfeited the esteem and affection, of the Romans. The design of the African and Italian wars was boldly conceived and executed: and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, of Narses in the palace. But the name of the emperor is eclipsed by the names of his victorious generals; and Belisarius still lives, to upbraid the envy and ingratitude of his sovereign. The partial favour of mankind applauds the genius of a conqueror, who leads and directs his subjects in the exercise of arms. The characters of Philip II. and of Justinian are distinguished by the cold ambition which delights in war, and declines the dangers of the field. Yet a colossal statue of bronze represented the emperor on horseback, preparing to march against the Persians in the habit and armour of Achilles. In the great square before the church of St. Sophia, this monument was raised on a brass column and a stone pedestal of seven steps; and the pillar of Theodosius, which weighed seven thousand four hundred pounds of silver, was removed from the same place by the avarice and vanity of Justinian. Future princes were more just or indulgent to *his* memory; the elder Andronicus, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, repaired and beautified his equestrian statue; since the fall of the empire, it has been melted into cannon by the victorious Turks.*

* See in the C. P. Christiana of Ducange (l. 1, c. 24, No. 1,) a chain of original testimonies, from Procopius in the sixth, to Gyllius in the

I shall conclude this chapter with the comets, the earthquakes, and the plague, which astonished or afflicted the age of Justinian.

I. In the fifth year of his reign, and in the month of September, a comet* was seen during twenty days in the western quarter of the heavens, and which shot its rays into the north. Eight years afterwards, while the sun was in Capricorn, another comet appeared to follow in the Sagittary: the size was gradually increasing; the head was in the east, the tail in the west, and it remained visible above forty days. The nations, who gazed with astonishment, expected wars and calamities from their baleful influence: and these expectations were abundantly fulfilled. The astronomers dissembled their ignorance of the nature of these blazing stars, which they affected to represent as the floating meteors of the air; and few among them embraced the simple notion of Seneca and the Chaldeans, that they are only planets of a longer period and more eccentric motion.† Time and science have justified the conjectures and predictions of the Roman sage: the telescope has opened new worlds to the eyes of astronomers;‡ and, in the narrow space of history and fable, one and the same comet is already found to have visited the earth in *seven* equal revolutions of five hundred and seventy-five years. The *first*,§ which ascends beyond the Christian era one thousand seven hundred and sixty-seven years, is coeval with Ogyges, the father of Grecian antiquity. And this appearance explains the tradition which Varro has preserved, that under his reign the planet Venus changed her colour, size, figure,

sixteenth, century.

* The first comet is mentioned by John Malalas (tom. ii, p. 190. 219) and Theophanes (p. 154); the second by Procopius (Persic. l. 2, c. 4). Yet I strongly suspect their identity. The paleness of the sun (Vandal. l. 2, c. 14,) is applied by Theophanes (p. 158) to a different year.

† Seneca's seventh book of Natural Questions displays, in the theory of comets, a philosophic mind. Yet should we not too candidly confound a vague prediction, a veniet tempus, &c. with the merit of real discoveries.

‡ Astronomers may study Newton and Halley. I draw my humble science from the article COMETE, in the French Encyclopédie by M. d'Alembert.

§ Whiston, the honest, pious, visionary Whiston, had fancied, for the era of Noah's flood (two thousand two hundred and forty-two years before Christ), a prior apparition of the same comet, which drowned the earth with its tail.

and course; a prodigy without example either in past or succeeding ages.* The *second* visit in the year 1193, is darkly implied in the fable of Electra the seventh of the Pleiads, who have been reduced to six since the time of the Trojan war. That nymph, the wife of Dardanus, was unable to support the ruin of her country; she abandoned the dances of her sister orbs, fled from the zodiac to the north pole, and obtained, from her dishevelled locks, the name of the *comet*. The *third* period expires in the year 618, a date that exactly agrees with the tremendous comet of the Sibyl, and perhaps of Pliny, which arose in the west, two generations before the reign of Cyrus. The *fourth* apparition, forty-four years before the birth of Christ, is of all others the most splendid and important. After the death of Cæsar, a long-haired star was conspicuous to Rome and to the nations, during the games which were exhibited by young Octavian, in honour of Venus and his uncle. The vulgar opinion, that it conveyed to heaven the divine soul of the dictator, was cherished and consecrated by the piety of a statesman: while his secret superstition referred the comet to the glory of his own times.† The *fifth* visit has been already ascribed to the fifth year of Justinian, which coincides with the five hundred and thirty-first of the Christian era. And it may deserve notice, that in this, as in the preceding instance, the comet was followed, though at a longer interval, by a remarkable paleness of the sun. The *sixth* return, in the year 1106, is recorded by the chronicles of Europe and China; and in the first fervour of the Crusades, the Christians and the Mahometans might surmise, with equal reason, that it portended the destruction of the infidels. The *seventh* phenomenon of 1680 was

* A dissertation of Freret (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. x, p. 357—377,) affords a happy union of philosophy and erudition. The phenomenon in the time of Ogyges was preserved by Varro, (apud Augustin. de Civitate Dei, 21. 8,) who quotes Castor, Dion of Naples, and Adrastus of Cyzicus—nobiles mathematici. The two subsequent periods are preserved by the Greek mythologists and the spurious books of Sibylline verses. † Pliny (Hist. Nat. 2. 23) has transcribed the original memorial of Augustus. Mairan, in his most ingenious letters to the P. Parennin, missionary in China, removes the games and the comet of September, from the year 44 to the year 43, before the Christian era; but I am not totally subdued by the criticism of the astronomer. (Opuscules, p. 275—351.)

presented to the eyes of an enlightened age.* The philosophy of Bayle dispelled a prejudice which Milton's muse had so recently adorned, that the comet, "from its horrid hair, shakes pestilence and war." † Its road in the heavens was observed with exquisite skill by Flamstead and Cassini; and the mathematical science of Bernoulli, Newton, and Halley, investigated the laws of its revolutions. At the *eighth* period, in the year 2355, their calculations may perhaps be verified by the astronomers of some future capital in the Siberian or American wilderness.

II. The near approach of a comet may injure or destroy the globe which we inhabit; but the changes on its surface have been hitherto produced by the action of volcanoes and earthquakes.‡ The nature of the soil may indicate the countries most exposed to these formidable concussions, since they are caused by subterraneous fires, and such fires are kindled by the union and fermentation of iron and sulphur. But their times and effects appear to lie beyond the reach of human curiosity, and the philosopher will discreetly abstain from the prediction of earthquakes, till he has counted the drops of water that silently filtrate on the inflammable mineral, and measured the caverns which increase by resistance the explosion of the imprisoned air. Without assigning the cause, history will distinguish the periods in which these calamitous events have been rare or

* This last comet was visible in the month of December, 1680. Bayle, who began his Pensées sur la Comète in January, 1681, (Œuvres, tom. iii,) was forced to argue that a *supernatural* comet would have confirmed the ancients in their idolatry. Bernouilli (see his *Eloge*, in Fontenelle, tom. v, p. 99) was forced to allow that the tail, though not the head, was a *sign* of the wrath of God. † Paradise Lost was published in the year 1667; and the famous lines (l. 2. 708, &c.) which startled the licenser, may allude to the recent comet of 1664, observed by Cassini at Rome, in the presence of queen Christina. (Fontenelle, in his *Eloge*, tom. v, p. 338.) Had Charles II. betrayed any symptoms of curiosity or fear? [On the nature of Comets, the best information is afforded by the late Sir William Herschel's papers in the Philosophical Transactions, particularly those for 1812 (p. 142, 143.)—Ed.]

‡ For the cause of earthquakes, see Buffon (tom. i, p. 502—536. Supplément à l'Hist. Naturelle, tom. v, p. 382—390, edition in 4to), Valmont de Bomare (Dictionnaire d'Histoire Naturelle, *Tremblemens de Terre, Pyrites*), Watson (Chemical Essays, tom. i, p. 181—209).

frequent, and will observe that this fever of the earth raged with uncommon violence during the reign of Justinian.* Each year is marked by the repetition of earthquakes, of such duration that Constantinople has been shaken above forty days; of such extent that the shock has been communicated to the whole surface of the globe, or at least of the Roman empire. An impulsive or vibratory motion was felt; enormous chasms were opened, huge and heavy bodies were discharged into the air, the sea alternately advanced and retreated beyond its ordinary bounds, and a mountain was torn from Libanus,† and cast into the waves, where it protected, as a mole, the new harbour of Botrys ‡ in Phœnicia. The stroke that agitates an anthill, may crush the insect myriads in the dust; yet truth must extort a confession, that man has industriously laboured for his own destruction. The institution of great cities, which include a nation within the limits of a wall, almost realizes the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one neck. Two hundred and fifty thousand persons are said to

* The earthquakes that shook the Roman world in the reign of Justinian, are described or mentioned by Procopius (Goth. lib. 4, c. 25. Anecdot. c. 18), Agathias (lib. 2, p. 52—54, lib. 5, p. 145—152), John Malalas (Chron. tom. ii, p. 140—146. 176, 177. 183. 193. 220. 229. 231. 233, 234), and Theophanes (p. 151. 183. 189. 191—196). [Geological investigation has discovered traces of past volcanic action, over a large portion of our globe. It has been gradually contracted within narrower limits, and has now ceased in many districts which were often subject to it in early historic times. Among these were Syria and Asia Minor: the earthquakes by which they were agitated during the reign of Justinian were a repetition of what they had before experienced. At the latter end of the second century, Ionia and the adjacent countries suffered from violent concussions, which extended also to the Peloponnesus. Pausanias (7. 24) mentions the disasters which befel the Carian and Lycian cities, and the island of Rhodes, and (2. 7) the fate of Sicyon. The devastation of Smyrna, at the same time, was so extensive, that the philosopher Aristides appealed, on its behalf, to Marcus Antoninus, who expended large sums in repairing the damage.—ED.]

† An abrupt height, a perpendicular cape between Aradus and Botrys, named by the Greeks θεών πρόσωπον and ἐυπρόσωπον or λιθοπρόσωπον, by the scrupulous Christians (Polyb. lib. 5, p. 411. Pompon. Mela, lib. 1, c. 12, p. 87, cum Isaac Voss. Observ. Maundrell, Journey. p. 32, 33. Pocock's Description, vol. ii, p. 99).

‡ Botrys was founded (ann. ante Christ. 935—903) by Ithobal, king of Tyre. (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 387, 388.) Its poor representative, the village of Patrone, is now destitute

have perished in the earthquake of Antioch, whose domestic multitudes were swelled by the conflux of strangers to the festival of the Ascension. The loss of Berytus * was of smaller account, but of much greater value. That city, on the coast of Phœnicia, was illustrated by the study of the civil law, which opened the surest road to wealth and dignity: the schools of Berytus were filled with the rising spirits of the age, and many a youth was lost in the earthquake, who might have lived to be the scourge or the guardian of his country. In these disasters, the architect becomes the enemy of mankind. The hut of a savage, or the tent of an Arab, may be thrown down without injury to the inhabitant; and the Peruvians had reason to deride the folly of their Spanish conquerors, who with so much cost and labour erected their own sepulchres. The rich marbles of a patrician are dashed on his own head: a whole people is buried under the ruins of public and private edifices, and the conflagration is kindled and propagated by the innumerable fires which are necessary for the subsistence and manufactures of a great city. Instead of the mutual sympathy which might comfort and assist the distressed, they dreadfully experience the vices and passions which are released from the fear of punishment: the tottering houses are pillaged by intrepid avarice; revenge embraces the moment and selects the victim; and the earth often swallows the assassin, or the ravisher, in the consummation of their crimes. Superstition involves the present danger with invisible terrors; and if the image of death may sometimes be subservient to the virtue or repentance of individuals, an affrighted people is more forcibly moved to expect the end of the world, or to deprecate with servile homage the wrath of an avenging Deity.

III. Æthiopia and Egypt have been stigmatized in every age, as the original source and seminary of the plague.†

of an harbour.

* The university, splendour, and ruin of Berytus, are celebrated by Heineccius (p. 351—356), as an essential part of the history of the Roman law. It was overthrown in the twenty-fifth year of Justinian, A.D. 551, July 9 (Theophanes, p. 192); but Agathias (lib. 2, p. 51, 52) suspends the earthquake till he has achieved the Italian war.

† I have read with pleasure Mead's

In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors,* first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the east, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the west, along the coast of Africa, and over the continent of Europe. In the spring

short, but elegant treatise, concerning Pestilential Disorders, the eighth edition, London, 1722.

* The great plague which raged in 542, and the following years (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii, p. 518), must be traced in Procopius (Persic. lib. 2, c. 22, 23), Agathias (lib. 5, p, 153, 154), Evagrius (lib. 4, c. 29), Paul Diaconus (lib. 2, c. 4, p. 776, 777), Gregory of Tours (tom. ii, lib. 4, c. 5, p. 205), who styles it *Lues Inguinaria*, and the Chronicles of Victor Tununensis (p. 9, in Thesaur. Temporum), of Marcellinus (p. 54), and of Theophanes (p. 153). [The *Lacus Sirbonis* inspired terror among all the nations of antiquity. It was the fabled abode of Typhon, the evil genius of so many mythologies. Beneath its bed were boiling streams of bitumen and springs of naphtha, which often sent up lurid flames and heavy vapours; these were imagined to be the breath of the demon. (Herodotus, 2. 6. Plutarch. Anton. c. 3. Strabo. 16. 762.) In the course of ages this formidable lake was reduced within very narrow dimensions. (Pliny, 5. 14.) The retiring waters left a wide morass or bog, over which the winds spread the sands of the neighbouring desert, fatal to the unwary who ventured on their surface (Diodorus Siculus, 1. 30). From this bog there issued, in the days of Justinian, a double miasma. The decaying exuviæ of the sea and the fumes of heated bitumen, combined to impregnate the atmosphere with noxious vapours. These, inhaled by depressed and spirit-broken multitudes, living in filth, and indulging the artificial excitement of stimulating drinks, produced the disease, no less by moral than by physical infection, which was carried, with such calamitous violence, from clime to clime. The ancient lake of Sirbonis has nearly, if not entirely, disappeared. (Cellarius, 2. 792.) But the name is still retained in maps, given to an apparently more recent collection of pools and lagunes, separated from the Mediterranean by a newly formed bank. These are called by the Turks, Sebâkhah Bardoual, or the lake of Baldwin, from that hero of the crusades having died, when king of Jerusalem, in 1177, at the neighbouring town of Rhinocorura, the modern El Arisch. One of the latest and most authentic accounts of them may be found in the "Description de l'Egypte," drawn up from the official papers of the memorable French expedition (tom. xvi, p. 208).—Ed.]

of the second year, Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician,* has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of the plague of Athens.† The infection was sometimes announced by the visions of a distempered fancy, and the victim despaired as soon as he had heard the menace and felt the stroke of an invisible spectre. But the greater number, in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by a slight fever; so slight, indeed, that neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the arm-pits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a *coal*, or black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour. But if they continued hard and dry, a mortification quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the sick were covered with black pustules or carbuncles, the symptoms of immediate death; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an eruption, the vomiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal; yet one infant was drawn alive from its dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected fœtus. Youth was the most perilous season; and the female sex was less susceptible than the male; but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped

* Dr. Freind (Hist. Medicin. in Opp. p. 416—420. Lond. 1733) is satisfied that Procopius must have studied physic, from his knowledge and use of the technical words. Yet many words that are now scientific, were common and popular in the Greek idiom.

† See Thucydides, lib. 2, c. 47—54, p. 127—133, edit. Duker, and the poetical description of the same plague by Lucretius (lib. 6, 1136—1284). I was indebted to Dr. Hunter for an elaborate commentary on this part of Thucydides, a quarto of six hundred pages (Venet. 1603, apud Juntas), which was pronounced in St. Mark's library, by Fabius Paullinus Utinensis, a physician and philosopher.

were deprived of the use of their speech, without being secure from a return of the disorder.* The physicians of Constantinople were zealous and skilful: but their art was baffled by the various symptoms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event capriciously disappointed their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of funerals, and the right of sepulchres, were confounded; those who were left without friends or servants, lay unburied in the streets, or in their desolate houses; and a magistrate was authorized to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water, and to inter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own danger, and the prospects of public distress, awakened some remorse in the minds of the most vicious of mankind; the confidence of health again revived their passions and habits; but philosophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of such men were guarded by the peculiar favour of fortune or providence. He forgot, or perhaps he secretly recollected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself; but the abstemious diet of the emperor may suggest, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honourable cause for his recovery.† During his sickness the public consternation was expressed in the habits of the citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general scarcity in the capital of the East.

Contagion is the inseparable symptom of the plague; which, by mutual respiration, is transfused from the infected persons to the lungs and stomach of those who approach them. While philosophers believe and tremble, it is singular that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imaginary

* Thucydides (c. 51) affirms that the infection could only be once taken; but Evagrius, who had family-experience of the plague, observes, that some persons who had escaped the first, sank under the second attack; and this repetition is confirmed by Fabius Paullinus (p. 588). I observe that on this head physicians are divided: and the nature and operation of the disease may not always be similar.

† It was thus that Socrates had been saved by his temperance, in the plague of Athens. (Aul. Gellius, Noct. Att. c. 2. 1.) Dr. Mead accounts for the peculiar salubrity of religious houses, by the two advantages of seclusion and abstinence (p. 18, 19).

terrors.* Yet the fellow-citizens of Precopius were satisfied, by some short and partial experience, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation;† and this persuasion might support the assiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the sick, whom inhuman prudence would have condemned to solitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predestination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion; and those salutary precautions, to which Europe is indebted for her safety, were unknown to the government of Justinian. No restraints were imposed on the free and frequent intercourse of the Roman provinces; from Persia to France, the nations were mingled and infected by wars and emigrations: and the pestilential odour, which lurks for years in a bale of cotton, was imported, by the abuse of trade, into the most distant regions. The mode of its propagation is explained by the remark of Procopius himself, that it always spread from the sea-coast to the inland country; the most sequestered islands and mountains were successively visited; the places which had escaped the fury of its first passage, were alone exposed to the contagion of the ensuing year. The winds might diffuse that subtle venom; but, unless the atmosphere be previously disposed for its reception, the plague would soon expire in the cold or temperate climates of the earth. Such was the universal corruption of the air, that the pestilence, which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian, was not checked or alleviated by any difference of the seasons. In time, its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of fifty-two years, that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. No facts have been preserved to sustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers

* Mead proves that the plague is contagious, from Thucydides, Lucretius, Aristotle, Galen, and common experience (p. 10—20); and he refutes (Preface, p. 2—13) the contrary opinion of the French physicians who visited Marseilles in the year 1720. Yet these were the recent and enlightened spectators of a plague which, in a few months, swept away fifty thousand inhabitants (Sur la Peste de Marseille, Paris, 1786) of a city that, in the present hour of prosperity and trade, contains no more than ninety thousand souls. (Necker, sur les Finances, tom. i, p. 231.)

† The strong assertions of Procopius—οὔτε γὰρ ἰατρῷ οὔτε γαρ ἰδιώτῃ—are overthrown by the subsequent

that perished in this extraordinary mortality. I only find, that during three months, five, and at length ten, thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many cities of the East were left vacant, and that in several districts of Italy the harvest and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian; and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe.*

experience of Evagrius.

* After some figures of rhetoric, the sands of the sea, &c. Procopius (Anecdot. c. 18) attempts a more definite account: that μυριάδας μυριάδων μυρίας had been exterminated under the reign of the imperial demon. The expression is obscure in grammar and arithmetic, and a literal interpretation would produce several millions of millions. Alemannus (p. 80) and Cousin (tom. iii, p. 178) translate this passage "two hundred millions;" but I am ignorant of their motives. If we drop the μυριάδας, the remaining μυριάδων μυρίας, a myriad of myriads, would furnish one hundred millions, a number not wholly inadmissible.

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